HISTORIE

Ratist.

OF THE

# WORLD

IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST.

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto Abraham

THE SECOND.

Of the Times from the Birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the Temple of SALOMON.

THE-THIRD,

From the deftruction of  $J^{\text{ERUSALEM}}$  to the time of Phillip of  $M_{\text{ACEDON}}$ .

THE FOURTH

From the Reign of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of Antigonus.

THE FIFTH

From the fettled R ule of  $A_{\text{LEXANDERS}}$  Succeffors in the East, untill the R omans (prevailing over all) made Conquest of  $A_{\text{SIA}}$  and  $M_{\text{ACEDON}}$ .

By Sir WALTER RALECH, Knight.

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\$. 11. The beginning of the great Antiochus through Attica, which he spoyleth again: and his reign. Of Ptolomy Evergetes, and Phiprovides against the enemies. Some exploits of lopator, Kings of Egypt. War between Antithe Romanes. Divers Princes joyn with them. ochus and Philopator, The rebellion of Malo: Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the an expedition of Antiochus against him: The recontinuance of Antiochus his Eg sptian war, with the passages between the two Kings: The victory of Ptolemy, and peace concluded. Of Acheus, and his rebellion; his greatness, and and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus his fall. Antiochus his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death

§. III. The level reign of Ptolomy Philopares to war on the young childe Ptolomy Epi-5 X III. The Romans begin to make war phanes, the fon of Philopator. His irrefolution

S.IV. The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their war with doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is S. XV. T. Quintius falls out with the A- chaled by his enemies, and by the Romans: His the tyrant of Lacedamon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius his Triumph. Peace denyed to Antiochus by the

§. V. Of the long wars which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. CHAP. Of M. Porcius Cato. Injuries done by Massamilla to the Carthiginians; that fue unto the Ro-

mans for justice in vain. 6. VI. The Ætolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis to war upon the Komans; by whom they hold themselves wronged wasteth some part of Achea. The exact skill of and faction among the Roman Nobility. Philopoemen in his advantage of ground; whereby he utterly vanquished Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace by the Romans, joyns with the Atolians. The Atolians Surprize Demetrias; and by killing Nabis, their Confederates feize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopomen his perswasions annex themselves to the Achæans.

6. VII Antiochus persivaded by Thoas the Atolian, comes over into Greece, ill attend- of the Romans, when the war with Antiochus ed, Sundry passages between him, the Etolians, was finished. the Romans quarrell with Phi-Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalchis, lip. They deal insolently with the Acheans. and thereby the whole Isle of Eubwa. The vani- The Macedonian being unready for war, obty of the Kings Emballadours, and the Ætoli- tains peace at Rome, by his fon Demetrius; ans: with the civill answer of Titus to their of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous. discourse, before the Acheans. That it concerned the Greeks to have desired peace between the bal, and Scipio. That the Military profession Romans and Antiochus: as the best assurance is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstandof their own liberty. Of many petty Estates that ing some examples, which may seem to prove fell to the King. Of Amainder and an idle va- the contrary. nity, by which King Philip was loft. Hanni S. III. Philip making provision for war abal gives good counsel in vain. Some towns gainst the Romans, deals hardly with many of fia, leaving all in Greece unto the Victors.

S. VIII. Lucius Scipio, having with him feus, he dieth. Publius the African his elder brother, for his In what fort the Romans used their victory. L. Warring upon him. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous Tri-s. V. Hom Eumenes King of Pergamus was umph over Antiochus, is surnamed The Asia-busted with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and o-

and diferaced. Nabis befregeth Gyttheum, and of Rome to the two Scipios: and that beginning

#### CHAP. VI.

The second Macedon War.

6. I.

He condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates

S. I I. The death of Philopoemen, Hanni-

reon in Theffaly, the King retires to Chalchis his own subjects. His Negotiations with the where he married a young wife, and revels a- Bastarnæ. His crnelty. He suspected his son way the rest of Winter, upon the coming of the Demetrius. Demetrius accused by his Brother Roman Conful, all forfake Antiochus. He Perseus: and shortly after stain by his Fathers with two thousand Ætolians kept the straights appointment. Philip repenteth him of his of Thermopyla. He is beaten and flees into A- fons death, whom he findeth to have been innocent, and intending to revenge it on Per-

6. I V. How the Bastarnæ fell upon Darda-Licutenant, is fent into Greece. He grants long Dia. The behaviour of Perseus in the beginning truce to the Etolians, that so he might at leisure of his reign. Some wars of the Romans: and paffe into Afia. Much troublesome businesse by how they suffered Masanilla cruelly to oppresse Sea, and divers fights. An invasion upon Eu-the Carthaginans. They quarrelled with Pertenenes his Kingdome: with the fuge of Pergaus. They allow not their confederates to make mus, raised by an handfull of the Acheans. L. war without their leave obtained. The treason of Scipio the Consull comes into Asia, where An- Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more tiochus most earnestly destres peace, and is de- obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. niedit. The battell of Magnelia: wherein An- Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendtiochus being vanquished, yieldeth to the Ro- ship of the Acheans, and is withflood by Calmans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. licrates. The Romans discover their intent of

tique, as his brother was stiled, The Afri- thers. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate §. IX. The Etolians and Gallo-Greeks, honours him greatly, and contemns his enevanquished by the Roman Consuls Fulvius and mies the Rhodians with the causes thereof. Manlius. Manlius hardly obtains a Triumph: The unusual stoutness of the Macedonian Embeing charged ( among other Objections) with baffadours. Perseus his attempt upon Eumeattempting to have passed the bounds appointed nes, the brotherly love between Eumenes and as fatal to the Romans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Pro- Attalus. Perseus his device to porson some of phelics; the Books of Hermes; and that in- the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree Gription Simon Deo Sancto. The ingratitude War against kim, and send kim desiance, other things concerning the justice of this | Tempe. the Town of Dium quitted by Martius, repaired and fortified by the King. The Ro-S. VI. The Romans folicite the Greeks to mans attempt many places, with ill success. Mar-

joyn with them in the war against Perseus, tius a cunning and a bad man. How the Greeks flood affelded in that war. § VIII. of L. Emylius Paulus, the Con-The timerousness of Perseus. Martius a Roman sul. His journer. He forceth Perseus to discamp. Embassadour deludes him with the hope of peace. He will not hazzard battel with any disadvan-His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of tage. Of an Ecclipse of the Moon. Emylius his fu-Theffaly, The forces of Licinius the Roman persition. The battel of Pydna. Perseus his Consul; and what affiltance the Romans had flight. He for fakes his Kingdom; which haftily in this war. Of Tempe in Thessaly; and yields to Emylius. Perseus at Samothrace, what advantages the Macedonian had, or might He yields himself to the Roman Admiral; and have had, but lost by bis fear. Perseus braves is sens prifore to Emylius.

the Romans, fights with them, knows not how to

\$\frac{1}{2}\$. IX. Gentius King of the Illyrians, taken use his victory, sues for peace, and is denied it by the Romans. by the vanguished. Perseus having the worst in a §. X. How the Romans behaved themselves skirmish, forsakes all the Country lying without in Greece and Macedon, after their victory sarming, jorgages as the country tring intended to ever Perseus.

Tempe. The Buotians rebell against the Romans, and are visitoriously punissed. The Roman Commanders unsurfurante in the warabrought to end by the Roman Embalfiedors.

flattering Alabanders. extrem difficulty and danger enters into Tem- cius, and Octavius: With the conclusion of the pe. The Comardize of Perseus in abandoning Work.

gainst Perseus. They wex the Greeks their S.XII. How the Romans were dreadful un-friends; for whose ease the Senate makes pro- to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumevision, having heard their complaints. The nes, Prusias, Masanista, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children. The instability of S. VII. Q. Martius the Roman Conful, with Kingly Estates. The triumphs of Paulus, Ani-



#### THE PREFACE.

Ow unfit, and how unworthy a choice I have made of my self, to undertake a Work of this mixture; mine own reason, though exceeding weak, hath sufficiently resolved me. For had it been begotten then, with my first dawn of day, when the light of common knowledg began to open it self to my younger years, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted, that the darkness of Age and Death would have covered over both It and Me, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly, purposed (some sew sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned Island of Great Britain. I consess that it had better forted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travels, to have fet together (as I could) the unjointed and scattered frame of our English affairs, than of the Universal: in whom, had there been no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day it were enough: the day of a tempessuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost and soul-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured, with the desire to satisfy those few friends, which I have tried by the fire of Adversity; the former enforcing, the later persuading; have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my self the subject of every Opinion, wife or weak.

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others that were (Fortune changing) sped much better in any Age. For Prosperity and Adversity have evermore tyed and untyed vulgar affections. And as we see it in Experience, That Doggs do always bark at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude; who, wanting that Vertue which we call Honesly in all men, and that especial gift of GOD, which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence given: led thereunto by uncertain Report only; which His Majesty truly acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies. 3 c. 1. Blame no man (faith Siracides) before thou have enquired the matter: understand Exceles 1.7. first, and then reform righteously. Rumor, res sine Teste, sine Judice, maligna, fallax; Rumour is without Witness, without Judge, malicious, and deceivable. This vanity of vulgar Opinion it was, that gave S. Augustine Argument to affirm, That he feared the Ludari about

praise of good men, and detested that of the evil. And herein no man hath given a better Rule, and detested that of the evil. than this of Seneca; Conscientize satisfaciamus: nihil in samam laboremus, sequatur sen. de ira, 1.3. vel ". 22.

vel mala, dum bene mercaris; Let us fatisfie our own Confeiences, and not trouble our felves with fame; be it never so ill, it is to be despised, so we deserve well.

For my felf, if I have in any thing served my Countrey, and prized it before my private: the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair Sun-shine day to a Sea-man after Shipwrack; and the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempest after the Port attained. Iknow that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her whom I must still bonour in the dust; though further than the defence of Her excellent Person, I never persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judg of all the World, bath taken the accompt: so as for this kind of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that same, which hath been begotten for them; I can neither envy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine own mif-hap in that kind; but content my felf to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travel the World without a Paß-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internal forms of the mind, as there are external figures of men; there were then some possibility to persuade by the mouth of one

Advocate, even Equity alone.

But such is the multiplying, and extensive vertue of dead Earth, and of that breathgiving life which God hath east upon slime and dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and bear; and among those that are, whom we see and converse with; every one hath received a several Picture of face, and every one a divers Picture of mind; every one a form a-part, every one a fancy and cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth, as in dissimilitude. From whence it cometh, that there is found so great diversity of Opinions; so strong a contrarity of inclinations: so many natural and unnatural; wife, foolifb, manly, and childifb affections and passions in mortal men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of Plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the form internal.

And though it pleased God to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himself; yet, as the fruit tells the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so farr as their cogitations are acted) give us whereof to ghess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to express the one by the other, very near the life, did not craft in many, fear in the most, and the World's love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compass it bath, to qualifie and mask over their inward desormities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam serre sistam: cito in naturam fuam refidunt, quibus veritas non fubest: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour; the things that are forced for pretences, having no ground of truth, cannot long diffemble their own natures. Neither can any man (faith Plutarch) so change himself, but that his heart may be sometimes seen at his tongues end.

In this great discord,and dis-similitude of reasonable Creatures,if we direst our selves to the Multitude; Omnes honestæ rei malus Judex est vulgus: The common People are evil Judges of honest things, and whose Wisdom (faith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised: if to the better fort; every understanding bath a peculiar judgment, by which it both censureth other men, and valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seem strange though I find these my worthless Papers torn with Rats; seeing the slothfull Censurers of all Ages have not spared to tax the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambition; the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrifie; the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity; and those of the truest Valour and Fortitude, with Vain-glory. But of these natures, which lie in wait to find fault, and to turn good into evil, seeing Solomon complained long since; and that the very Age of wield failer the World renders it every day after other more malicious; I must leave the Professors to their guam represent

easie ways of reprehension, than which there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common and approved custom of those, who have left the memories of Time-past to after-Ages; to give, as near as I can, the fame right to History which they have done. Tet, seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it bath been honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledg, That it hath given us life in our understanding, since the World it felf had life and begining even to this day; yea, it hath triumphed over time, which, besides it. nothing but eternity hath triumphed over : for it hath carried our knowledg over the wast and devouring space of many thousands of years, and given so fair and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei sapiens opus. The wife work (faith Hermes) of a great God, as it was then, when but new to it felf. By it (I (ay) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed; how it was covered with waters, and again re-peopled; how Kings and Kingdoms have flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt we ow unto History that it bath made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors; and, out of the depth and darkness of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, we may gather out of History a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings. But it is neither of Examples the most lively instruction, nor the words of the wifest men, nor the terror of future torments, that bath yet so wrought in our blind and stupisted mindes, as to make us remember, That the Infinite Eye and Wisdom of God doth pierce thorow all our pretences, as to make us remember, That the Justice of God doth require none other accuser, than our own consciences; which neither the falle beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the Opinions of men) we put on; can in any or the least kind, cover from his knowledg. And so much did that heathen Wisdom confess, no way as yet qualified by the knowledg of a true God: If any (faith Euripides) having in his life committed wickedness, think he can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinks not well.

To repeat GOD'S Judgments in particular, upon those of all degrees, which have played with his Mercies, would require a Volume a-part: for the Sea of Examples hath no bottom. The marks, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the Earth; and their fortunes written onely in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeeded, and have not seen the fall of others, do not fear their own faults. GODS Judgments upon

the greater and greatest have been left to Posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost bath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acis and ends of Men mighty and remarkable in the World. Now, to point farr off, and to speak of the conversion of Angels into Devils, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawn the grass of the earth with Beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or, of that wife working of Pharaoh, when he slew the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or, of the policy of Jezabel, in covering the murther of Naboth by a trial of the Elders, according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeless proof, that far-off Examples would not be left to the same far-off Respects, as beretosore? For who hath not observed, what labour, practice, peril, bloud-shed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the World have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their Issues Masters of the World? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, no slower, grass, nor leaf, springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots and ruines do hardly remain. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta funt, vel manu hominum evertumtur, vel stando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is either overturned by the hand of man, or at length, by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their Opinions on second causes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (say the Politicians) by outward and forein force, or by inward negligence and diffention, or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk down under their own weight; of which Livie hath a touch: eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret fua: Others, That the divine Providence (which Cratippus objected to Pompey) hath set down the date and period of every Estate, before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my self a day over to resolve.

For feeing the first Books of the following Story, have undertaken the Discourse of the first Kings and Kingdoms: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Presace to travel after, and over-take far-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, and their Neighbour Princes; who having beheld, both in divine and humane letters, the success of infidelity, injustice, and cruelty; have (notwithstanding) planted after the same pattern.

True it is, that the judgments of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up alike with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most with that which most nearly seemeth to touch his own private; Or otherwise best suteth with his apprehension. But the judgments of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neither is be wearied by the long process of time, and won to give his blessing in one Age, to that which be bath curfed in another. Wherefore those that are wife, or whose wisdom, if it be not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discern the bitter fruits of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in Ages removed farr from the present, as in those of later times. And that it may no less appear by evident proof, than by affeveration, That ill doing bath always been attended with ill success; I will here, by way of Pre-

face, run over some examples, which the Work ensuing bath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman Race, we have no fooner paffed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Justice, upon the children of Henry the First. For that King, when by force, craft, and cruelty, he had dispossess, over-reach'd, and lastly made blind, and destroyed his elder Brother, Robert, Duke of Normandy, to make his own Sons Lords of the Land; GOD caft them all, Male and Female, Nephews and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottom of the Sea, with above an hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the Kings dearly beloved.

To pass over the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certain, that after the murther of that King, the issue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and slopping, did again break out, and that so often, and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine Race (very few excepted) died of the same disease. And although the young years of Edward the Third, made his knowledg of that horrible faci no more than suspicious; yet, in that he afterwards caused his own Uncle, the Earl of Kent, to die, for no other offence, than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earl as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be Treason in his Uncle, which was indeed Treason in himself, (bad his Uncles intelligence been true) this, I say, made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty, the secret and unsearchable Judgment of GOD, revenged on the Grandchild of Edward the Third; and so it fell out, even to the last of that Line, that in the second or third descent, they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had been tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the Second, who faw both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counsellors, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed hy his enemies; yet be always took himself for over-wife, to be taught by examples. The Earls of Huntington and Kent, Montagu and Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those days, as others have done in these; hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves by the murther of Gloucester; died soon after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent bands; and farr more (bamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King bimfelf (who, in regard of many deeds, unworthy of his Greatness, cannot be excused, as the disavowing bimself by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) He was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murthered by his Cousin-Germane and Vassal, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weak, and his obtaining the Crown trayterous; who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend only the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himself, and brake faith with all the Kingdom in Para liament, to whom he swore, that the deposed King should live. After he had enjoyed this Realm some few years, and in that time had been set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from Conspiracies and Rebellions: he saw (if Souls immortal see and discern any things after the Bodies Death ) his Grand-child Henry

the

the Sixth, and his Son the Prince, suddenly, and without mercy, murthered; the possession of the Crown (for which he had caused so much bloud to be poured out) transferred from bis Race, and by the Issues of his enemies worn and enjoy d; enemies, whom, by his own pra-Elice, he supposed that he had left no less powerless, than the succession of the Kingdom questionless, by entailing the same upon his own Issues by Parliament. And, out of doubt, humane reason could have judged no otherwise, but that these cautious provisions of the Father, seconded by the valour and signal victories of his Son Henry the Fifth, bad buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the despair of all re-conquest and recovery. I say, that humane reason might so have judged, were not this passage of Causabon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus fufficet, quæ Adamantinis credebantur radicious esse fundatæ; A day, an hour, a moment, is enough to overturn the things that from to have been founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now, for Henry the Sixth, upon whom the greatest storm of his Grand-father's grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard, the Grand-child of Edward; although be was generally esteemed for a gentle and innocent Prince, yet, as he resused the Daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Navarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in France) and married the Daughter of Anjou (by which he lost all that he had in France) so in condescending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of Gloucester, the main and strong Pillar of the House of Lancaster; He drew on himself and his Kingdom the greatest joint-loß and dishonour, that ever it sustained since the Norman Conquest. Of whom it may truly be said, which a Counsellor of his own spake of Henry the Third of France, Q'uil estoit une fort gentile Prince; mais son reigne est advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That he was a very gentle Prince; but his Reign happened in a very unfortunate Season.

It is true, that Buckingham and Suffolk were the practicers and contrivers of the Duke's death: Buckingham and Suffolk, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queen had been absolute; the Queen, in respect of her personal wound, spretæque injuria formæ, because Gloucester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the counsel. For after the cutting down of Gloucester, York grew up so fast, as he dared to dispute his Right, both by arguments and arms; in which quarrel, Suffolk and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were diffolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down York; yet his Son the Earl of March, following the plain path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the Son, both of their lives and Kingdom. And what was the end now of that politick Lady the Queen, other than this, That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers; that she lived to look on, while her Husband the King, and her onely Son the Prince, were hewen in funder; while the Crown was fet on his head that did it? She lived to see her self despoiled of her estate, and of her movables: and lastly, her Father, by rendring up the Crown of France, the Earldom of Provence, and other places, for the payment of 50000 crowns for her Ransome, to become a stark Beggar. And this was the end of that fubtilty, which Siracides calleth fine, but unrigh-

unrighteous: for other fruit bath it never yielded fince the World was. And now it came to Edward the Fourth's turn (though after many difficulties) to triumbb. For all the Plants of Lancaster were rooted up, one onely Earl of Richmond excepted; whom also be had once bought of the Duke of Britain, but could not hold him. And vet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it self stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld to allowed the flaughter which Gloucester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his own presence; of which tragical Actors, there was not one that escaped the Judgment of GOD in the same kind. And he, which (besides the execution of his Brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himself had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester mkill Henry the Sixth, his Predecessor; taught him also, by the same art, to kill his own Sons and Succeffors, Edward and Richard. For, those Kings which have fold the bloud of others at a low rate; have but made the Market for their own enemies, to

buy of theirs at the same price. To Edward the Fourth, succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischief of all that fore-went him; who, although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to perform in his own Perfon, than all the rest; yet be so well fitted every affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his own interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queen, and to all her Kinred, as he easily allured them to condescend, that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternal Uncle and half Brother, (bould (for the first) be severed from bim : Secondly, he wrought their consent to have them imprisoned : And lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their Heads severed from their Bodies. And baving now brought those his chief instruments to exercise that common Precept which the Sceleta Sceleta

Devil hath written upon every Post, namely, To depress those whom they had grieved, and to bus tuenda. destroy those whom they had depress d; He urged that Argument so farr, and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the young King himself, and of his Brother, could sashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckingham's head, That, whensoever the King or his Brother, should have able years to exercise their power, they would take a most severe revenge of that cureless wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother, Rivers and Grev. But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sons

was without suspect; and yet the Devil, who never disfuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But, when he found by Catesby, who sounded him, that he was not fordable, be first resolved to kill him sitting in Council; wherein having failed with his Sword, he let the Hanginan upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move bis appetite, he caused his head to be stricken off, before he eat his Dinner. A greater Judgment of God, than this upon Haltings, I have never observed in any Story. For, the self-same day that the Earl Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without trial of Law, or offence given) by Hastings advice executed at Pomfret; I say, Hastings himself, in the same day, and ( as I takeit) in the same hour, in the same lawless manner, had his Head struck off in the Tower of London. But Buckingham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent Oration perfuaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their King. And having received the Earldom down of Hereford for reward befides the hope of marrying his Daughter to the Kings onely Son: after many gricuous vexitions of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betraved and delivered up by his trustiest servant: he had his Head severed from his body at Salisbury. without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what success had Richard himself after all these mischievs and murthers, policies, and counter-policies to Christian Religion; and after such time as with a merciles hand be had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Natural Lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it took end, ere limself could well look over and discern it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud obtained at GOD'S hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour both to his friends and enemies.

This cruel King, Henry the Seventh cut off; and was therein ( no doubt ) the immediate instrument of Gods Justice. Apolitick Prince he was, if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wildom, beat down and overturned as many strong oppositions, both before and after be wore the Crown as ever King of England did; I say, by his wildom, because, as he ever left the reins of his affections in the hands of his profit, so he always weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the Eleventh, whom he followed in all was royal, or royal-like; but he was farr more just, and begun not their processes whom he

hated or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his servants, and therein exceeding wife; for whatfoever himfelf gave be himfelf received back the thanks and the love knowing it well that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great Kings, than great Subjects. On the contrary, in whatfoever he grieved his Subjects, he wifely put it off on those that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howseever, the taking off of Stanlies Head, who let the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earl of Warwick, Son to George Duke of Clarence, thems, as the success al'o did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancestors; for his possession in the first Line ended in his Grand-child, as that of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now, for King Henry the Eighth, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a merciles Prince were lost in the World, they might all again be painted to the life, out of the Story of this King, For, how many servants did he advance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined again; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others, of more defert, gave he abundant flowers from whence to gather Honey, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Hive? How many Wives did be cut off, and cast off, as his fancy and affection changed? How many Princes of the bloud (wherof some of them for age, could hardly crawl towards the block) with a world of others of all degrees ( of whom our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when he was at the point to give his accompt to GOD for the abundance of bloud already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolk the Father; and executed the Earl of Surry the Son; the one, whose deserving he knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, and the Kings service; the other never having committed any thing worthy of his least displeasure; the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrows which he heaped upon the Fatherleß

Fatherless and Widows, at home; and besides the vain enterprises abroad; wherein it is thought that he confumed more treasure, than all our victorious Kings did in their several Conquests; what caullels and cruel warrs did be make upon his own Nephew King James the Fifth? What Laws and Wills did he devise to establish this Kingdom in his own Issues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut down those Branches, which strang from the same root that himself did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions it bleased God to take away all his own, without increase; though, for themselves in their severalkinds. all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of Samuel to Agag King of the Amalekites, bave been verified upon many others: As thy Sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among other women. And that bloud which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold air of Scotland had frozen up in the North, God bath diffused by the Sun-shine of his grace; from whence his Majesty now living, and long to live, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if all the malice of the World were infused into one eye; yet could it not discern in his life, even to this day, any one of those foul frots, by which the consciences of all the fore-named Princes (in effect) have been defiled; nor any drop of that innocent bloud on the Sword of his Julice, with which the most that fore-went him have stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crown of England, it may truly be avowed; that he hath received it even from the Hand of God, and hath staied the time of putting it on bowfoever he were provoked to hasten it: That he never took revenue of any man that fought to put him befide it; That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long with as great glory as ever Princess did . That His Majesty entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary Gate, which his own right fet open; and into which, by a general love and chedience. He was received. And how soever His Majesty's preceding title to this Kingdom, was preferred by many Princes (witness the Treaty at Cambray in the year 1559.) yet he never pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor; no. notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heir, in all the time of her long Reign.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thank fulness to God for the uniting of the Northern parts of Britanny to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which, though they were severed, but by small brooks and banks, yet, by reason of the long continued it arr, and the cruelties exercised upon each other in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitely severed, This, I (ay, is not the least of God's blessings which His Majesty hath brought with him unto this Land; No, put all our petty grievances together, and heap them up to the height, they will appear as a Mole-Hill, compared with the Mountain of this concord. And if all the Historians since then have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose and the White, for the greatest happiness (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdom received from God, certainly, the peace between the two Lions of Gold and Gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our British Bloud, heretofore, and during the difference, so often and abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdom more enabled to recover her antient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, and conquests. It is true, that hereof we do not yet find the effect. But, had the Duke of Parma, in the year 1588. joined the Army which he commanded, with that of Spain, and landed it on the South-

coast; and had His Majesty at the same time declared himself against us in the North, it is easie to divine what had become of the Liberty of England; certainly, we would then, without murmure, have brought this Union a farr greater praise than it hath since cost us. It is true, that there was never any Common-weal, or Kingdom in the World, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the World, and not above it. They are not Instinite, to examine every man's cause, or to relieve every man's wants. And yet, in the later (though to his own prejudice) His Majesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his own Cossers. Of whom it may be said, as of Solomon, Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis; Which, if other men do not understand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledg; yet may it be better spoken of His Majesty, than of any live, but hat ever England had; who, as well in divine, as in humane understanding hath

exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees. I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, without flattery: did I not fear the imputation of presumption, and withall sisseet, that it might befall these Papers of mine (though the loß were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unskilfull and common Painters, which, by her own commandment were knock'd in pieces, and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the Beauty of the external; and weak Writers, in describing the Vertues of the internal; do often leave to Posterity, of well formed faces, a desormed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely minds, a most desective Representation. It may suffice, and there needs no other discourse; if the bonest Reader but compare the cruel and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom, for that purpole I have inferted this brief Discourse) with His Majelties temperat, revengeless, and liberal disposition; I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them justly, and with an even hand; and withall, but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so just a cause to complain, as the King himself hath. Now, as we have told the success of the trumperies, and cruelties of our own Kings, and other great Personages; so we find, that GOD is every where the same God. And, as it pleased him to punish the usurpation and unnatural cruelty of Henry the First and of our Third Edward, in their Children for many Generations: so dealt he with the Sons of Loys Debonaire, the Son of Charls the Great, or Charlemain. For after such time as Debonaire of France had torn out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the Son of Pepin, the eldest Son of Charlemaine, and Heir of the Empire, and then caused him to die in Prison, as did our Henry to Robert his elder Brother; there followed nothing but murthers upon murthers, poisoning, imprisonments, and civil Warr; till the whole Race of that famous Emperor was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himself of his Nephew by a violent death, and of his bastard Brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure guard all the days of their lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition; jet God raised up against him (which he suspected not ) his own Sons, to vex bin, to invade him, to take him prisoner, and to depose him; his own Sons, with whom ( to satisfie their ambition) be had shared his estate, and given them Crowns to wear, and Kingdoms to govern, during his own life. Tea, his eldest Son Lothaire (for he had four, three by his first Wife, and one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, that he had used violence toward his Brothers and Kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be slain. Eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem sup Possition is pre liberare poterat, interfici permiserit; Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slain, whom he might have delivered.

Tet did be that which few Kings do; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which be performed in the General Affembly of the States, it follows: Post hac autem palam se errasse consessions, & imitatus Imperatoris Theodosii exem-polim, penitentiam spontaneam suscept, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat: After this, he did openly consess himself to have erred, and following the Example of the Emperor Theodosius, he underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his own Nephew.

This he did, and it was praife-worthy. But the bloud that is unjustly spilt, is not again gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Medicines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

The King, as I have faid, had four Sons. To Lothaire his eldest, he gave the Kingdom of Italy, as Charlemaine his Father had done to Pepin, the Eather of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin, the second Son, he gave the Kingdom of Aquitaine; to Loys, the Kingdom of Bavier; and to Charls, whom he had by a second Wife, called Judith, the remainder of the Kingdom of France. But his second Wife, being a mother-in-law to the rest, persuaded Debonaire, to cash his Son Pepin out of Aquitaine; thereby so greaten Charls, which, after the death of his Son Pepin, he prosecuted to effect againsh his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his Son Loys of Bavier, he dies for grief.

Debonaire dead, Loys of Bavier, and Charles afterward, called the Bald, and their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, join in league against the Emperor Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight near to Auxerre, the most bloudy battel that ever was strucken in France; in which, the marvellous loss of Nobility, and men of Warr, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italy; to the Hunns to fall upon Almaine; and the Danes to enter upon Normandy. Charles the Bald by Treason seizeth upon his Nephew Pepin, kills him in a Cloyster; Carloman rebels against his Father, Charles the bald, the Father burns out the eys of his Son Carloman; Bavier invades the Emperor Lothaire, his Brother, Lothaire guits the Empire, he is affailed and wounded to the heart by his own conscience, for his Rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. Charls the bald the Uncle, oppresset his Nephews, the Sons of Lothaire, he usurpeth the Empire, to the prejudice of Loys of Bavier, his elder Brother; Bavier's Armies, and his Son Carloman, are beaten, he dies of grief, and the Usurper Charles is poisoned by Zedechias a Jew, his Physician, his Son Loys le Beque dies of the same drink. Beque had Charles the fimple, and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebel against their Brother, but the eldest breaks his neck, the younger is slain by a wild Boar; the Son of Bavier had the same ill destiny, and brake his neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions.

Charls the grois becomes Lord of all that the Sons of Debonaire held in Germany; wherewith not contented, he invades Charles the fimple; but being for faken of his Nobility, of his Wife, and of his Understanding; he dies a distracted Beggar. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes, Major of the Palace, then by Robert, the Brother of Eudes; and lastly, being taken by the Earl of Vermandois, he is forced to die in the prison of Peron. Loys the Son of Charles the simple breaks his neck in chasing a Wolf; and of the two Sons of this Loys, the one dies of poison, the other dies in the Prison of Orleans; after whom, Hugh Capet, of another Race, and a stranger to the French, makes hinself King.

These miserable ends had the Issues of Debonaire; who after he had once apparelled Injustice with authority, his Sons and Successors took up the fashion,, and wore that Garment so long without other provision, as when the same was torn from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable and naked Beggars. The wretched success they had (saith a Learned French-man) shews, Que en ceste mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice: That in the death of that Prince; to wit, of Bernard the Son of Pepin, the true Heir of Charlemain, men had more meddling than God or Justice had.

But to come nearer home; it is certain that Francis the First, one of the Worthiest Kings (except for that Fact) that ever the French-men had, did never enjoy himself, after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandol, and Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Provence, which poor people were thereupon burnt and murthered; men, women, and children. It is true that the said King Francis repented himself of the sact, and gave charge to Henry his Son, to do Justice upon the murtherers, threatning his Son with GODS Judgments, if he neglected it. But this unseafonable care of his, God was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry was slain in sport by Montgomery, we all may remember what became of his sour Sons, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which, although three of them became Kings, and were maried to beautiful and vertious Ladies; yet were they, one after another, cast out of the World, without Stock or Seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially, and breach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially, and breach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially and preach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially and preach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially and preach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially and preach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially and preach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion, and great essentially and preach of Faith; with all their Massacres upon those of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of the Religion of

Let us now fee if God be not the fame God in Spain as in England and France. Towards whom we will look no further back than to Don Pedro of Castile,; in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the Third, and the great Evan Vasilowick of Moscovia, were but petty ones: this Castilian, of all the Christian and Heathen Kings, having been the most merciles. For besides those of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he had caused to be slain in his own Court and Chamber, as Sancho. Ruis; the great Masser of Calatrava, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom he cut in pieces, and cast into the streets, denying him Christian burial: I say, besides the sexual the slaughter of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile; he made away the two Insants of Arragon his Cousin-Germans, his Brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere his great Treasurer, and all

bis Kinred; and a world of others. Neither did be spare his two youngest Brothers, innocent Princes, whom after he had kept in close Prison from their Cradles, till one of them had lived sixteen years, and the other fourteen; he murthered them there. Nay, he spared not his Mother, nor his Wise the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Arch-hisspop of Toledo, and the Dean to be killed, of purpose to enjoy their Treasures; so did he put to death Mahomet Aben Alhamar, King of Barbary, with thirty seven of his Nobility, that came with so with a great summ of Money, to levy (by his savour) some Companies of Souldiers to return withall. Yea, he would needs assist the Hangman with his own hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdan, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the samous Duke of Lancaster; He was stabbed to death by his younger Brother, the Earl of Altramara, who dispossified all his Children of their Inheritance, which, but for their Fathers injustice and cruelty, had never been in danger of any such thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke John of Burgoign, who, aster his trayterous murther of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earl of gran Pre, Hector of Chartes, and (in effect) all the Officers of Justice of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasury, Requests (with sixteen others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slain. Hereby, while he hoped to govern, and to have mastered France; He was soon after strucken with an Axin the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misseeds, presently slain. These were the lovers of other mens miseries; and miseries found them out.

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Now, for the Kings of Spain, which lived both with Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon, was the first, and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatness. For this King did not content himself to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; and to sasten thereunto the Kingdom of Castile and Leon, which Isabel his Wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her own Neece, the Daughter of the last Henry; but most cruelly and crastily, without all colour or pretence of right, he also cast his own Neece out of the Kingdom of Navarre; and, contrary to Faith, and the Promise he made to restore it, fortisted the hest places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any Army to invade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick, Kings of Naples, Princes of his own Bloud, and by double alliance tied unto him; sold them to the French; and with the same Army, sent for their succur under Gonsalvo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdom with the French, whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politick King, who fold Heaven and his own Honour, to make his Son the Prince of Spain, the greatest Monarch of the World; saw him die in the slower of his years; and his Wife great with child, with her untimely birth, at once and together buried. His eldest Daughter married unto Don Alphonso Prince of Portugal, beheld her sirst Husband break his neck in her presence; and being with child by her second, died with it. A just Judgment of God upon the Race of Alphonso, now wholly extinguished; who had not onely left

many disconsolate Mothers in Portugal, by the slaughter of their children; but had sormerly slain with his own hand, the Son and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutches of Visco. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned fool, and died mad, and deprived. His third Daughter, bestowed on King Henry the Eighth, be faw cast off by the King; the Mother of many troubles in England; and the Mother of a Daughter, that in her unhappy zeal, shed a world of innocent bloud; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdoms of Ferdinand have masters of a new name; and by a strange Family are governed and possess'd.

Charls the Fifth, Son to the Arch Duke Philip, in whose wain enterprises upon the French, upon the Almans and other Princes and States; so many multitudes of Christian Souldiers, and renowned Captains were consumed; who gave the while a most perillous enrance to the Turks, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chased out of France, and, in a sort, out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, flole away from Infpurg; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, persued by Duke Maurice; having hoped to swallow up all those Dominions; wherein he concocted nothing, save his own disgraces. submit 1.1. And having after the flaughter of fo many Millions of men, no one foot of ground in either, He crept into a Cloyster, and made himself a Pensioner of an bundred thousand Duckets by the year, to bis Son Philip, from whom he very flowly received his mean and ordinary maintenance.

His Son again, King Philip the Second, not fatisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, (wrested by his Ancestors from Jaqueline, their lawfull Princess) and to possess in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands ; persuaded by that mischievous Cardinal of Granvile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperor, by the Nobility of those Countreys, not onely forgot the Present made bin upon his entry of fourty Millions of Florens, called the Novaile aid; nor onely forgot that he had twice most solemnly sworn to the General States, to maintain and preserve their antient Rights, Privileges, and Customs, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him, Conditional Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constrain them, and enthral them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intollerable Impositions, be lastly, by strong hand and main force, attempted to make himself not only an absolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraigns of England and France; but Turk-like, to tread under his feet all their Natural and Fundamental Laws, Privileges, and antient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtain from the Pope a dispensation of his former Oaths (which Dispensation was the true cause of the Warr and Bloudshed since then ;) and after he had tried what he could perform, by dividing of their own Nobility, under the Government of his base Sister, Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinal Granvile; He employed that most merciles Spaniard, Don Ferdinand Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, followed with a powerful Army of strange Nations; by whom he first slaughtered that renowned Captain, the Earl of Egmont, Prince of Gavare; and Philip Montmorency Earl of Horn; made away Montigue, and the Marques of Bergues, and cut off in those six years (that Alva Governed) of Gentlemen

and others, eighteen thousand and six hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murthers and massacres. By whose ministery, when he could not yet bring his affairs to their wished ends, having it in his hope to work that by subtilty which he had failed to perform by force, He sent for Governour, bis bastard Brother, Don John of Austria: a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to those people. But he, using the same Papal advantage that his Predecesfors had done, make no scruple to take Oath upon the holy Evanoelists. to observe the Treaty made with the General States; and to discharge the Low-Countreys of all Spaniards, and other strangers therein garrisoned; Towards whose Pay and Pasport, the Netherlands strained themselves to mak a payment of 600000. pounds. Which Moneys received, he suddenly surprised the Citadels of Antwerp and Nemures, not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to have possessed himself of all the mastering places of those Proninces. For what soever he overtly pretended, he held in secret a contrary counsel with the Secretary Escovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish Tyranny formerly practifed, and now again intended. But let us now fee the effect and end of this perjury, and of all other the Duke's cruelties. First, for himself; after he had murthered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six years, and most cruelly slain Man, Woman, and Child in Mecklin, Zutphen, Narden, and other places; and after he had confumed six and thirty Millions of treasure in six years, notwithstanding his Spanish vaunt, That he would sufficate the Holanders in their own Butterbarrels, and Milk-tubs; He departed the Countrey no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation; leaving His Majesties Assairs in a ten-fold worse estate than be found them at his first arrival. For Don John, whose haughty conceit of himfelf overcame the greatest difficulties; though his judgment were over-weak to mannage the least: What wonders did his fearful breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his Brothers jealousie and distrust, with the untimely death that seized on him, even in the flower of his youth? And for Escovedo his sharp-witted Secretary, who in his own imagination had conquered for bis Master, both England and the Netherlands; being sent into Spain upon some new project, he was at the first arrival, and before any access to the King, by certain Ruffians, appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murthered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spain's carriage, his counsel and success in this business, there is nothing left to the memory of Man more remarkable. For he bath paid above an hundred Millions, and the lives of above four hundred thousand Chrislians, for the loss of all those Countreys, which, for beauty, gave place to none; and for revenue, did equal his West-Indies; for the loss of a Nation which most willingly obeyed bim; and who, at this day, after fourty years Warr, are, in despight of all his forces, become a free Estate, and farr more rich and powerfull than they were, when he first began to impoverish and oppress them.

Oh! by what plots, by what for-swearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poisonings, and under what reasons of State, and politick subtilty, have these fore-named Kings, both strangers, and of our own Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end, have brought those things to pass for their enemies, and seen an effect so directly contrary to all their own counsels

and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever been made. GOD hath said it, and performed it ever. Perdam sapientiam sapientum; I will destroy the wisdom of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end do we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead; seeing the world is the same that it hath been; and the children of the present time, will still obey their Parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the World are exercised. To hold the times we have, we hold all things lawfull; and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at least we hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For, as we are content to forget our own experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our own knowledg, in all things that concern our selves; or persuade our selves, that GOD hath given us Letters Patents to persue all our irreligious affections, with a Non obstante : so we neither look behind us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: we are by it joined to the earth; we are compounded of earth; and we inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farr off, and unfearchable; we have sense and feeling of corporal things; and of eternal grace, but by revelation. No marvel then that our thoughts are also earthly; and it is less to be wondred at, that the words of worthles men cannot cleanse them; seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabit, have not performed it. For, as the Prophet Efay cried out long agone, Lord, who hath believed our reports? And out of doubt. as Esay complained then for himself and others: so are they less believed, every day after other. For, although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in every man's mouth, yea, in the discourse of every woman, who, for the greatest number are but Idols of Vanity; what is it other than an universal dissimulation? We profess that we know GOD, but by works we deny him. For Beatitude doth not confift in the knowledg of divine things, but in a divine life: for the Devils know them better than men. Beatitudo non est divinorum cognitio, fed vita divina. And certainly, there is nothing more to be admired, and more to be lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personal hatred, and the perpetual warr, massacres, and murthers, for Religion among Christians; the discourse whereof bath so occupied the World, as it bath well near driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soon resolve, that took knowledg but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heaven; and that the World it self were but used as it ought, and as an Inne. or place wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our Celestial habitation? when on the contrary, besides the Discourse and outward prosession, the Soul hath nothing but hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comadians in Religion; and while we act in gesture and voice, divine vertues, in all the course of our lives, we renounce our Persons, and the parts we play For Charity, Justice, and Truth, have but their being in tearms, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisdom, which Solomon defineth to be the School-Mistress of the Knowledg of God, that hath valuation in the World; it is enough that we give it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtain bonour, with the many respects.

which attend it. These indeed be the marks, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our own; the care our own in this life, the peril our own in the future; and yet, when we have gathered the greatest abundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the reft, He that had the greatest wisdom, and the greatest ability, that ever man bad, bath told us, that this is the use: When goods increase ( saith Solomon) they also records it increase that eat them; and what good cometh to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that devour the rest, and sollow us in fair weather; they again for lake us in the first tempest of missortune, and steer away before the Sea and Wind: leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these among a thousand Examples, I will take but one out of Master Dannet, and wse his own words: Whilest the Emperor Charles the Fifth, after the refignation of his estates, stayed at Uloshing for Wind, to carry him his last journey into Spain; He conferred on a time with Seldius, his Brother Ferdinand's Embaffador, till the deep of the night. And when Seldius should depart; the Emperor calling for some of his fervants, and no body answering him, (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the restassep) the Emperor took up the Candle himself, and went before Seldius, to light him down the Stairs; and fo did, notwithstanding all the refistance that Seldius could make. And when he was come to the Stairs foot, he faid thus unto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperor, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast known in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of Souldiers, thou haft also seen alone, abandoned, and for laken, yea, even of his own fervants, &c. I acknowledg this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no means go about to withfland.

But you will say, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the sorner. The first is, the reverend respect that is held of Great Men, and the Honour done unto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their Justice and Piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which, what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Herd of Animals, who, without the knowledg of any true cause, please themselves with the noise they make? For, seeing it is a thing exceeding rare to distinguish Virtue and Fortune; the most impious (if prosserous) have ever been applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever been deshied. For, as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune her self rides the Man. Who, when he is descended, and on soot; the Man taken from his Deast, and Fortune from the Man; a base Groom beats the one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other, with equal liberty.

The second is, the greatning of our Posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behind us. Certainly, of those which conceive that their Souls departed take any comfort therein, it may truly be said of them, which Lactantius spake of certain Heathen Philosophers; Quod sapientes sunt in restulta. For, when our spirits immortal shall be once separate from our mortal bodies, and disposed by GOD; there remaineth in them no other joy of their Posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleeped in the Wall of a King's Palace, nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than there doth of

Paul to Titus

The Preface.

S. A. R. var spane in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interfunt; The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their own children; for the Souls of those departed, are not conversant with their affairs Too 14 21. that remain. And if we doubt of Saint Augustine, we cannot of Job; swho tells us, That we know not if our Sons shall be honourable; neither shall we understand concerning them, whether they shall be of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth; Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himself in vain ; he heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The living (faith be) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all; for, who can flew unto man, what shall be after him under the Sun? He therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and travel in the World; not knowing after death, whether a fool or a wife man should enjoy the fruits thereof; which made me (faith he) endeavour even to abhorr mine own labour. And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death, God bath reserved? Mans knowledg bying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet Esay con-Eff. 6; 14. feffeth of the Elect, That Abraham is ignorant of us, and Ifrael knows us not. But hereof we are assured, that the long and dark night of death of whose following day we shall never behold the dawn till his return that bath triumphed over it) shall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall again receive Organs glorified, and incorruptible, the seats of Angelical affections; in so great admiration shall the Souls of the bleffed be exercifed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or less joy; nor any return of forgone and mortal affection towards Friends, Kinred, or Children. Of whom, whether we shall retain any particular knowledg, or in any sort distinguish them, no man can affure us; and the wifest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retain any of those faculties, which the Soul exercised in a mortal body; we shall not at that time so divide the joys of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their estates greater than ever the World gave, we shall (by the difference known unto us) even detest their consideration. And whatsoever comfort shall remain of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that Piety, Justice, and firm Faith, for which it pleased the Institute Mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall we therefore value bonour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unnecessary and vain? Certainly, no. For that Infinite Wifdom of God, which bath diftinguished his Angels by degrees; which bath given greater and less light and beauty to beavenly bodies; which bath made differences between Beasts and Birds; created the Eagle, and the Flie, the Cedar, and the Shrub; and among Stones, given the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and quickest light to the Diamond; bath also ordained Kings, Dukes, or Leaders of the people; Magistrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And, as Honour is left to Posterity, for a mark and ensign of the vertue and understanding of their Ancestors; so (seeing Siracides preserved Death before Beggary; and, that Titles, without proportionable estates, fall under the miserable succour of other mens pity) I account it foolishness to condemn such a care; Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our own buildings

out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato doth first preferr the perfection of bodily health; second-pendetes 1.2 ly, the form and beauty; and thirdly, Divitias nulla fraude quæfitas : fo Jeremy cries, Wo unto them that erect their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers without Jen. 22. 13. equity; And Esay the same, Wo to those that spoil, and were not spoiled. And it was 65333 out of the true wisdom of Solomon, that he commandeth us, not to drink the Wine of vio- Prop. 13, 152, lence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to swallow them up alive, whose riches we 3, 8, 0 23. covet; for such are the ways ( saith be) of every one that is greedy of gain.

And, if we could afford our selves but so much leisure, as to consider, That he which bath most in this world, bath in respect of the world, nothing in it; and that he which hath the longest time lent him to live in it, bath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever; I fay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the World, and our time in the World. differ not much from that which is nothing, it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prise the one, which hath (in effect) no being; and so much neglect the other, which bath no ending; covering those mortal things of the World, as if our Souls were therein immortal, and neglecting those things which are immortal, as if our selves, after the World. were but mortal.

But let every man value his own wisdom, as he pleaseth. Let the rich man think all fools, that cannot equal his abundance; the Revenger efteem all negligent, that have not troden down their opposites; the Politician all groß, that cannot Merchandize their faith: Tet, when we once come in fight of the Port of death, to which all winds drive us, and when, by letting fall that fatal Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the navigation of this life takes end; Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad and severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) return again, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleasing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty to others; and it is onely then, that we are strucken through the Soul with this terrible Sentence, That God will not be mocked. Gal. 6. 71 For if, according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be faved: and that God spared , Fa 4. not his Angels; where shall those appear, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandments of the All-powerfull God were given but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presset us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is sufficient? O quam multi, saith a reverend Father, cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt! I confest, that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it said, That we ended well; for we all desire ( as Balaam did ) to die the death of the righteous. But, what shall we call a dis-esteeming, an opposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God; if those men do not oppose him, dis-esteem him, and mock him, that think it enough for God, to ask him forgiveness at leisure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For, what do they otherwise, that die this kind of well-dying, but say unto God, as followeth? We befeech thee, O God, that all the fallhoods, for swearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leisure to do any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God;

that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions, call ambition wisdom, and charity sociishness. For I shall prejudice my Son (which I am resolved not to do) if I make restitution; and confels m felf to have been unjust (which I am too proud to do) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly these wise worldlings have either found out a new God, or made One; and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the Eleventh ware in his Cap; which, when he had caused and that he feared or hated to be killed, be would take it from his head, and kill it; befeeching it to pardon him this one evil all more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a Cardinal, and a fallified Sacrament, he caused the Earl of Armagnac to be flabbed to death; mockeries indeed, fit to be used towards a Leaden, but not towards the Everliving GOD. But of this composition are all devout lovers of the World. that they fear all that is dureless and ridiculous; they fear the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings; they fear the Opinions of men, which beat but upon shadows: they flatter and for fake the prosperous and unprosperous, be they Friends or Kings; yea, the dive under water, like Ducks, at every pebble-stone, that is but thrown towards them by a powerful hand; and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour against the terrible judgments of the All-powerfull God; yea, they shew themselves Gods against God, and Slaves towards men; towards men, whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now, for the rest; If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poor and oppressed, whom we accompt wretched: we shall find the hapiness of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to enterchange (witness the sudden downfall of the exertel Princes, and the speediest uprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certain, whereof to boast; nor the other so uncertain, whereof to bewail it self. For, there is no man fo affured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of either, or all, the very next hour, or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum eft; What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain. And yet ye cannot tell (faith S. James) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set up, and to morrow he shall not be found; for he is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the air which compasseth adversity, be very obscure; yet therein we better discern God, than in that shining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneß thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let adversity seem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens missortunes; and to those under the cross, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very inflant, the portions remaining are equal to either. For, be it that we have lived many years, and (according to Solomon) in them all we have rejoyced; or be it that we have measured the same length of days, and therein have evermore sorrowed; yet, looking back from our present being, we find both the one and the other; to wit, the joy and wo, sailed out of fight; and death, which doth perfue us, and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet; Whatsoever of our age is past death holds it. So, as whosoever he be, to whom Fortune hath been a servant, and the Time a friend; let him but take the accompt of his memory ( for we have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what he hath reserved, either of Beauty and Touth,

or fore-sone delights; what it bath faved, that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and he shall find that all the Art which his elder years have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heavy, secret, and sad sights. He shall find nothing remaining, but those forrows, which grow up after our fast-springing youth, over-take it, when it is at a stand; and over-top it utterly, when it begins to wither; in so much as looking backfrom the very instant time, and from our now being, the poor, diseased, and captive creature, hath as little sense of all his sormer miscries and pains, as he, that is most bless d in common Opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasure and delights. For whatsoever is cast behind us, is just nothing; and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ eventura sunt, in incerto jacent. Onely those sew black Swans I must except; who, having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their own price; do, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well-acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without fear, and embrace both, as necessary guides to endless glory.

For my felf, this is my confolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the forrows of this life are but of two forts; whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other to the World. In the first, we complain to GOD against our selves, for our offences against him; and confess. Et tu justus es in omnibus que venerunt super nos: And thou, O Lord, art just in all that hath befallen us. In the second, we complain to our selves against GJD; as if he had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites; or for taking them from us having had them; forgetting that bumble and just acknowledgment of Job, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken. To the first of which, S. Paul hath promised bleffedness; to the second, death. And out of doubt, he is either a fool, or ingrateful to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, low mean soever his estate be, that the same is yet farr greater, than that which God oveth him; or doth not aknowledg, how sharp soever his afflictions be, that the same are yet farr less, than those which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wise man call the adversities of the World but tributa vivendi; the tributes of living: a wife Christian man ought to know them, and bear them as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and resolvedly, and not as those whining Souldiers do, Qui gementes sequentur Imperatorem. For seeing God, who is the Author of all our Tragedies, hath written out for us,

For feeing God, who is the Author of all our Iragedies, hath written out for us, and appointed us all the parts we are to play; and hath not, in their distribution, been partial to the most mighty Princes of the World; That gave unto Davius the part of the greatest Emperor, and the part of the most migrable Beggar; a Beggar, begging Water of an Enemy to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Seignior of the Turks in the morning, and in the same day, the Foottool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had also played, being taken by Sapores) that made Bellisarius play the most victorious Captain, and lastly, the part of a blind Beggar; of which, examples of many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least Worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly, there is no other accompt to be made of this ridiculous World, than to resolve, That the change of Fortune on the great Theatre, is but as the change of Garments on the less. For, when on the one and the other, every man

wears but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now, if any man out of weakness prise the passages of this world otherwise (for, Saith Petrarch, Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasse of ours, which forgeth in the brains of Man all the miseries (the corporal excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is, that Misfortune and Adversity work all that they work. For, seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, what soever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a foolish madness in the Shipwrack of worldly things, where all finks but the Sorrow, to save it. That were, as Seneca saith, Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato; To fall under Fortune, of all other, the most miserable destiny.

But it is now time to found a retreat, and to defire to be excused of this long persuit; and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved me to draw the Picture of time past (which we call History) in so large a Table, may also be accepted in place of a better

The examples of divine Providence, every where found (the first divine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) have persuaded me to setch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For, though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so near, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implies the other; Creation inferring Providence (for what father for faketh the child that he hath begotten?) and Providence presupposing Creation; Tet many of those that have seemed to exact in worldly wisdom, have gone about to dis-join this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the World had a beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now, although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for, by Faith, we understand that the World was made by the Word of God) be too neighty a work for Aristotle's rotten ground to bear up, upon which be hath (notwithstanding) founded the Desences and Fortresses of all his Verbal Dostrine; yet that the necessity of Instinite power, and the World's beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary, even in the judgment of Natural reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no less strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledg (seeing Aristotle bath failed in this main point; and taught little other than tearms in the rest) have so retrench'd their minds from the following and overtaking of Truth, and so absolutely subjected themseves to the law of those Philosophical Principles; as all contrary kind of teaching, in the fearch of causes, they have condemned, either for phantastical, or curious. But doth it follow, that the Positions of Heathen Philosophers are undoubtedly Grounds and Principles indeed, because so called? Or, that ipfi dixerunt, doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong against it felf, as the same reason can bardly assail it, much less batter it down: the same in every question of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamental Law of bumane knowledg. For, faith Charron, in bis Book of Wisdom, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite quel'autre, si la raison n'on fait la difference; Every humane proposition hath equal authority, if reason make not a difference: the rest, being but the Fables of Principles. But hereof, how shall the upright and impartial judg-

ment of man give a Sentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And, to this purpose, it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam fibi adimunt, qui fine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducumtur; They neglect their own wildom, who without any judgment approve the invention of those that fore-went them; and suffer themselves, after the manner of Bealts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which sloth and dulness, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant, as it bath set true Philosophy, Physick and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the first, Contra negantem principia; over the second, Virtus specifica; and over the third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my self, I shall never be persuaded, that God bath shut up all the light of Learning within the Lamborn of Aristotle's brains; or, that it was ever said unto him, as unto Esdras, Accendam in corde tuo Lucernam intellectus; That God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottom thereof: the same Nature having consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to afterages. That these, and these, be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught us; and not Reason; and so bath Experience without Art. The Cheef-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Rennet doth coagulate her Milk into a Curd. But, if we ask a reafon of this cause, why the sowreness doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in oulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this, and many other like vulgar questions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grass under his feet, why it should be green rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet discover the way and reason of Nature's working, in those which are farr less noble Creatures than himself; who is farr more noble than the Heavens themselves: Man (faith Solomon) that can hardly discern the things that are upon the upa. t. 9. Earth, and with great labour find out the things that are before us; that bath so short a time in the World, as he no fooner begins to learn, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledg; in his understanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his own Soul, and which the wifest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be he) could never so much as define, but by the Action and Effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elfe doth know, but GOD that created it ( For though I were perfect, yet I know not my Soul, faith Job.) Man, I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his own life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the felt of World; of GOD, who (faith Job) is so excellent as we know him not; and examine the beginning of the work, which had end before Mankind had a beginning of being. He will disable God's power to make a World, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the Motes of the Air for a cause; cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of Form; and lastly, for want of a work-man, have it Eternal; which latter Opinion Aristotle, to make himself the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World; and bis Sectators have maintained it; Parati ac conjurati, quos sequuntur Philosophiorumanimis invictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or foon after Moles.

Latt. 5

all the Rivers in the World, though they have divers rifings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a while under ground, and seen to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; do at lass find, and fall into, the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacity bath; and after all Philosophical contemplation and ceriosity, in the necessity of this Infinite power, all the reason of Man ends and dissolves it self. As for others: and first touching those which conceive the matter of the World to have

been eternal, and, that God did not create the World, ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistence: the Sun Stion is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi vi reas qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere; They feem unsufficiences to me, which affirm this, to give part of the work to God, and part to Fortune; in fo much ast, God had not found this first matter by chance, He had never been Author,

nor Poster, nor Costor, nor Lord of the Universal. For were the Matter or Chaos eternal; it then follows, The either this supposed Matter did fit it self to God, or God accommodate bimself to the matter. For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans Will. For the second; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer be applied himself, according to the proportion of matter which he lighted upon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter bath been made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wife; I wood gladly learn how it came to paß, that the fame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent, and infinitely wife; and no more, nor no lefs, than ferved to receive the form of the Universal. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to finish the work of the World: Or, had there been more of this matter than sufficed, then God did dissolve and annibilate whatsoever remained and was superstuous. And this must every reasonable Soul confess, That it is the same work of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same Art and Power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternal matter, he again changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Again, to say that this matter was the cause of it self; this, of all other, were the greatest Idiotism. For, if it were the cause of it self at any time; then there was also a time when it self was not; at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it felf, nor any thing elfe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is The Preface.

into lible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit, neque seipsum componit corpus; There is nothing that doth precede it felf, neither do bodies compound themselves. For the rest. Those that feign this matter to be eternal, must of necessity confess, that Infinite cannot be separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite form; but that the first matter was finite, the form which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part, whosoever will make choice, rather to believe in eternal deformity, or in eternal dead matter, than in eternal light, and eternal life; let eternal death be bis reward. For, it is a madness of that kind, as wanteth terms to express it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption bath not stupisted) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow; quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) bath any thing wanting in it felf either for matter or form; yea, for as many worlds (if such had been Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation than the workman's will. Yea, Reason it self finds it more easie for Infinite power, to deliver from it self a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a fool and dust, to change the form of matter made to his hands. They are Dionifius his words; Dous in una canto 22. existentia omnia præhabet; and again, Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod

vides, & quod non vides; towit, causaliter, or in better terms, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis. Neither bath the World Universal closed up all of GOD: For the most part of his works (faith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his Wildom be opened by the glorious work of the World; which never brought to knowledg all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes, That we feldom entitle G O D The All-shewing; or The All-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able. But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing, nothing is made,

inferr the Worlds eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternal being to dead matter: It is true, if the word [ Nothing 7 be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed upon Natural Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor, Aristotle himself confesseth, Quod omnes Antiqui decreverunt quafi quoddam rerum principium, ipfumque infinitum: That all the Antient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite; and a little after, more largely, and plainly, Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omni complecti ac regere : it is strange, that this Philosopher, : 9 ex str st. with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out 2001. 1. 200 of truth, to resolve truly. For, if we compare the World Universal, and all the unmeasureable Orbs of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Starrs, with ipsum Infinitum, it may truly be faid of them all, which himself affirms of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum; and therefore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnen proportionem) is no wonder in Gods power. And therefore, Anaximander, Melissus, and

Empedocles, call the World Universal, but, particulam Universitatis & infinitatis; a parcel of that which is the Universality, and the Infinity it self: And Plato, but a shadow

of God. But the other, to prove the World's eternity, urgeth this Maxime. That, A fufncient and effectual cause being granted an answerable effect thereof is also granted. Inferring, that God being for ever a sufficient and effectual cause of the World, the effect of the cause should also have been for ever; to wit, the World universal. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confess a sufficient and effectual cause of the World (to wit, an Almighty God) in his Antecedent; and the same God to be a God restrained in his Conclusion; to make God free in power, and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine: able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but work, matter being present: As Fire, to burn things combustible. Again, be thus disputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward work, it is either thereto moved by it felf, or by somewhat else: and so it passets from power to act: But God (saith he) is immovable, and is neither moved by bimself, nor by any other; but being always the same, doth always work. Whence he concludeth. If the World were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof; and there-Mer. Fidh. de opus, vita æquali est Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus mediale.c.i. autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam ab opisice ex parte

fore eternal. The answer to this is very easie; For that God's performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to perform, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conflancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the World for ever, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it self sufficient, others add further, that the Pattern or Image of the World may be faid to be eternal; which the Platonicks call Spiritualem mundum; and do in this fort distinguish the Idea and Creation in time. Spiritualis est mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei una, quia non fuit semper; retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus: That reprefentative, or the intentional word ( fay they ) the famplar of this visible world, the first work of GOD, was equally antient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him and ever shall be. This material world, the second work or creature of GOD, doth differ from the Worker in this; that it was not from everlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come; The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confest: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the confummation of this world, there shall be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue; though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this consideration, of an eternal and unchangeable cause producing a changeable and temporal effect; Touching which point, Proclus the Platonist disputeth, That the compounded Essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore distinable) is continued, and knit to the Divine Being, by an individual and inseparable power, flowing from Divine unity; and that the World's natural appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good and understanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued and knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World ( (aith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the tempo-

11 Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little; even as the whole material World is not altogether; but the abolified parts are departed by finall degrees, and the harts vet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a River, Geneth to have continued the same a long time in the Water, but it is perpetually renewed in the continual ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to return to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deno that ever it shall have any end, and to this purpose affirm, That it was never heard, never read never seen, no, not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corrubtion; or that they appear any way the older by continuance; or in any fort otherwise than they were; which had they been subject to final corruption, some change would have been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newness, and that they have not continued so long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive answer by conjectures; it and the second of the sec then seemeth, that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Pliny, Strabo, Beda, seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to refer the seed to see the seed t Aguinas, and others, were großly mislaken; or else those parts of the World, lying within tem. 11.231. the burnt Zone were not in elder times babitable, by reason of the Sun's heat, neither were the and the Seas under the Equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience, that those Regions so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the Sca, over which we navigate, passable enough. We read also many Histories of Deluges: and how that in the time of Phaeton, divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Sun's violent beat.

But in a word, this Observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That Stone-walls, of matter moldring and friable, have ficed two or three thousand years; that many things have been digged up out of the Earth, of that depth, as supposed to have been buried by the general Flood; without any alteration, either of substance or figure; yea, it is believed, and it is very probable, that the Gold which is daily found in Mines and Rocks, under ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted; what great alterations should we look for in Celestial and Quintessential bodies? And yet we have reason to think, that the Sun, by whose help all creatures are generate, doth not in these later Ages assist Nature, as heretofoxe. We have neither Giants, such as the eldest World had, nor Mighty Men, such as the elder World had; but all things in general are reputed of less vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger Discourse, we might easily setch store of proof; as that this World shall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good Answer that can be to this Objection: If the World were eternal; why not all things in the World eternal? If there were no first, no Cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible Wisdom, but that every Nature had been alike eternal; and Man more rational than every other Nature; Why had not the eternal reason of Man, provided for his eternal Being in the World? For, if all were equal, why not equal conditions to all? Why should Heavenly bodies live for ever, and the bodies of Men rot and die?

Again, who was it that appointed the Earth to keep the Centre, and gave order that it Bould

should hang in the Air; that the Sun should travel between the Tropicks, and never exceed those bounds, nor fail to perform that Progress once in every year; the Moon to live by borrowed light; the fixed Starrs (according to common opinion) to be fastned like nails in a Cart-wheel; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or, if none of these had power over other; was it out of Charity and Love, that the Sun by his perpetual travel within those two Circles, bath visited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the Sun have of his own accord kent this course in all eternity; He may justly be called eternal Charity, and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Starrs, who being all of them most large and clear fountains of vertue and operation, may also be called eternal Vertues; the Earth may be called cternal Patience; the Moon, an eternal Borrower, and Beggar; and Man, of all other the most miserable, eternally Mortal. And what were this, but to believe again in the old Play of the gods? Yea, in more gods by Millions, than ever Hesiodus dream'd of. But in stead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortal eyes: and the eyes of our reason discern it better: That the Sun, Moon, Starrs, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained; themselves they have not constrained, nor could. Conne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit; Every thing hath fome efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now, for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the School of Aristotle bath both commended many errors unto us, and fought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World; so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotle's Physicks, or primo de Coelo, or out of the sifth of his Metaphysicks, I say, that the best is but nominal, and serving onely to difference the beginning of Natural motion from Artisticial: which yet the Academicks open better; when they call it, A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soul of the World; who give the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and has the third to Nature. Providentia (by which they understand G O D) Dux & Caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all; yet that it has choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hash avowed. For this is unanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem sacit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciencii habet, aut scientiam; He onely can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledg in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly express d by Ficinus: Potest ubique Natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materias, diversa facere; sublata vero mediorum materiarumque diversitate, vel unicum, vel similinum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operati; It is the power of Nature by diversity of means, or out of diversity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diversity of means, and the diversity of matter, it then works but one or the like work; neither can it but work, matter being present. Now, if Nature made choice of diversity of matter, to work all these variable works of Heaven and Earth, it had then both understanding and will; it had counsel to begin; reason to

diffee; wertue and knowledy to finish, and power to govern; without which, all things had been but one and the same; all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And, if we grant Nature this will, and this understanding, this counsel, this reason, and power; Cur natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a lead to take rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to divine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnessing summum locum divino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say, in short, that it is a lead to acknowledg and adore the first and most substitute power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ situunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy is an ascending from the things which slow, and rise, and fall, to the things that are for ever the same.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an implety, monstrous, to consound God and Nature; beit but in tearms. For it is God, that onely diposeth of all things according to his own will, and maketh of one Earth, vessels of honour and dishonour: It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherein it worketh. It is God that commandeth all; it is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth. It is Nature that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth, nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himself; Nature nothing in it self. It is God which is the Father, and hath begotten all things; it is Nature which is begotten by all things, in which it lively and laboureth; for by it self it existeth not. For, shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavy things fall towards it? Shall we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we tearm it knowledg in Fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledg in these; by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledg it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore, seeing all things work as they do (call it by Form, or Nature, or by what you please) yet, because they work by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, insused by the supremest power; we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder; and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, and such a faculty, as neither knowing it felf, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it bath; doth yet work all things to their last and uttermost persection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himself for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that ever the World had, to wit; That there is a power Infinite, and eternal (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the help of Faith and Reason; without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which have been delivered by divine Letters, as the waters of a running River do successively persue each other from the surft sountains.

Thus much, I say, it is, that Reason it self bath taught us; and this is the beginning of knowledg. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur; quia prius est Deum scire, conterispension sequence goes before, Religion follows; because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience, Plato calleth absoluti boni scientiam, The Science of

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naucde 2.500 the absolute good: And another, Scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, peroetuarum. For Faith (faith Ificlore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples persuaded: Fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confess it, That to enquire further, as of the Essence of God, of his Power, of his Art, and by what mean he created the World; Or of his secret judgment, and the causes, is not an affest of Reason; Sed cum ratione infaniunt; but they grow mad with reason, that enquire after it: For, as it is no shame nor dishonour (saith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser: For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it im. possible topass on further: so whatsoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be so; as understanding it self not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knows the end of his own Art. For, seeing both Reason and Necessity teach us ( Reason, which is pars divini spiritus in corpus huusura scientia. manum mersi) that the World was made by a Power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach us: and seeing the same Reason and Necessity make us know, that the same infinite Power is every where in the World; and yet how every where it cannot inform us: our belief hereof is not weakned, but greatly strengthned by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tells us, That such a Nature cannot be said to be God, that can be in all conceived by Man.

I have been already over-long, to make any large Discourse, either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse; especially in the excuse of this or that passage; seeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groffest, the unsutable division of the Books, I could not know how to excuse, had I not been directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first Part finished. All men know, that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it suits well enough with a great many Books of this Age, which speak too much, and yet say little, ipsi nobis furto subducimur; We are stollen away from our selves, fetting a high price on all that is our own. But hereof, though a late good Writer, make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on me, because I believe as he doth; That who so thinks himself the wifest man, is but a poor and miserable Ignorant. Those that are the best men of Warr, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do always keep the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from their selves; from self-love, self-estimation, and felf-opinion.

Generally, concerning the order of the Work, I have only taken counsel from the Argument. For of the Affyrians, which after the down-fall of Babel take up the first Part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of Posterity; some few enterprises, greater in Fame than Faith, of Ninus and Semiramis, excepted.

It was the Story of the Hebrews, of all before Olympiads, that overcame the confuming disease of Time, and preserved it self from the very Cradle and Beginning to this day; and yet not so entire, but that the large Discourses thereof (to which, in many Scriptures, we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the Actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same Time, I am driven to relate by way of digression; of which we may say with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto: They appear here and there, floting in the great gulf of Time.

To the same first Ages do belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though most of the Authors Names have perished in so long a Navigation. For those Ages had their Laws; they had their diversity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in Warr; Navigation, and all, or the most of needful Trades. To beak therefore of these (seeing in a general History we should have left a great deal of Nakedness by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is, that I have also made many others; which, if they shall be laid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heap of humane error. For, seeing we digress in the ways of our lives; yea; leeing the life of Man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives and actions. I am not aliogether ignorant in the Laws of History, and of the kinds.

The same hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman, Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Laws are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles; and every day preach d unto us. But we still make large digressions; yea, the Teachers themselves do not (in all) keep the path which they point out to others.

For the reft, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldeans, and had raifed a great Monarchy, producing actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire: whilest it lo flourished, that the affairs of the Nations adjoining had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the Fortunes of Greece, when they again began to get ground upon the Persians; as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty than the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations, who relisted the beginnings of the former Empire, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember what was known of them from their several beginnings, in such times and places as they in their slourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers; who seldom give names to those small Brooks, whereof many joined together make great Rivers: till such time as they become united, and run in main stream to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, and the Style not every where like it self; the first shows their legitimation and true Parent; the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Ecloques, gracifi avena, used stronger pipes, when he sounded the wars of Eneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that I use divers Hebrew words in my first Book, and elsewhere in which language others may think, and my self acknowledg it, that I am altogether ignorant; but it is true, that some of them I find in Montanus, others in Latine Characters in S. Senenfis; and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But fay, I had been beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, baving had an eleven years leifure to attain the knowledg of that, or of any other Tonque; How-

Howsoever, I know that it will be said by many, That I might have been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine own Times, having been permitted to draw water as near the Well-head as another. To this I answer, That whosover in writing a modern History, shall follow Truth too near the heels, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistress or Guide that hath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after he too far off, loseth her fight, and loseth himself; and he that walks after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kind of course, Temper, or Baseness. It is true, that I never travelled after mens Opinions, when I might have made the best use of them; and I have now too few days remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardife, or both, do yet (when Death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the World, between the Bed and the Grave. It is enough for me (being in that flate I am) to write of the eldest Times; wherein also, why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and tax the Vices of those that are yet living, in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any, that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly, and me fallly.

For, I protest before the Majesty of God, that Imalice no man under the Sun. Impossible I know it is, we please all; seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves, by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers persons in one and the same day. Seneca bath said it, and so do I: Unus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect, Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis, sed tibi; (or as it bab since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an antient Philosopher, Satisest unus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince, Henry, the sucselfive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master; from which, all that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks: Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis judicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur. But these Discourses are idle. I know, that as the charitable will judg charitably; so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present adversity bath disarmed me. I am on the ground already; and therefore have not farr to fall; and for rifing again, as in the Natural privation, there is no recession to habit; so it is seldom feen in the privation politick. Ido therefore forbear to stile my Readers, Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, thereby to beg their good Opinions, or to promife a second and third Volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certain, let us claw the Reader with never to many courteous Phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fools, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I have, lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deferving of them, than ever I shall do again. For had it been otherwise; I should hardly have had this leisure to have made my felf a Fool in Print.

## THE FIRST PART TORY ORLD

Intreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the CREATION unto ABRAHAM.

The FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. I. Of the Creation, and Preservation of the World.

That the Invisible God is seen in his Creatures.



imbraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By the Image of that glory which cannot be these potent effects, we approach to the measured, and withall, that one, and yet u-knowledg of the omnipotent cause, and by niverfal Nature, which cannot be defined. In these motions, their Almighty Maker. the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a In these more then wonderful works, God

OD, whom the wifeft making existent the World universal, by the men acknowledg to be absolute Art of his own Word, his Power a Power uneffable, and and Almightines; which Power, Light, Ver-Vertue infinite, a Light the by abundant clarity invifible; an Understand-God, we in all admire, and in part different forms. ing which it self can per speculum creaturarum, that is, in the dispoonely comprehend; an Essence eternal and string, order, and variety of Celestial and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himself strange and manifold diversities; Celestial,in known by the Work of the World: in the their beauty and magnitude; which in their wonderful magnitude whereof (all which he continual and contrary motions, are neither

fluxdow of his divine Countenance; in his merciful provision for all that live, his manifold goodness: and lastly, in creating and whose effects, those that live, witness in them-

felves; the sensible in their sensible natures; ation: Neque enim qui causa caret, ex causa & \*Greg. in the reasonable, in their reasonable souls: for, origine sciri, cognosciq, potest, sed vel ex rerum, Mor. Herm. according to \* S. Gregory, Omnis homo eo ipfo qua fact a funt, quaque fiunt & gubernantur, obad pt.
Tat. L. 5. quod rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, il- servatione & collatione; vel ex ipsus Dei ver-Unis vero lum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet; bo: For he of whom there is no higher cause, ingentus.

Every man, in that he is reasonable out of the cannot be known by any knowledg of cause parens of fame reason may know, that he which made or beginning (faith Montanus) but either by 4. Montanus immanife. him, is God. This God all men behold (faith the observing and conferring of things, which fol. 7. gius, omnia anni 70b) which is according to the Fathers, Do- he hath, or doth create and govern; or else whether mindione illius conflicere in creaturis, To by the word of God himfelf. per omnia apparet, & discern him in his providence by his creatures. in omnibus. That God hath been otherwise feen, to wit, Apparentia with corporal eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my understanding, grounded on these places of S. John and S. Paul, Te have not apparitio
quam gene- heard his voice at any time, neither have ye feen his shape. And again, Whom never man saw.

Jon. 5 3. 1 Tim. 6.16 nor can see. And this I am fure agrees with the nature Origent. 1 of Gods simplicity, of which S. Augustine, Ipfa Philosophers acknowledg, though by divers #12 20 enim natura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio no- terms, and in a different manner exprest; I cyril. or mine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Dus est, cyril. or mine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Dus est, cyril or corporaliter videri non potest; That nature, or so that flush that substance, or by what loever name that is est judgment and understanding. Mercurius want so Grig. Nat. to be called which is God, whatfoever that Trismegistus calleth God, Principium univerbe, the same cannot be corporally perceived. forum. The original of the Universal; to whom And of this opinion were Origen Cyril. Chrylo- he giveth also the attributes of Mens, Natura, Aug. l. v. stom, Gregory Nazianzene, Hierom, Augustine, Actus, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio. And de Trin. Gregorythe great, Evarifus, Alcuinus, Dionysius wherein he trucly with S. Paul, casteth upon Geg. Mag. Arepagita, Aquinas, and all others of authori-God all power; confessing also, that the 1.18. Mor. ty. But by his own Word, and by this visible World was made by Gods Almighty Word, Evar. ep.1. World, is God perceived of men; which is and not by hands : Verbo, non manibus, fabri-Alcuin.1.2. also the understood language of the Almighde Trin.

6. 16. D. ty, vouchfafed to all his Creatures, whose Hie
followed in opinion) took the word Fire to c. 16. D. 193 Vouchiated to armin or catalogy who the word in the Cal. Hie- Stars, the Sun and Moon; written on these Paul it is used) Omnia ex uno igne genita sunt, rar. Thom. large Volumes of the Firmament: written alan. 11. o fo on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of of one fire. alibi. Deus all those living creatures, and plants, which qui nanta an thole hiving eleatures, and plants, which would have invisibilis inhabit and refide therein. Therefore faid World had beginning in time, from the Will est make beginning in time, from the Will that learned Cusamus, Mundus universus nibil of the most high God; whose remarkable holitons posses aliud est, quam Deus explicatus; The World words are thus converted; Cum abscondisset pous feit universatis nothing else but God exprest. And omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen graquod opist the invisible things of God (saith S. Paul) are tum emist, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & tem jui vifiviliterms feen by the creation of the World, being conmirabilia: Of which I conceive this fense; utellares, sidered in his creatures. Of all which, there When great Jupiter had hidden all things in at per certification in the cause preceding then his own himself, working out of the love of hir facred him sine. Will, no other matter then his own Power, no heart, he sent thence, or brought forth, into tur, o ille other Workman then his own Word, no o- grateful light, the admirable works which he no omnite the confideration then his own word, no ograteful light, the no officers there confideration then his own infinite good-bad fore-thought, ones. The example and pattern of these his Pindarus the Polymer of the pattern of the his own word, no og prateful light, the north production of the pr Creatures, as he beheld the fame in all eter-Rome c. t. nity in the abundance of his own love lowas to be the Father and Creator of all things; Cujan. de et at length in the most wise order, by his un- Onus Deus, Pater, Creator summus, Plato call-Som, 20. changed Will moved, by his high Wildom eth God the cause and original, the nature disposed, and by his Almighty Power perfe- and reason of the universal; Totius rerum vid. cast

ex effectibus (that is) both perswaded by his

#### §. II.

That the wifest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, have acknowledged the World to have been created by God.

"His work and creation of the World. did most of the antient and learned catus est mundus, Zoroaster (whom Heraclitus

So did Orpheus plainly teach, that the

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wifeft, acknowledged also one God, the most High. cted, and made visible. And therefore (faith natura, cansa, & origo Deus. But hereof more

Mirandula) we ought to love God, ex fide, & at large hereafter. Now, although the curiofity of fome men Word, and by the effects of the Worlds Cre- have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forrain testimony) yet as the Fathers, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; fo S. Paul himself did not despise, but thought it lawful and profitable, to remember whatsoever he found agreeable to the word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not as in the Epistle to Titus he citeth Epimenides against the Cretians, and to the Corinthians, Menander; and in the seventeenth of the Acts, Aratus &c. For, Truth (faith S. Ambrofe) by whomfoever uttered, is of the holy Ghoft; Veritas à quocunque dicatur, à Spiritu sancto eft: and lastly, let those kind of men learn this rule ; Que sacris serviunt, prophana non funt; Nothing is prophane, that serveth to the use of holy things.

#### §. III.

of the meaning of In Principio, Genef. 1. 1.

THis visible world of which Moses writeth, God created in the beginning, or first of all: in which (faith Tertullian) things began to be. This word Beginning (in which the Hebrews feek fome hidden mystery, and which in the Jews Targum is converted by the word | and the feat of Angels and just Souls, then in Sapientia) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but only to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primary Matter to be informed, nor Form to inform, nor any Being, but the Eternal. Nature was not nor the next Parent of Time begotten. Time properly and of Matter already in being, then as the word ginning, was not meant the invisible or super-Beginning could not be referred to all things. fo must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceded from a greater power, then that self, it was not necessary to be created; Quem of God. And by what name shall we then call fuch an One (faith Lattantius) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellency to make, then to dispose of things and of things invisible and incorporate, for made? whereupon it may be concluded that the weakness of their capacities, whom he Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we fain a double creation, or allow of two Powers and both infinite; the impoffibility whereof fcorneth defence. Namimpossibile est plura esse infinita : quoniam alterum mise made to their foresathers; but also that effet in altero finitum; There cannot be more In- he created, and was the fole cause of this af-

Menu, 1.3. finities then one: for one of them would limit the other.

5. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heaven and Earth, Genel. 2. 1.

THe Universal matter of the world (which Moles comprehendeth under the names of Heaven and Earth ) is by divers diverfly understood; for there are that conceive that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripateticks understand it; to which S. Augustine and Isidore seem to adhere, Fecisti mundum (faith S. Augustine ) de materia informi ; quam fecisti de nulla re, pene nullam rem : that is. Thou hast made the world of a matter without form; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other

then nothing. But this potential and imaginary materia prima, cannot exist without form. Peter Lonibard, the Schoolmen, Beda, Lyranus, Comeftor, Toftatus, and others affirm that it pleafed God first of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the fucceeding instant ( faith Beda and strabo) he filled with Angels. This Em- Beda Hex. pyrean Heaven Steuchius Eugubynus calleth Strabo fundioine clarity and uncreated: an errour, for Eug. Cof. which he is sharply charged by Pererius, odenat. though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the in corp.

subsequent, when he made it to be a place, the former affirmation; for of the first, That God liveth in eternal Light, it is written, My Pf. 104.12? foul, praife thou the Lord, that covereth himself lenius si-with light: and in the Revelation, And the wife fall, City bath no need of the Sun, neither of the fed spine. Moon to shine in it: for the glory of God did in Dei, noth light it. And herein also John Mercer upon neus, Apec. Genesis, differeth not in opinion from Eugu- 11. 23. naturally taken: for if God had but disposed bynus: for as by Heaven created in the be- gen. 7.7: celestial; so in his judgment, because it was in all eternity the glorious feat of God him-Mundum Super-cælestem med judicio creari

( faith Mercer ) non erat necesse. But as Moses forbare to speak of Angels, then cared to inform of those things which were most manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of Egipt, according to his propectable, and perceivable Universal: fo on the other fide I dare not think, that any fuperceleftial Heaven, or whatfoever else (not hinself) was increate and eternal; and as for

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the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no per- be proved, that water by condensation may ception of it, neither can it limit the feat of become earth, the same reason teacheth us infinite power, no more then infinite power also, that earth rarified may become water: it self can be limited: for his place is in Himfelf, whom no magnitude elfe can contain: Bar. 3. 14. How great is the house of God (faith Baruch) how

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the (to wit) that very matter of all things, Ma-

matter (faith Calvin) was so called, quod to-Philosophers long before.

#### 6. V.

That the substance of the Waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Moses understood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and void, is described as the Chaos of the antient Heathen.

fulness.

For under the word Heaven, was the mat-Moon, and subject to alteration. Corrupt feeds bring forth corrupt plants; to which the P/101.26, to perishing. They shall perish ( faith David ) and the heavens shall vanish away like smoak, faith Esay. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth; for it is written, Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the dry land appear: which proveth, that the dry land was mixt and covered with the waters and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or feed of the Earth, much less of the Universal. Ini-Pf 104.6. tio tu, Domine, terram fundafti, Thou, O Lord. in the beginning hast founded the Earth: and

again, The Earth was covered with the Deep

(meaning with waters) as with agarment, saith

the place of God before the world created, David. And if by natural arguments it may water, air: air, fire: and so on the contrary.

Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire by air large is the place of his possession it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeasurable. were created, as touching their substance. though there was afterwards added multiwords Heaven and Earth, was meant the folid plicity of perfection, in respect of beauty and matter and substance, as well of all the Hea- ornament. Calum vero & terra in statu creati- Gal. Tail. vens, and Orbssupernal, as of the Globe of onis remanserunt quantum ad substantiam, licet 600. the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodum superadditaest. And the word which teria, Chaos, possibilitas, sive posse fieri. Which the Hebrews call Maim, is not to be underftood according to the Latine translation tius mundi semen fuerit; Because it was the simply, and as specifical water; but the same feed of the Universal: an opinion of antient more properly fignifieth liquor. For (according to Montanus ) Est autem Maim liquor ge- A. Mont. minus. O hoc nomen propter verborum penuri- de nat. am, Latina lingua plurali numero Aquas fecit; For Maim (faith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures ) and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voice to expressit, call it in the Plural, Aquas, Waters. This Mais, or indigested matter, or Chaos,

created in the beginning, was without form, that is, without the proper form, which it af-Mofes first nameth Heaven and Earth terwards acquired, when the Spirit of God (putting waters but in the third place) had separated the Earth, and digested it from as comprehending waters in the word Earth; the Waters. And the Earth was void, that is, Gen. 1.1; but afterwards he nameth them apart, when not producing any creatures, or adorned God by his Spirit began to diffinguish the with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after consused Mass, and (as Basil saith ) Praparare the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters. naturam aque ad facunditatem vitalem; To and wrought this indigested matter into that prepare the nature of water to a vital fruit- form, which it now retaineth; then did the earth bud forth the herb, which feedeth feed, and the fruitful tree according to his kind, and God ter of all heavenly bodies, and natures ex- Jaw that it was good; which attribute was not prest: and by the name of Earth and Waters, given to the Earth, while it was confused; all was meant, what loever is under the nor to the Heavens, before they had motion. and adornment. God faw that it was good, that is, made perfect for perfection is that towhich pure heavens are not subject, though subject nothing is wanting. Et perfect i Dei perfect a sunt opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the antient Poets their invention of Demogorgon; Hesiodus and Anaxagoras the knowledg of that Chaos: of which Ovid; Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) lib. 1.

Unus crat toto natura vultus in Orbe, Quem dixere Chaos rudis indigestaque moles. Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,

In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:

Which Chaoshight, a huge rude heap.

§. VI.

How it is to be understood, that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters; and that this is not to be fearched curioufly.

Fter the Creation of Heaven and Earth, Athen void and without form, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The seventy Interpreters ule the word superfereba- fore, whether that motion, vitality, and opetur, moved upon or over: incubabat or fowebat (faith Hierome) out of Bafil; and Bafil manner is onely known to God. Quomodo in out of a Syrian Doctor; Equidem non meam omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potibi, sed viri cujusdam syri sententiam recense- tentiam, intellectus noster non capit; For how bo (laith Balil: ) which words incubare or fovere, importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, have a special likeness. Verbum transla- sence, or power our understanding cannot com- 17.25. tum est ab avibus pullitici sua incubantibus, prehend. Nibilinter Deum hominemque distaquamvie fiprituali, & plane incuarabili, non ret. si conflic & displitiones illus Majelfatis cad in autem corporali modo. The word is taken of eterne, cogitatio affequeretur humana: There birds hatching their young, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner.

Some of the Hebrews convert it to this effect, Spiritus Dei volitabat; The Spirit of God did flutter: the Chaldean Paraphrast in this sense, Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat: or as other understand the Chaldean, Flabat, pellebat, removebat: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did of 147. blow upon; according to the 147. Pfalm, He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no wind nor exhalafr. Mont, tion. Arias Montanus in these words, Et Spiu sup. Eu ritus Elohim Meracheset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually and often moving, keeping warm, and cherishing. quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh four originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and material, to wit, Canfa, which is the di-Ar. Mont. vine Goodness: Jehi, which is, fiat, five erit, nuna, psg. Let it be, or, It shall be. Que vox verbo dei prima prolata fuit : Which voice (faith he) was the first that was uttered by the Word of God,

into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt. The third, Spiritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, id est. Vis quadam divina, agilis ac prasens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens; that is, A certain divine power, or strength every where taketh for the Holy Ghost; sometimes for a active and extending, and stretching through wind or breath, Sub nomine Spiritus, under all, filling and finishing all things. The fourth the name of a spirit, which is sometimes so he calleth Maim, id est, Materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis; Matter apt to becom everything. For my self, I am resolved also a breath or wind: Mercurius nameth it, (Cum Deus sit super rationale omni ratione; Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, A pure or thin Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his won- Tostatus, Voluntatem & mentem Dei , The will derful waies of working, may in a measure and mind of God; which Mens, Plato in Tibe perceived by mans understanding, yet meo maketh Animam mundi, The foul of the

the manner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortal body. Animalis homo que Dei sunt non percipit: For my thoughts (faith the Lord in Efay) are not Efa. 55. 8. vour thoughts, neither are your maies my maies. And as the world hath not known God himfelf: fo are his waies (according to S. Paul) past finding out. O righteous Father, the world

hath not known thee, faith Christ. And thereration, were by incubation or how elfe, the God (faith S. Angustine, speaking of his Ubi- Ang. quity) is in all things, either by effence, pre- in John

would be no difference between God and man, if man's understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternal Majesty; and therefore to be over-curious in fearching how the all-powerful Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative spirit distinguishing gave form to the Matter of the Universal, is a labour and fearch like unto his, who not contented with a known and fafe Foord, will prefume to pass over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for fo doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warm

our felves fafely, while we ftand neer the fire;

but if we feek to out-face the one, to enter

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word (moved) is most proper and fignificant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatfoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truly called, Principium motus, and with Mirandula, Vis caufe efficientis, The force of the efficient cause; S. Augustine sometimes taken : or for virtualis creatura, For a created virtuality: Tertullian and Theodoret call it intelligible Spirit: Anaxagoras, Mentem:

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world: and in his fixth Book de Republica, he | heat rarifaction, and fubtilty of parts. By calleth it the Law of Heaven; in his Epistles, The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things palt. But as Cyprian wrote of the incarnation of Christ our Saviour, Mens deficit. vox filet. & non mea tantum, fed ettam Angelorum; My mind faileth, my voice is filent, and not mine onely, but even the voice of Angels: fo may all men else say in the understanding and utterance of the waies and works of the ated, might easily transpierce: Light for the Creation; for to him (faith Nazianzenus) there is not one substance by which he is, and which God called good, whose creation imanother, by which he can, Sed confubstantiale mediately followed. This Spirit Chryloston illi eft, quicquid ejus eft, & quicquid eft; Whatsoever attribute of kim there is, and whatsoever he is, it is the very same substance that him- vim procreandi animalia habuerint. He call-

wind, nor for any other creature, separate living Creatures. from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and diftinguished, and which now fustaineth and giveth continuance to the Universal. For the Spirit of the Lord fill- of the Light created, as the material substance of eth all the world; and the same is it which maintaineth all things, faith Solomon. If thou fend forth thy Spirit (faith David) they are created: And Gregory, Deus suo prasentiali esse dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent universa; God giveth being then as of nothing the world was made, it would again fall away and vanish into nothing. And Virgil hath exprest excellently:

Principio Calum ac Terras, camposque liquentes, Virg. E- Lucentemq, globum Luna, Titaniaq, aftra, Spiritus intus alit : totamq; infusa per artus, Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet. The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid

Mayn, The Moon's bright Globe, and Stars Tita-

A Spirit within maintains: and their whole

A mind, which through each part infus'd

Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce

All this great Body of the Universe.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universal, and thereby both di-

this Spirit (which gave heat and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one fuperiour, as lighter then the waters; through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanick, or transparent body, the light, afterwards creexcellency thereof being the first creature calleth a vital Operation, Aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aque non solum motionem, sed & eth it, A vital Operation given by Godunto the But the Spirit of God which moved upon maters, whereby the waters had not onely mothe waters, cannot be taken for a breath or tion, but also power to procreate or bring forth

#### §. VII.

the Sun, and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledg of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and heat annexed unto it.

Hefe Waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this to all things, by being present with all things, be Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathe-as if be should withdraw binsself from them, red and united, and called the Sun, the Organ and Instrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conthis working of Gods Spirit in all things, ceive) diftinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, Let there be Gen. 1.10 lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night: which lights in the Firmament of Heaven, were also made for signes. and for seasons, and for daies, and for years, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, days and years are diftinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three days which preceded the Suns creation, or formal perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the Day named in the fifth Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Suns motion made a civil or natural day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, stinguished and adorned it. His spirit hath and of the lower and upper waters, and of garnished the Heavens, saith Job. So then the the Seas, and Creatures therein; Earth, the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and matter of Beafts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans created in them their spirituality, and natu- body: so may Light (for expression sake) be ral motion; motion brought forth heat; and called the Chaos, or material substance of

the Sun, and other lights of heaven: How- ons of Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus, and obeit, neither the Sun, nor any thing fensible. thers: fo is his own judgment herein, as is that light it felf, Que cause of lucidorum, weak as any mans; and most of the Schoolquale Which is the cause that things are lightsome men were rather curious in the nature of moved upon the waters, which were in one indigefied lump, and Chaos, disposed to all found it make it felf and all things elle vili- terms, and more nuotine in cartinguinning up- indigefied lump, and Chaos, disposed to all found it make it felf and all things elle vili- terms, and more nuotine in cartinguinning up- indigefied lump, and Chaos, disposed to all found it make it felf and all things elle vili- terms, and more nuotine in cartinguinning up- indigefied lump, and Chaos, disposed to all found it make it felf and all things elle vili- terms, and more nuotine in cartinguinning up- indigefied lump, and Chaos, disposed to all found it make it felf and all things elle vili- on the parts of doctrine already laid down, the control of the parts of doctrine already laid down, the control of the parts of doctrine already laid down, the parts of doc luminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greeks call #- in Philosophy or Divinity: of whom it may ther, the place of the supposed Element of be truly said, Nihil superine odiossus acumine fire) is effected and qualified, and by it all nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wifbodies living in this our ayr. For this light dom, then too accute sharpness. Neither hath Avicenna calleth Vehiculum & fomentum om- the length of time, and the fearch of many nium celestium virtutum, & impressionum: learned men, (which the same time bath The conducter, and preserver, or nourisher of all brought forth and devoured) resolved us, celestial virtues and impressions, nothing de- whether this light be substantial, corporal, or fcending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or means of light. Aristotle calleth because then it could neither pierce the ayr. light a quality, inherent or cleaving to a Di- nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies, aphanous body, Lumen eft qualitas inharens which it doth; and yet every day we fee the Diaphano: but this may be better avouched ayr illightned: Incorporal it cannot be, beof the heat, which it transporteth and bring- cause it sometime affecteth the fight of the eth with it, or conducteth: which heat (fay eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Platonicks) Abeunte lumine relidet in lubjecto, The light being departed, doth refide in tricius) that it cannot be matter, because no the subject, as warmth in the ayr, though the form so excellent as it self to inform it : neifame be deprived of light. This light Plotinus ther can it be any accident, which is not feand all the Academicks make incorporal, and fo doth Montanus, Cui nec duritia resistit, nec hatium ; Which neither hardness resisteth, nor space leaveth.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beams of light; but it is but by way of repetition of Litefini. other mens opinions, faith Picolomineus. Democritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus, give materiality to light it felf, but improperly: for it paffeth at an instant from the Heaven to the receive the pure clearness of light: alluding to of all lucid and shining bodies: but what is that most divine Light, which onely shineth taught hereby, let others judge. on those minds, which are purged from all worldly droß, and humane uncleanness.

ment in opinion; neither do I marvel at it, Englished by Light; and so, this shining which for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, proceedeth from the Sun, or other lights of Philosophers, or School-men, or other anti- Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, ent or latter Writers, that any of them un- or intentional Species thereof; and an intenderstood either it or themselves therein: all tional Species may be understood by exammen (to cast off ignorance) have disputed ple of a red or green colour, occasioned by thereof, but there is no man that hath been the shining of the Sun through red or green taught thereby. Thomas Aquinas (not inferi- glass: for then we perceive the same colour our to any in wit) as he hath shewed little cast upon any thing opposite; which redness strength of argument in refuting the opini- or other colour, we call the intentional spe-

then discoverers of any thing hidden, either incorporal: Corporal they fay it cannot be, the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as Paparable without the destruction of the subicct : for light being taken from the Sun, the Lucidator-form, then either, or both must be one of nis senebris these, lucid or bright, dark or opake, Dia- impervia. phanous or transparent; but darkness cannot plena fuis be parent of light; and things Diaphanous tenebris alle (being neither light nor darkness, but capa- Transpable of either) cannot be the cause of either, rentia seu Earth, nor is it refitted by any hardness, because it passet through the folid body of glassor other Crystalline matters, and wherening obtain their so being of the light; and or team last it is withstroad by unclean and unpure. as it is withstood by unclean and unpure therefore if we derive this being of light with all the state of light with the state earthy fubstances, less hard, and more easie to invade then the former, the same is, 2016 infinitely and against nature; and therefore mental infinitely and against nature; and therefore mental infinitely and against nature. obstaculum natura terreum atq; sordidum, non he concludeth, that light in the Sun hath his scal sub, capit candidam luminis puritatem; Because an being primarily, and immediately of it self, ex 71. obstacle by nature earthy and foul, doth not and is therefore the Suns form, and the form

But in my understanding, Lumen (which may be Englished by the word shine) is an But of this created light, there is no agree- intentional Species of that, which may be

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as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet understood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, be the same which the Sun inholdeth and cafteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Suns creation.

But by the most wise and unchanged order, which God observed in the works of the Moles repeateth twice the main parts of the Universal: first, as they were created in matter; fecondly, as they were adorned with form: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth. the Waters, all confused; and afterward the Waters congregated, the Earth made dry Land; and the Heavens diftinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called Arida, or dry Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their virtual forms: So the Sun although it had not its formal perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by Anticipation (which was to separate day from night) were precifely performed, after this Light was congregated and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisdome of God find cause why it should move (by which motion, days and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sun might give light, heat, and operation.

But after the Earth ( diftinguished from Waters ) began to bud forth the bud of the herb, &c. God caused the Sun to move, and (by interchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour World; by his heat to stir up the fire of generation, and to give actionemadmo- vity to the feeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly builer. Pro- ding to be erected, doth accommodate the cop. in Gen. fame to that use and end, to which it was ordained; fo it pleafed God (faith Procopius) to command the Light to be; which by his all-powerful Word he approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to ask of Job, By

cies of the colour in that glass. And again, what way is the Light parted, and where is the may where Light dwelleth? we thereby know. that the nature thereof falleth not under mans understanding; and therefore let it fuffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (faith Efdras: ) And those which inha- Eft bite the Heavens, do onely know the Esfence . 6.4 thereof. Nibil ignotum in celo, nibil notum in Herm. World, I gather, that the Light, in the first terra: Nothing unknown in Heaven, nothing day created, was the substance of the Sun: for perfectly known on Earth. Res vera sunt in mundo invisibili; in mundo visibili umbra rerum: Things themselves are in the invisible World: in the world visible, but their shadows. Surely, if this Light be not spiritual, yet it approacheth necrest unto spirituality; and if it have any corporality, then of all other the most fubtile and pure; for howfoever, it is of all things feen, the most beautiful, and of the fwiftest motion, of all other the most necesfary and beneficial. For it ministreth unto men, and other creatures, all celestial influences; it diffipateth those fad thoughts and forrows, which the darkness both begetteth and maintaineth; it discovereth unto us the glorious works of God, and carrieth up with an Angelical swiftness, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the fight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvels, may continually travel to furmount these perceived Heavens, and to find out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. Cognitio non quiescit in Fich. rebus creatis; Our knowledg doth not quiet it felf in things created. Et ipfa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light (Saith Saint Ambrose) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it self communicateth its goodness and beauty unto all. Of which, Ovid out of Orpheus:

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum, Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia lib.s. mundus.

Mundi oculus. The world discerns it self, while I the World behold,

By me the longest years, and other times are told,

I the worlds eye.

Laftly, If we may behold in any creature, any one spark of that eternal fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightness, the same in the beauty, motion, and virtue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called Lux ipsa; and the Light, by Hermes, named Lux fancta; and Christ our Saviour said to be that Light which lightneth e- 76h. 14 very man that cometh into the world. Yet in 14.6 and purity, this is also true, that God is nei- best Hebricians understand them, Quo suprether a mind, nor a Spirit of the nature of o- ma ac tennia ab infimis crassis diducta, interther Spirits; nor a light, such as can be di- sect aque distarent, for that whereby the supreme scerned. Deus profetto non mens est, at vero and thin bodies were placed in distance, being ut sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa severed and cut off from low and groß matters: qua firitus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua and the waters above the firmament, exprest lumen existit: God (saith Hermes in Poeman- in the word Majim, are in that tongue taken dro) certainly is not a mind, but the cause that the mind bath his being; nor firit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

brought forth the bud of the herb that feed- of the rayne of Heaven; and in Job, Who hath eth feed, Oc. And for a mean and organ, ingendred the frosts of Heaven & and in S. Matby which this operative virtue might be them, Behold the Fowls of Heaven, for they fow continued, God appointed the Light to be not. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old united, and gave it also motion and heat, Testament throughout, is the word Heaven which heat caused a continuance of those se- very oft used for Ayr, and taken also hypermotion begat the time and times succeeding. ven &c. And in this very place Basil avouch-

6. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the maters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Crystalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

from the waters: that is, those waters which the Firmament was meant the Ayr, and not ded, and those of the Earth and Sea.

firmamentum, or expansum (for so Vatablus, that God called the Firmament, which diviment, are the waters in the ayr above us, conceive not, except it be to moderate and which God separated from the neather wa- would otherwise gather and increase: though majim, being indifferently taken for the hea- would exceed all possibility of belief. sed

respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimity, ayr and Æther, then for the heavens, as the properly for the waters above the avr, or in the uppermost region of the same. And that the word Heaven is used for the Gen. 45.

Ayr, the Scriptures every where witness; as So then the Maff and Chaor being first created, void, dark, and unformed, was by the Pfalm: \* By these Springs shall the fowl of the \* vsdi. operative Spirit of God, pierced and quick- Heaven dwell; and npon Sodom and Gomor- 2 Gen. 15. operative Spirit of Ood, present and quarter and the Waters, having now received rabit rained brimflone and fire out of the Hea-14.csp. Spirit and motion, refolved their thinner ven; and in Isaacs blefting to Jacob; God 17.18. parts into Ayr, which God illightned: the give thee therefore of the dem of Heaven: and Job 38 24. Earth alfo by being contiguat, and mixt with in Deuteronomy the II. But the land whither Matth, 6. waters (participating the same divine virtue) you go to possess it, is a land that drinketh mater 26 verall species, which the Earth (being made bolically for any great Height, as, Let no gen. 11.4; fruitful by the Spirit) produced, and with buildns a Tomer, whose top may reach to Heaeth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his own words be thefe; Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, buic autem nunc ad limilitudinem: And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation (faith Basil) is pro-Fter that the Spirit of God had moved perly applied to another (that is to the Starry A upon the waters, and light was created, Heaven) but to this (that is, to the firmament God faid, Let there be a Firmament in the mid- dividing the waters)it is imposed by similitude; dest of the waters, and let it separate the waters | And if there were no other proof, that by by rarifaction and evaporation were aften- the Heaven, the words of Moses in the eighth verse, conferred with the same word Firma-But these waters, separate above this Ex- ment in the twentieth verse, make it manitension, which the Latine Translation calleth fest: for in the eighth verse it is written, Pagninus, and Junius turn it are not the Cry- ded waters from waters, Heaven; and in the stalline Heavens created in the imaginations twentieth verse he calleth the Firmament of of men; which opinion Basilius Magnus call- Heaven, Ayr; in these words, And let the eth a childish supposition, making in the same | Fowl flye upon the earth in the open firmament place many learned arguments against this of Heaven. And what use there should be of infancie. For the waters above the firma- this ycie, or crystalline, or waterie Heaven, I where the same is more solid and condense, temper the heat, which the Primum mobile ters by a firmament, that is, by an extended in very truth, instead of this help, it would distance and vast space: the words Raquia add an unmeasurable greatness of circle, (which Montanus writeth Rakiagh), and sha- whereby the swiftness of that first Moveable ven and for ayr, and more properly for the nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man

70b 28. 14.9.

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felf (which furmounteth the height of all | nothing elfe, but the strength and faculty, humane reason)hath for a forcible conductor | which God hath infused into every creature. the Word of Truth, which also may be called lumen omnis rationis & intellectus; the light of all reason and understanding. Now Those therefore that attribute unto this sathat this supposed first Moveable, turneth it felse so many hundred thouland miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not)let who, looking into the Stern of a Ship, and those that can believe mens imagination, ap- finding it guided by the Helm and Rudder, prehendit; for I cannot. But of these many doth ascribe some absolute virtue to the Heavens, let the Reader that desireth satis- peece of wood, without all consideration of faction, fearch Orontius; and of this waterie the hand that guides it, or of the judgment, Heaven, Bassius Magnus, in his Hexam. fol. which also directeth and commandeth that 40,41.8 c. and Matth. Beroaldus, in his second hand: forgetting in this and in all else, that Book and fixth chapter. For my felf, I am by the virtue of the first act, all Agents work ters above the Heavens, are but the clouds

# 6. IX.

A Conclusion, repeating the summ of the works in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it. The finishing of it.

O conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of Genesis, that this was the order of the most wife God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or Being, but Gods incomprehensible eternity. First, he created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguifhed, and gave to every nature his proper form; the form of levitie to that which afcended; to that which descended, the form of gravity: for he separated light from darknels, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last three days, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: he fet in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sun, nerative, thereby to continue their Species, wifd. sol. and kinds;toCreatures vegetative and growc. 1. 14. ing, their Seeds in themselves; for he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preserved.

6. X

That Nature, is no Principium per se; nor Form, the giver of being; and of our ignorance how second causes should have any proportion with their effects.

ought to be held to impossibilities: and faith it | and rest, according to Aristotle; the same is having no other felfe-ability, then a Clock, after it is wownd up by a mans hand, hath. perswaded, that the waters called, The wa- whatsoever they work: Virtute primi actus, agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt: for as and waters engendred in the uppermost ayr. the mind of man feeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the ears, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore we attribute fight to the eye, and hearing to the ears, &c. and yet it is the mind only, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; fo God worketh by Angels, by the Sun, by the Starrs, by Nature or infused properties, and by men as by feveral Organs. feveral effects; all fecond causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduits, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountain of the Universal. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everywhere-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sun power to draw up vapours, to be made clouds; clouds to contain rain, and rain to fall: fo all second and instrumental causes together with Nature it self, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether filent, virtueles, and dead: of which excellently Orpheus; Naurat-Per te virescunt omnia, All things by thee spring nin, rems, forth in youthful green. I enforce not these opposites Moon, and Starrs; filled the Earth with Beafts, the Ayr with Fowl, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life a power gettures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly Lat. and earthly bodies, &c. for all His workes fail. Squint their virtues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I fay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or express it, ever enrich his own understanding with any certain truth, or ever edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flattery) therein. For (laith Lactantins, speaking of the wisdom of the Nd for this working-power, which we Philosophers) Si facultas invenienda verita-Acall Nature, the beginning of motion tis buic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inventa; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam: If in this studie (faith he), were means to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out: but feeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits have been worn out in the inquiry of it, it appeareth, that there is no missom there to be had. Nam si de una re præcisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur: If the precise knowledg of any one thing were to be had, it should necessa-

rily follow, that the knowledg of all things were to be had. And as the Phylosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the waies of her working; fo were they more curious, then knowing, in their first matter and Phisical form. Ovid, and Juvenal; For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos. 7. 121. it altogether leaveth, when it doth subsist. And feeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not been may be faid, that originally there is no other true enough, in respect of all those things between heat and fire, of which the one canof rational confideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Lovers, who by certain Scholastical distinctions wrest and per-Aristotle hath laboured to prove a false eternity of the World, I think it farr fafer to afffirm with Saint Augustine, That all species and kinds are from God, from whom, whatsoever is natural proceedeth, of what kind or estimation soever; from whence are the seeds of all forms, and the forms of all seeds and their

formarum. And thus much Averrois is forced

Albertus uponDiony [us.

# 6. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starrs have great influence: and that their operations may diverfly be prevented or furthered.

Nd, as of Nature, fuch is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Deflinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be fafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity, and made it more general, and univerfally powerful then it is, by giving it Dominion over the mind of man, and over his will, of which

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet. Juven Jat.

'Gainst Fate no counsel can prevaile. Kingdoms to Slaves by Destinie, To Captives triumphs given be.

An errour of the Chaldeans, and after Basil Esta. taught, neither are these forms (saith a learned Authour) any thing fexea exprimatur points, the Bardisanists, and others, as Basil, Anbert 70. neurumour pany timings ex eacestrimain por this, the bard mainting and one of so but, the berg to tentiaque mibilef. Again, how this first matter flould be subjectime formarum, and passive, Fate is an obedience of second causes to the Gent. 3. which is understood to precede the form, it first, was well conceived of Hermes, and A. 49.8.3. wi ch is understood to precede the form, which puleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the A- Fion in is hard to conceive: for to make form, which puleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the A- Fion in is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing stronomers calleth it a disposition from the cir. defa. caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary acts of celestial Orbs, unchangeably workto all reason, divine and humane: only it ing in inferiour bodies, the same being also

difference between matter and form, then which a rational mind doth not order nor direct. Ptolemie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicunot subsist without the other, but in a kind rus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, fome of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which vert the truth of all things, and by which is spoken and determined by God (quod de unoquoq; nostrum fatus est Deus) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Starrs are instruments of far greater use, then to give an obfcure light, and for men to gaze on after Sunfet: it being manifest, that the diversity of feafons, the Winters, and Summers, more hot and cold, are not fo uncertained by the Sun motions; A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicand Moon alone, who alway keep one and quid naturaliter eft, cujuscunq, generis eft, cuthe same course; but that the Stars have also juscung; astimationis est; à quo sunt semina fortheir working therein. marum, forma seminum, motus seminum atq;

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath to confess. For all forms (faith he) are, in given virtues to Springs and Fountains, to primo motore; which is also the opinion of cold Earth, to Plants and Stones, Minerals, Aristotle in the twelfth of his Metaph, and of and to the excremental parts of the basest living creatures, why should we rob the beautiful Stars of their working powers? for feeing they are many in number, and of emi-

nent beauty and magnitude, we may not doubted. Corpora culestia (laith Damascene)

12

more in the powers and working of celestial Aiffole, bus calestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to movet & nutrit, auget, & perficit: The light not bind God to his creatures, in this suppo-

excuse of some, were justifiable; of whom S. that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars. then the door of the evil, is to be accused.

fitive appetite, which is also stirred by the Juvencis Patrum virtus, In the young Off-spring od. 30. the Fathers virtue is, and so the contrary, Pa-

think, that in the treasury of his wisdom, who constituent in nobis habitus, complexiones, & is infinite, there can be wanting (even for e- dispositiones. The heavenly bodies ( saith he ) very Star) a peculiar virtue and operation; make in us habits, complexions, and dispositias every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorn- ons; for the body (though Galen inforce it 64.1 an ing the face of the Earth, hath the like. For further) hath undoubtedly a kind of draw-temp. as these were not created to beautifie the ingaster it the affections of the mind, especiearth alone, and to cover and shadow her ally bodies strong in humour, and weak in dusty face, but otherwise for the use of man virtues; for those of cholerick complexions and beaft, to feed them and cure them; fo are subject to anger, and the furious effects were not those uncountable glorious bodies thereof; by which they suffer themselves to fet in the Firmament, to no other end, then be transported, where the Mind hath not reato adorn it; but for Instruments and Organs fon to remember, that passions ought to be of his divine Providence, so far as it hath her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they pleased his just will to determine. Origen up- wholly direct the reasonless mind, I am reon this place of Genesis, Let there be light in solved: For all those which were created Gen. 1.15: the Firmament. &c. affirmeth, that the Starrs mortal, as birds, beafts, and the like, are left are not causes (meaning perchance binding to their natural appetites; over all which, causes;) but are as open Books, wherein are celestial bodies (as instruments and executicontained and fet down all things whatfoe- oners of Gods providence ) have abfolute ver to come; but not to be read by the eyes dominion. What we should judge of men, of humane wisdom: which latter part I be- who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell; for lieve well, and this faying of syracides with- as he that contendeth against those inforce-Lielas, 41, all: That there are hid yet greater things then ments, may eafily mafter or refift them; fo these be, and we have seen but a few of his works. Whosoever shall neglect the remedies by vir-And though, for the capacity of men, we tue and piety prepared, putteth himself altoknow somewhat, yet in the true and utter- gether under the power of his sensual appemost virtues of herbs and plants, which our tite; Vincitur fatum si resistas, vincit si con- quint. selves sow and set, and which grow under tempseris, Fate will be overcome, if thou resist our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.

But that either the Stars or the Sun have bodies. For hardly (faith solomon) can we any power over the minds of men immedidiscern the things that are upon the Earth, and ately, it is absurd to think, other then as awith great labour find we out those things that foresaid, as the same by the body's temper arc before us: Who can then investigate the may be effected. Lumen solis ad generationem things that are in Heaven? Multum est, dere- sensibilium corporum confert, & advitam ipsam know a little of heavenly things. But in this of the Sun (faith S. Augustine ) helpeth the ge- Givil Del question of Fate, the middle course is to be neration of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, 115. 4 followed, that as with the Heathen we doe and nourisheth, augmenteth, and perfecteth them: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: fed necessity of Destiny; so on the contrary, Bonus quidem est sol, in ministerio, non imwe do not rob those beautiful creatures of perio, The Sun is good to serve, not to smay their powers and offices. For had any of these (faith S. Ambross.) And S. Angsstine, Dens re-Her. Ilb. (faith S. Ambross.) And S. Angstine, Dens re-Her. Ilb. (git inferiora corpora per superiora, God ruleth tive, or had God himself constrained the bodies below by those above; but he amind and will of man to impious acts by any voucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens minds, which are incorporal. celestial inforcements, then sure the impious

But howfoever we are by the Stars inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the points Antiorem Syderum, quam commissionem same, and weaken their operation; and Arificelerum; Where we reprehend them of evil stolle himself consessent, that the Heavens do deeds, they again with wicked perversness urge, not always work their effects in inferiour bodies no more then the figns of rain and wind do always come to pass. And it is divers times But that the Stars and other celeftial bo- feen, that paternal virtue and vice hath his dies incline the will by mediation of the fen- counter-working to these inclinations. Est in Hor libid. trum vitia: and herein also there is often vere execution, as that there should be nofound an enterchange; the Sons of virtuous thing left of liberty to judgment, power, or to vice, and of vicious men to virtue.

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:

A worthy fon is born of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods referved power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of fquare and rule, as Education doth: for there are none in the World fo wickedly inclined, but that a religious infiruction and bringing up, may fashion anew and reform them; nor any fo well disposed, whom (the reins being let loofe) the continual fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men, may not corrupt ration of his own creatures truly) hath affuand deform. Vessels will ever retain a savour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult either to clense the mind once corrupted, or to extinguish the fweet favour of virtue first received, when the mind was yet tender, open, and eafily feafoned; but where a favourable constellation ( allowing that the Stars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding virtuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one: for as the feeds of virtue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsel produce better and more beautiful fruit then the strength of Self-nature and Kind could have yielded | Pagan or Christian that so believeth, the only them; fo the plants apt to grow wild, and to true God of the one, and the imaginary gods change themselves into weeds, by being set of the other, would thereby be despoiled of in a foyl futable, and like themselves, are all worthip, reverence, or respect. made more unfavoury and filled with poyfon. It was therefore truly affirmed, Sapiens adjuvabit opus Astrorum, quemadmodum Agricola terra naturam; A wife man affifteth the work of the Stars, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the foyl. And Ptolemy himself confesseth thus much, Sapiens, & omina sapientis Medici, dominabuntur Astris ; A wise man, and the ominous art of a wife Phylician shall prevail to the Destinies or Influences of the Stars, or against the Stars. Lastly, we ought all to subject our souls to any imposed necessity know, that God created the Stars, as he did But it was well said of Plotinus, that the Stars the rest of the Universal; whose influences may be called his referved and unwritten Laws. But let us consider how they bind: even as the Laws of men do; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Laws decreed, that a Thief and a Murderershall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Stars of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Laws do not deprive Kings of their natural or religious compassion, or bind them without prerogative, to such a se- light it self, whereof the Suns clarity, and that

men, by an ill constellation become inclinable conscience: the Law in his own nature, being no other then a deaf Tyrant. But feeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes ( who ought to imitate God in all they can) do fometimes for causes to themselves known, and by mediation, pardon offences both a-gainst others and themselves; it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himfelf, which his Substitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodness, and charity it felf. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught ; And let us not be led into Mat. 6. 13. temptation, but deliver us from evil, had been no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which only knoweth the opered us, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and Defires may not make frustrate and break afunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himfelf should in a kind have shut up himself therein; How miserable then were the condition of men (faith S. Augustine) left altogether without hope.

And if this strength of the Stars were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father, (I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do : ) and the same God, who hath threatned unto us the forrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably were fignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet something less then their due: and therefore as I do not confent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God virtueles: fo I think that we derogate from His eternal and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortal fouls, which they have over all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the Souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine

of the Stars, is by Plato called but a shadow. Plat. pol 6. Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen luminis; Light is the shadow of Gods brightnes, who is the light of light: But to end this question, because this Destiny, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination, are often confounded, I think it not impertinent for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men have.

# §. XII.

# Of Prescience.

Prescience, or fore-knowledg (which the Greeks call *Prognosts*, the Latines *præcog*nitio, or prascientia) considered in order and nature (if we may speak of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other then an infallible fore-knowledg. For whatfoever our felves fore-know, except the same be to fucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, therein do manifestly present it self. or bind. For in that we fore-know that the Sun will rife, and fet; that all men born in dence, are so many, both in general and parthe Spring shall come; after the Spring, Som- them in this place: Sing unto God (faith Daledg the cause of this, or any of these: nei- giveth the beasts their food, and feedeth the eye of man (faith Boetius) beholdeth those things Subject to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they fame Author; Divina providentia rebus geneevenirent ex necessitate, pramia bonorum, & pana malorum periret; Divine Providence are to exist; for if all come to pass of necessity, there should neither be remard of good, nor punishment of evil.

# 6. XIII.

The first Book of the first Part

# Of Frovidence.

Ow Providence (which the Greeks call Pronoia ) is an intellectual knowledg, both fore-feeing, caring for, and ordering all to touch the difference in a word or two; things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their fo being, which Prescience (fimply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith S. Augustine) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the pair; Knowledg of the prefent; and Care of the future: and we our selves account such a man for provident, as, remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every where teach us; Moses in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himself and his Apostles assure us hereof; and besides the Scriptures, Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledg the Providence of God; yea, the Turks themselves are so consident therein as they refuse not to accompany and (as it is Prescience onely) is not the cause of visit each other in the most pestilent diseases, any thing futurely fucceeding: neither doth nor fhun any peril whatfoever, though death

The places of Scripture proving Provithe World shall die again; that after Winter, ticular, as I shall need to repeat but a few of mer, and Harvest; and that according to the feveral seeds that we sow, we shall reap several seeds that we sow, we shall reap several seeds that we sow, we shall reap several seeds that we sow, and maketh 8. ral forts of grain; yet is not our fore-know- the graff to grow upon the Mountains, which ther doth the knowledg in us bind or con- young Raven that cries: All these wait upon ftrain the Sun to rife and fet, or men to die; thee that thou mayest give them food in due fea 27,9,0 for the causes (as men perswade themselves)

| on: And thou shalt drink of the River Chear 145.15 are otherwise manifest and known to all. The eth (faith God to Eliah) and I have commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the I Reg. Fowls of the Air, they fow not, nor reap, and Mail 6.1 yet your heavenly Father feedeth them : Again, Luke IL Are not two Sparrows fold for a farthing? and 6,7. one of them shall not fall on the ground without be in their own natures. And again out of the your Father: yea, all the hairs of your head are numbred : And S. Peter, Cast all your care on 1 Pets A randis non imponit necessatem, quia si omnia him, for he careth for you: And his judgments Pfal. 366 are written, faith David.

God therefore, who is every where pre-(faith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that fent. Who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, Ja. 23.34 whose eyes are upon the righteous, and his countenance against them that do evil, was therefore by Orpheus called oculus infinitus, an infinite eye, beholding all things; and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on,

and all livings, for their young ones. If Pro- rans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that vidence be found in second Fathers, much feeth no reason in the actions of God, by considemore in the first and Universal: and if there ration of his own infirmity, perceiveth the reabe a natural loving care in men, and beafts, fon of his blindness. And again, with S. Anguginning, and is the bond of the Universal: may be, unjust it cannot be. Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium,& vinculum universi (faith Plato: ) Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus immobile sustentaculum ac universa machine fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and link or chain of the world. and the immovable pillar of every part thereof. and the Basis and foundation of the Universal. God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and fuftain that the Starrs have no other dominion, then all; fo as to absolute power; to every where 76.4.1. presence; to perfect goodness; to pure and

# S. XIV.

divine love; this attribute transcendent ha-

bility of Providence is onely proper and be-

longing.

# Of Predestination.

Ow for Predestination, we can differ-ence it no otherwise, from Providence and Prescience, then in this; that Prescience onely fore-feeth; Providence fore-feeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, heard of; and Hestodus, who hath taught Predestination (as it is used specially by Dimen belonging, but of their falvation proum subjec cum Diabolo Whereof one is it, which sels, have equal success to those by the best Tm me exis predestinated to reign for ever with God, but judgment conducted, therefore had Fortune with sothe other is to undergo everlasting torment with the same external figure with Sapience; (similar) the Devil; for according to Nonins Marcellus, whereof Athenaus:

as if he had transferred his power to any o- | Destinare, est praparare; and of the same opither; for it is contrary to his own word, Glo- nion are many Protestant Writers, as Calvin, Cal. in c 9. host, 8. riam meam alteri non dabo, I will not give my Beza, Eucanus, Danæus, and fuch like: and ad Rom. glory to another. No man commandeth in the as for the manifold questions hereof arising, Beg. is Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath might another. but God is every where present, and King of pleased God to create some vessels of ho-ad Rom. Kings. The example of Gods univerfal Pro- nour, and some of dishonour, I will answer Dament 1.3. Kings. The example of Gods universal Pro-vidence is feen in his creatures. The Father with Gregory, who faith, Qui in fact is Dei ra-Greg. Magh. provideth for his children: beafts and birds tionem non videt, infirmitatem suam conside- Job. 9. much more in God, who hath formed this stine, Occulta effe cansa potest, injusta esse non polin es nature, and whose Divine love was the be- potest; Hidden the cause of his Predestination 59.

### 6. X V.

# Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seem to be by Fortune, and against Reafon and Providence. Aftly, feeing Destiny or Necessity is sub-

fequent to Gods Providence, and feeing is before spoken and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, Dei artem, vel artificiofum Dei Organum, The art, or artificial Organ of God: and Cusanus, Divini pracepti instrumentum; The instrument of the divine precept: we may then with better reason reject that kind of Idolatry or God of fools, called Fortune or Chance; a Goddess, the most reverenced, and the most reviled of all other, but not antient: for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus, as Paulanias witnesseth in his Meffeniacks. The Greeks call her Tuxto, fignifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Ladywas scarce each not, and hard respect to an creatures, lead of and reposits, who hard taught even from the brighteft Angels of Heavento the unworthleft Worms of the Earth: and terfeit gods, hath not a word of Fortune; yet & Penins afterward the grew fo great and omnipotent, " vines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to as from Kings and Kingdoms, to Beggars and Demurius Cottages, the ordered all things; relifting the Polioreus perly, in the common use of Divines; or perdition, as some have used it. Yet Peter Lom-for thereof miserable; valuing the folly of one have used. The lowest Theorem 1. bard, Thomas, Berneufis Theologus, and others, the most foolish, by making the fuccess pro-tanget of his For-Thun part, take the word Predestination more strictly, sperous: insomuch as the actions of men were tune, is and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of faid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the said to have the Fathers take it more largely fometimes: variable accidents happening in mens lives, to cycles, among whom Saint Angultine speaking of two but her pastimes: of which Palladius, Vita ho-out upon the Cite Cities, and two Societies, useth these words, minum ludus fortune est; The life of main is possible to the cites, and two Societies, useth these words, Quarum est una, que predestinata est in eter- the play of Fortune: and because it often fall- to her a num regnare cum Deo, altera aternum supplici- eth out, that enterprises guided by ill coun- Verse of

perditum.

Longissime à Sapientia Fors dissidet, Sed multa perficit tamen simillima:

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From Wisedom Fortune differs far, And yet in works most like they are.

But I will forbear to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successes of human actions and endevours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given, then wasit attributed to Fortune, as if there were are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of Plato, Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cujus causa legitima non pracesserit; Nothing ever came to pass under the Sun, of which there was nota just (faith he) which happen, besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of sed non præter intentionem Superioris (to wit. the ordinance of God; ) and therefore (faith

Te facimus Melanchthon) Quod poeta Fertunam nos Deum Te termin appellamins; whom the Poets call Fortune, we discern, and hath with all an Innects or those Deam, we hope to be God. And that this is true, the heart and loving truth; the discover the discovery the din ms. Sai. Scripture in many places teacheth us; as in that govern, endure no other discourse then into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place

Plato, and the Academicks, to this effect, That

effects there appear unto us no certain causes. To this effect speaketh S. Augustine in his questions upon Genesisthe first Book: the fame hath Scheca in his fourth of Benefits ; which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was: For what sever (faith seven) he) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or For- 6.7. tune, all are but one and the same, differenced by divers terms, according as he useth, and exercifeth his power diverfly.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not fometimes the causes no cause of those things, of which most men of good and evil in men, but an idle voice. whereby we express success; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend upon so many unworthy and emptyheaded fools? that riches and honour are preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein an- given to external men, and without kernel; fwered in one diffinction, whatsoever may and so many learned, virtuous, and valiant be objected; for many things there are men wear out their lives in poor and dejected estates? In a word, there is no other inferiour, or apparent cause, beside the parthe Superior; Prater intentionem Inferioris, tiality of mans affection, but the falhioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the times wherein we live: for whosoever is most able, and best sufficient to discern, and hath withal an honest and open the Law of Murther, He that smiteth a man, their own flatteries: then, I say, such an one, and he die, shall die the death; and if a man whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to hath not laid wait, but God hath offered him | bc base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheel; which kind of deserving whither he shall slee. Now, where the Scripture hath these words, God hath offered him charge Fortune withal. For whosever shall into his hands, we say, If he hurt him by tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is Chance: and in Deuteronomy the nineteenth, not Just; the General of an Army, that he is where the ilipping of an Ax from the helve, not valiant; and great Ladies that they are whereby another is flain, was the work of not fair; shall never be made a Counseller, God himself; we in our phrase attribute this a Captain, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficiaccident, to Chance or Fortune: and in ent to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant Ver. 33. Proverbs the fixteenth, The lot is cast into the with a valiant, and just with him that is just, lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the for such a one hath no estate in his prosperi-Lord: fo as that which feemeth most casual ty; but he must also change with the succesand subject to Fortune, is yet disposed by the for, if he be of contrary qualities; sail with ordinance of God, as all things elfe; and the tyde of the time, and alter form and conhereof the wifer fort, and the best learned of dition, as the Estate or the Estate's Master the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cicero changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion that the most base men, and separate from of Ariftotle and his Sectators, with those of all imitable qualities, could so often attain to honour and riches, but by fuch an obserthe same power which they called Animam vantslaving course? The same power which they called Animam vantslaving course? The same power which they called Animam vantslaving course? The same power which they called Animam vantslaving course. The same power which they called Animam vantslaving course. The same power which they called Animam vantslaving course. we express by the name of God, governing by making them believe that all their vices every Being aswell in heaven as in earth; to are virtues, and all their dusty actions crywhich Wisdom and Power they sometime stalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally gave the title of Necedity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: fome- For, according to Menander, Omnis inspirent, time, the ftyle of Fortune, because of many arrogantia & plausibus capitur; Every fool is wonne with his own pride, and others flatter- What more fooligh then for him that despairs (eine applause: so as whosoever will live alto- specially of the effect ) to be entaneled with endgether out of himselfe, and study other mens less contentions? Whosoever therefore will humours, and observe them, shall never be let before him Machiavel's two marks to shoot unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man at (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must set on which prizeth truth and virtue (except the and take off a back of yron to a weak woodfeason wherein he liveth be of all these, den Bow, that it may fit both the strong and and of all forts of goodness, fruitful) shall ne- the feeble; for ashe who first devised to add ver prosper by the possession or profession fayls to rowing vessels, did either to proporthereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to war or contend in vain against wards the head of his Mast, he might abide the nature of times wherein he liveth: for all winds and storms, or else he sometime fuch a one is often the author of his own mifery; but best it were to follow the advice, that man which prizeth virtue for it selfe, which the Pope gave the Bishop of that age, out of Ovid, while the Arian Herefie raged:

Ovid. Mit. Dum furor in curfu est, currenti cede surori.
While sury gallops on the way, Let no man furie's gallop stay.

And if Cicero (then whom that world begat not a man of more reputed Judgment) and been with an untorn and undiffevered bonoteth Quid fultius quam desperantem, (pre- are diversities of operations, but God is the sertim de effectu ) litibus perpetuis implicari? same which worketh all in all.

tion them as being fastened aloft, and toor other perished by his own invention: fo and cannot endure to hoyfe and strike his fayls, as the divers natures of calmes and ftormes require, must cut his sayls and his cloth of mean length and breadth, and content himself with a flow and fure navigation, (to wit) a mean and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or whatfoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powhad followed the counsel of his Brother ers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishness) Quintus, Potnisset (faith Petrarch) in lectulo of man hath found out : let us resolve with suo mori, potuisset integro cadavere sepeliri; S. Paul, who hath taught us, that there is but 1 cor. c. 2; He might then have died the death of nature, one God, the Father, of whom are all things, v. 6. and we in him; and one Lord Jefus Chrift, by dy buried; for, as Petrarch in the same place whom are all things, and we by him; there

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CHAP. II.

Of Man's estate in his first Creation, and of God's rest.

6. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

the earth replenished, God faid, Let us make

60.1. 26. man in our own Image, according to our likenefs. Man is the last and most admirable of Gods works to us known: Ingens miraculum Tif And homo; Manis the greatest wonder (faith Plato 2. 6 de out of Mercurius:) Naturæ ardentissimæ arti-Plu leg. ficium. The artificial work of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as faith Zoroafter) though the fame be meant, not for any excellency external, but in respect of his internal form, both in the Nature, Qualities, and other Attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath conceive, that man was made after the Image an effence, immortal, and spiritual; in qualities, because the same was by God created minion, as S. Chrysoftom, Ambrose, and some holy and righteous in truth; in other attri-

world, and of the creatures therein.

"He creation of all other creatures be- | Santius his animal, mentise; capacius alta, ing finished, the heavens adorned, and Deerat addrec, & quod dominari in catera possët:

Natus homo eft. More holy then the rest, and understan- In locumo Ovid, Mei

ding more. A living creature wants, to rule all made before:

So man began to be.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoolmen, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Doothers: which S. Ambrose denieth to the wobutes, because man was made Lord of the man in these words, Ut sicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus; & quomodo ex Deo uno

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qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem; That as allo against Adimantus the Manichee affirm-God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kind should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore be being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the sameVerse. that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power; it is written Dominamini in the plural number; and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that Man is faid to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortal soul onely: because as God is invisible, so the soul sense, and in this place the better to express of man is invisible; as God is immortal and each other; whatsoever Lombard hath said incorporal, so is the foul of Man immortal to the contrary. For God knows, what a and incorporal; and as there is but one God multitude of meanings the wit of man imawhich governeth the world, fo but one gineth to himself in the Scriptures, which foul which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, fo is the foul of man wholly in every part of (Image) for both: fo Saint James uleth the the body: Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The foul is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof, according to Ariftotle; though Chalcidius, and o- the similitude of God. Howsoever therefore S. ther learned men deny that doctrine; which Augustine seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy that it is otherwise then potentially true, all in writing, to make some difference: as prove. These and the like arguments do the ternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri; finite Man.

ad Imaginem Dei; and spin into small threds with subtile distinctions, many times the plainness and sincerity of the Scriptures: vum; A word declaring quality in the Subfoul doth not therefore leave to be the Image racides it is written, He made them according

omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus effet super of God; but it hath not his Similitude, exfacient totius terra: unus igitur, unum fecit, cept it be holy and righteous. S. Augustine eth, that by fin, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, then the Image.

But howfoever the School-men and others diftinguish, or whatsoever the Fathers conceive; fure I am, that S. Paul maketh the same fense of the Image, which Victorinus doth of the similitude, who faith: As we have born the immittude, who latti: As we have born i Co. the image of the earthy, so shall we bear the i-42. mage of the beavenly; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scripture, that the words Image and Similitude were used but in one word (Similitude) for both, in these words: Therewith bless we God even the Father, and fam. 3, therewith curse we Men, which are made after the Aristotelians in the world shall never where he writeth, Confitenur imaginem in &- vi fight Jews make (faith Tostatus) and these resem- we confess that this image is found in eternity. blances, between the infinite God, and the but his similitude in manners, that is in the spiritual dispositions and qualities of the mind; The School-men resemble the Mind or yet thus he essewhere speaketh plainly: Quasi Ang. 18 Soul of Man to God, in this respect especi- verò possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo sere ally; because that as in the Mind there are non sit: senim own no smills non est procul duthree distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) bio nec image oft; As if (faith he) there could Memory, Understanding, and Will; and yet be any image, where the similitude is not: no. all these, being of real differences, are but out of doubt, where there is no likeness, there is one Mind: so in God there are three distinct | no image. The very words of the Text make persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, this most manifest, as, Let us make man in and yet but one God. They also make the our image, according to our likeness: which Image and Similitude diverse; and again, is, Let us make man in our image, that he they distinguish between Imaginem Dei, and may be like us: and in the next Verse sollowing, God himself maketh it plain; for there he useth the word (Image)only as thus: God created the man in his image, in the image their wits being like that strong water, that of God created he him. And to take away all eateth thorow and diffolveth the pureft dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of gold. Victorinus also maketh the Image of the fifth Chapter, the word (Similitude) is God to be fubstantial, but not the similitude: used again by it self, as, In the day that God Sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declarati- created Adam, in the likeness of God made he him. And this similitude S. Paul, Colof. the perfit stance. Out of which words, and that which third, calleth the Image; Fut on (faith he) the followeth, it is inferred, that as the Image new man which is renewed in knowledg after and Similitude do greatly differ, so the finful the image of him that created him. And in 89-

to his image. Now if we may believe S. Paul flance, the image of fuch a nature or wherebefore Peter Lombard and other Schoolmen, in can man be faid to retemble his unexcogithen it is as manifest as words can make it, table power and perfectness? Certainly, not that the image and similitude is but the same; in Dominion alone; for the Devil is said to 156 6 12. nm.1.3. for S. Paul ufeth both the words directly in one fense. For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image true and perfect image of his Father : Neiof a corruptible man.

general was formed after the image of God, both in iftanding, and Will 5 for the Devils are also immortal, and mind: Nulla pars in homine, que immortal, and participate those faculties, benon fuerit hujusce imaginis particeps; No part ing called Damones, because scientes of know-Plat in in a man (faith he) which was not participa- ledg and subtilty: Neither because we are ting God image; for God faid, Let us make man reasonable creatures, by which we are distinaccording to our own image. But the foul a- guished from beasts: For who have rebelled tone is not man, but the Hypoftasis or whole against God? Who have made gods of the Man compounded of body and foul. The vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Catts, of Owle, body of man ( faith he ) is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus; but sures, but reasonable men? Yet do I not conthe Idea and exemplar of the world was first demn the opinion of S. Chrysoftom and Am- Oferius de in God, so that man, according to his body, must needs be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his own image of God, if we take Dominion, such as objection feemeth to me fufficient, where he it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Juallegeth that it may be faid, that Moses spake stice and Piety; for God did not onely make man mortal, but the body onely: so when air) and over the Beasts of the Field; But God said, Let us make man after our image, he God gave unto man a dominion over men.he manum divina (faith Philo;) God is not par-

yet a more divine understanding then these groß Hereticks: Ad similitudinem Dei propiùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura; The virtue which is in man ( faith he ) came nearer the similitude of God then the figure. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God, God is Merciful, God is Charity it felf, and (in a word) Goodness it self, and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himself to teach us, and to make us know of himself. velnatura hominis. The form or nature of man;

ther because man hath an immortal foul, and Zanchius laboureth to prove, that Man therein the faculties of Memory, Underyea, even of shameful parts, of lusts and pleabrofe, as touching Dominion, but that, in re- full tib.5. spect thereof, man was in some fort after the by the figure Synechdoche, As when a man is man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes called a mortal man, yet is not the whole of the Sca, the Fowls of Heaven (or of the meant the foul of man, and not the body of appointed Kings to govern them, and Judges earth and dust: Maledictus qui Deitatem ad to judge them in equity. Neither do I exhominis lineamenta refert (faith S. Augustine: ) clude Reason, as it is the ability of Under-Curfed is he that referreth the Deity of God to standing. For I do not conceive, that Ireneus the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non did therefore call Man, the image of God, est humana forma particeps, neque corpus hu- because he was animal rationale onely; but that he understood it better, with sybilla; taker of humane form, nor humane body of the Imago mea est homo, reclam rationem habens, form divine. The Hebrew word for image, is Man that is endued with right reason is said to Telem, which fignifieth a shadow or obscure resemble God (that is) by right reason to know resemblance: In imagine pertransit homo; and confess God his Creatour, and the same Man passeth away in a shadow: Let us then God to serve, love, and obey: and therefore know and confider, that God, who is eternal faid S. Augustine (who herein came nearer the and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or Truth) Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & composition; for it is both against his Nature similitudinem suam in mente; God made man and his Word; an errour of the Anthropo- in respect of the intellect after his own image morphite, against the very essence and Malamilitude; and Reyverius, Homo, qued habet mentem, facture est ad imaginem Dei; Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had Man was made after the image of God in mind, Reyn. dor, in that he hath a mind.

of the Intellectual mind of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sin.

OUt Mens is not taken here for anima phy-Dica, according to Ariftotle, which is, forma What then can be the shadow of such a sub- but this faculty or gift of God, called Mens,

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perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whose act, exercise, or office, is the perpetual contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called Intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplatious, & anima contemplativa, A divine understanding. and an intellect or mind contemplative. Est au-De mine tem mens nostra ( faith Cusanus ) vis compre-1dios. 1.3. hendendi 5 6 totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectual mind (faith he) is a power of comprehending; even the whole, that is in this kind powerful, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: unto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemeth it to be the very the Manichees, and others) and no otherwise feparate from God (faith he) then the light from the Sun: for this Mens or understand-Sen. ep. 65, ing (faith Mercurius) eft Deus in hominibus. f. © 31. f. Is God in men; or rather (and which I take to Lib 9.6.5 be his meaning) is the image of God in man For, as the Sun is not of the same essence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; fo is this Mens or understanding in men, not of the effence of Gods infinite understanding, but a power and faculty of our fouls the purest; or, the lumen anima rationalis, by the true and eternal light illightned. And this Mens, others call Animam anima, The foul of the foul, or, with S. Augustine, the eye of the soul, or receptacle of Sapience and divine Knowledg, Que amorem sapientie tanquam ducem sequitur, Which followeth after the love of sapience as her guide (faith Philo;) between which and judge and discourse; Anima, by which we live. Hereof it is faid, Anima corpus animat, ideft, vivificat; or, The foul is that which doth animate the body, that is giveth it life; for God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this Anima, or mind, or, soul in make election; and to this Basil agreeth. which called this Mens, or divine understand-

is taken for prima vis animi, the principal bitual in wife men, and in mad men this strength of the mind, or foul, cujus actus est (mens) is extinguished, and not the soul, for mad men do live, though diftract.

Therefore this word being often used for the Soul giving life, is attributed abusively to mad men, when we fay that they are of a distract mind, in stead of a broken understanding: which word (Mind) we use also for Opinion, as, I am of this mind, or, that mind: and fometimes for mens conditions or virtues, as, He is of an honest mind, or, a man of a just mind: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mind's fake: and Aristotle fometimes useth this word (Mens) for the phantalie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledg of principles, which we have without discourse: effence of God (which was also the errour of oftentimes for Spirits, Angels, and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper signification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to be, A pure, fimple, substantial act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large, thus; A part or particle of the Soul, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion coming from without, and apt to be differered, as, eternal from that which is mortal. Hereof excellently Mercurius ; Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præest, mens animæ anima corporis The Soul (meaning that which giveth life) is the image of this understanding, or Mens; and this (Mens) or understanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this understanding, this understanding over the Soul, and this Soul over the body. This division and direason; between which and the mind, called stinction out of the Platonicks and Peripateanima: between which and that power which ticks, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That the Latines call animus, there is this diffe- Mens humana hath no need of any organ, zanth it rence: Reason, is that faculty by which we Marsilius Ficinus in his ninth Book of the oper. Da Soul's immortality, laboureth to prove. Zan- tap. 2. chius doth not differ from Ficinus in words; for (faith he) Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo ; tanquam medeath is the separation of body and soul: dio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objeand the same strength (saith Philo ) which do in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat. Hoc autem objectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simula-Man. Animus, is that, by which we will and chra ad phantaliam prolata: To exercise the faculty of understanding, the mind of man (saith he) needeth no instrument, as a mean, by which ing, Persicacem anima partem, The perceiving it may understand: but it needeth an object, part of the mind, or, The light by which the whereon to look, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phanfoul discerneth: Dormientum mens, non anitasms, or the resemblances of things received ma, sopitur; & in furiosis mens extinguitur,anima manet : In men that fleep it is this (mens, from the fense, and carried to the phantafte. But or) understanding, and not the mind or soul, in effect, his conclusion seemeth to carry a which refteth, during which time it is but ha- contrary sense, when he maketh the Phanta-

CHAP. II. fie. in representing the object to the under-) we are made capable of this print; but chiefstanding, to be a corporal Organum; neither can it be understood to be an Organum of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in mans on. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberaimagination, are to his understanding and lity, that we were printed with the seal of mind, as colours are to the fight; whence it so Gods Image (though Reason may be said to followeth, that the imagination or phantafy be of her gift, which, joyned to the Soul, is a it felf is to the faculty of understanding, as Pg. 185. the eye is to the faculty of feeing: and as this per species) but from the bountiful grace of The second of the second of this question, How the Lord of all goodness, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk into Earth, and contrived within the Trunk treavit il- body, and hath communion with the body,

lam. id elt, I refer the Reader to a most grave and learnriniis, at ed Discourse in the last Reply of M. D. Bilson, late Bishop of Winchester, unto Henry Jacob. empotem, face britisp of the truth be determined, we said tre must conclude that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the mind it self, by which we live, nor in refpect of our fouls simply, by which which in the Scriptures is called, walking with we are immortal, that we are made after the God; and all other men so long retain this Image of God. But most safely may we re- Image, as they fear, love, and serve God semble our selves to God in mente, and in respect of that pure faculty, which is never separate from the contemplation and love of weight of manifold and voluntary offences, God. Yet this is not all; For Saint Bernard and obstinate fins. For the unjust mind canmaketh a true difference between the nature not be after the Image of God, feeing God is and faculties of the Mind or Soul, and between the infusion of qualities, endowments for God is Charity and Mercy it self; Falfand gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned hood, cunning practice, and ambition, are and enriched, which, being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God: whose words are these, Non proptered imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, seque intelligit & diligit ( which also was the opinion of S. Augu-(tine; ) sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere, ac according to common understanding, have diligere cum à quo facta est, (that is) The Mind made us capable by the power of reason, and (or Mens) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and loveth it felf; but because it can remember, understand, and love God, who created it. And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, hear Basil; Homo ad Imaginem & Similitudinem Dei factus est Peccatum verò Imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit. O inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentia affectibus immersit: Man was made after the Image and Similitude of God, but Sin hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortality, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it self, nor in all these joyned, by any of which, or by all standing, with the other faculties of the Soul, it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by S.

ly, in respect of the habit of Original righteoutness, most perfectly infused by God into the Mind and Soul of man in his first Creatipart of the Effential Constitution of our proof Dust and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety and Righteousness.

So long therefore (for that refemblance which Dominion hath ) do those that are powerful retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandments they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and fincerely walk in the ways of God, Gen. 5. 22. truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and do not bruise and deface his Seal by the Justice it self; The bloud-thirsty hath it not, properties of Satan; and therefore cannot dwell in one foul, together with God: and 2 cor. 6. to be fhort, there is no likelihood between 14. pure light and black darkness, between beauty and deformity, or between righteoufness and reprobation. And though Nature, apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodness, which the sensual souls of Beasts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude natural more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and dure-less pleasures of this Stageplay World, then to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of God's Wisdom, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our fouls, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledg and Object to the Mind and Soul, to contemplate the ever-during Glory, and term-less Joy, prepared for those which retain the Image and Similitude of their Creatour, preferving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Iwhich we relemble, or may be called the mage of God, is created in Righteouinels, thadow of God, though by reason and under- and Holiness, as faith S. Paul. Now whereas

that by fin, the perfection of the Image is loft, and not the Image it felf: both opinions by nor perill with the mortal parts of virtuous this distinction may be well reconciled (to men: seeing Gods justice in the one, and his confidered, according to supernatural gifts, namely of divine Grace and heavenly Glory,

# 6. III.

blotted out, and destroyed by Sin.

Of our base and frail Bodies: and that the care thereof should yield to the immortal Soul.

THE external man God formed out of Sun. the dust of the Earth, or (according to the fignification of the word, Adam) of Adamath, of red Earth, or ex limo terræ, out of threatnings made us afraid? we behold othe flime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. Non ex qualibet humo, fed | ex chaphar adamath (id eft) ex pinguissima & Arias Mont. mollissima: Not that God made an Image or denat f. Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth, or Duft. God formed and made flesh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.

That, man was formed of Earth and Duff did Abraham acknowledg, when in humble fear he called unto God, to fave Sodom: Let not my Lord now be argry, if I speak, I that am but lust and assess. And, In these Houses of Gen. 18.17. Clay, whose foundation is in the assess, do our souls inhabit, according to Job. And though our own eyes do every where behold the Job 4. 27. fudden and refiftless assaults of Death, and Nature affureth us by never-failing experience, and Reason by infallible demonstratien, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability; that our Bodies are but the Anvils of pain and diseases, and our Minds the Hives of unnumbred cares, forrows, and paffions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Envy and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappines casting our hopes on the Peace, which we of our condition, and the dark ignorance trust to make at parting, is no other then a which covereth the eyes of our understand-rebellious presumption, and (that which is

S. Ambrose Augustine, with whom S. Ambrose joyneth, away leisure) the imprisoned immortal Soul, wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be goodness in the other, is exercised for evertaken two wayes; for, either it is considered more, as the ever-living subjects of his reaccording to natural gifts, and confifteth ward and punishment. But when is it that we therein; namely, to have a reasonable and examine this great account? Never while we understanding nature, &c. and in this sense, have one vanity left us to spend: we plead the Image of God is more lost by sin, then the for Titles, till our breath fail us; dig for very reasonable or understanding nature, &c. Riches, while our strength enableth us; exis lost, (or fin doth not abolish and take away ercise Malice, while we can revenge; and these natural gifts:) or, the Image of God is then when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it self hateth the house of old age, we remember with Job, that we must go the way Job 10.11, from whence we shall not return, and that our 6-17.13, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the natural Image; and this manbed is made ready for us in the dark; And ner of similitude and Image of God is wholly then, I fay, looking over-late into the bottom of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) we behold therein the fearful Images of our actions past, and withal this terrible Inscription: That God will bring every work into judgment, that man hath done under the Eccl. 12.14.

But what examples have ever moved us? what perfwafions reformed us? or what ther mens Tragedies plaid before us, we hear what is promifed and threatned: but the World's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and these betraying lights, (with which we onely see) do neither look up towards term-less joyes, nor down towards endless forrows, till we neither know, nor can look for any thing else at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently Marius Victor :

Nil hostes nil dira fames, nil denique morbi Egerunt, fnimus, qui nunc sumus ; iisque periclis Tentati: nihilo meliores reddimur unquam; Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, famine, enemies, in us no change have wrought,

What er'ft we were, we are; still in the fame fnare caught:

No time can our corrupted manners mend; In Vice we dwell, in Sin that hath no end.

But let us not flatter our immortal Souls herein; for to neglect God all our lives, and ing, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughthis Vassal and Slave of death, and forget al- ing to scorn, and deriding of God, his Laws together (or onely remember at our cast- and Precepts. Frustra sperant qui sic de miseri-

cordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vain, up the Ghost, or Spirit; (which was) that his sem in faith Bernard, which in this fort flatter them- life and foul left his body dead. And that felves with Gods mercy.

Снар. 11.

CHAP. II.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his creation.

breath of life; and the man was a living

Soul: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soul spiritual and incorruptible; not that God had any fuch bodily inftruments as men use, but God | solved into the same first matter, whence they breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortality | were taken: but the life of breath everlafting, into man, as he breatheth his grace daily into which God breathed into Man, shall, accor-(faith Elihu in Job ) hath made me, and the gave it. breath of the Almighty hath given me life: In qua sententia (faith Rabanus) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus bominis, vel faucibus aut labiis suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut vivere possit & spiraculum vita habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tua fecerunt me, &c. tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id eft, juxta consustudinem, qua solent homines oper ari ) loquu-tus est: In which sentence (saith he) the beg-and whom he made the last, and most excelgarliness of carnal sense is to be avoided, lest lent of his Creatures, being internally enduperhaps we should think either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with jaws or lips upon his face (being form- after whose Image he was formed, and endued) that he might live, and have the spirit of ed with the powers and faculties of Reason life: for the Prophet also mhen ke shift; Thy and other abilities, that thereby also he hands have made me, speak this Tropically, might govern and rule the World, and all rather then properly (that is) according to the other God's Creatures therein. And whereas custom which men use in working. Quantum est God created three sorts of living natures, (to periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo le- wit) Angelical, Rational, and Brutal; giving gunt? In what danger are they that read the to Angels an intellectual, and to Beafts a fen-The inspiration of the Almighty giveth under-God breathed into man, which is the reafonable foul of man, returneth again to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to Ecclesiastes: And dust shall return to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the fpirit feall return to God that gave it. Neither is this iguo totum, in terris statuit; God therefore c. 1. word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, Scriptures, then for the foul; as when Ste- as it were another World; the great and large

the immortal foul of man differeth from the fouls of beafts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, Let the Gen. 1. 20. waters bring forth in abundance every creeping 24. 16. thing, and let the earth bring forth the living thing according to his kind, the beaft of the Earth &c. But of man it is written, Let us make man in our own Image, &c. and further, that ■ N this frame and carcassGod breathed the the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Gen. 2.7. Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life so shal they again be diffuch as love and fear him. The Spirit of God ding to Ecclefiaftes, return again to God that Eccl. 13.7.

# 6. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAn, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model or brief Story in the Universal: in whom God coned with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate, and ferve his Creatour, Scriptures in a carnal sense? By this breath sual nature, he vouchsafed unto Man, both was infused into man, both life and soul, and the intellectual of Angels, the sensitive of therefore this (Soul) the Philosophers call Beasts, and the proper rational belonging un-Animam, que vivificat corpus, & animat; to man: and therefore (faith Gregory Nazi-Which doth animate and give life to the body. Man is the bond and chain which tieth together 1. 17. f. flanding, faith Job; and this spirit, which both Natures: and because in the little frame Greg. Nat. of man's body there is a representation of the nis in bomi-Universal, and (by allusion) a kind of parti- ne creatura, cipation of all the pars there, therefore was or celum man called Microcofmos, or the little World. Deus ieitur hominem factum, velut alterum Aug.l.qu.

quendam mundum,in brevi magnum,atque ex- 83.84.67. Ma. 750, Phen cried unto God: Domine, sucipe spiri- World in the small and little World: for out of 16th 9.30. tum meum; Lord Jesus receive my spirit: and the Earth and Dust, was formed the flesh of in S. John, And Jesus bowed his head and gave man, and therefore heavy and lumpish: the

Ovil. Met. Inde genus durum fumus experiensque laborum, Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring pain and care, Approving, that our bodies of a stony nature are.

His bloud, which disperseth it self by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carried by Brooks and Rivers over all the earth; his breath to the Air, his natural heat to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it felf, which ftirred up by the heat of the Sun, aflifteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radical Moisture, Oyl, or Balfamum (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the Earth; the hairs of mans body, which adorns, or overfladows it, to the grafs. which covereth the upper face and fkin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature. which produceth all things; our determinations, to the leight, wandring, and unftable our eternal habitation, which we pais on unclouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eyes to the light of the Sun and and in the end, by the work manship of death, Moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very Thort time, or with the Sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called Mens, and that which always looketh upwards) to those intellectual Natures, which are always prefent with God; and laftly, our immortal fouls persons. For this Tide of mans life, after it Image and Similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, 76b 14. 18. Or rightcous (for, In Angelis deprehensa est ments of new Leaves and Flowers. stultitia, Behold, He found folly in his Angels, faith Job), yet, with fuch a kind of difference, as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in men: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called Man, the Image and Similitude of his own Righteousness. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the Universal (man be-Arif. 10. ing the measure of all things; Homo eft men-Met.c. 1. f. fura omnium rerum, faith Ariftotle and Pythagoras) that the four Complexions resemble the four Elements, and the feven Ages of

man the seven Planets; Whereof, our infan-

bones of his body we may compare to the cie is compared to the Moon, in which we feem onely to live and grow, as Plants; the sccond Age to Mercurie, wherein we are taught and inftructed; our third Age to Venus, the days of Love, Defire, and Vanity; the fourth to the sun, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to Mars, in which we feek honour and victory. and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the fixth Age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take accompt of our times, judge of our felves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh, to Saturn, wherein our days are fad, and over-cast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the forrow onely abideth: Our attendants are ficknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end defired, whom when Time bath made unsociable to others, we become a burthen to our selves: being of no other use, then to hold the riches we have from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforefaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for to with many fighs, grones, and fad thoughts, finish the sorrowfull business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both fleeping and waking : neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path foever we walk, the fame leadeth on directly to the house of death, (while they are righteous) are by God him- once turneth and declineth, ever runneth felf beautified with the title of his own with a perpetual Ebb and falling Stream, but never floweth again: our Leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the Sun or the Summer adorn us again, with the gar-

> Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus atas, Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I give this fense. The Plants and Trees made poor and old By Winter envious, The Spring-time bounteous Covers again from shame and cold: But never man repair'd again His youth and beauty loft, Though Art, and care, and coft, Do promise Nature's help in vain. And And of which,

CATULLUS, EPIGRAM. 53.

Soles occidere & redire possunt : Nobis cum femel occidit brevis lux, Nox est perpetua una dormienda.

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

The Sun may fet and rife: But we contrariwise Sleep after our short light One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then, according to the doctrine of the Academicks, ed; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the fap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserved, with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

6. 'V I.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himself.

Hese be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankind, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he beflowed the liberal choice of all things, with one onely Prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God fet before him, a mortal and immortal Life, a nature celestial and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himfelf, to be his own Guide, his own Workman, and his own Painter, that he might ther did God so rest, that he left the World frame or describe unto himself what he pleafed, and make election of his own form. felves: for my Father worketh to this day God made man in the beginning (faith Siracides) and left him in the hands of his own counfelicity: whereas beafts, and all other creatures reasonless, brought with them into the World (faith Lucilius), and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the Nature, which they could not change; and the supernal Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or foon after, of that condition, in which they remain in perpetual eternity. But (as aforesaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the fenfual of Beasts, the rational of Man, and the intellectual of Angels; whereof which foever he took pleasure to plant and cultive, the same-should futurely grow in him, and bring which was perfect good, and from whose

forth fruit, agreeable to his own choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man Adam, and our first Father, was anigmatically described by Asclepius Atheniensis (faith Mirandula) in the person and Fable of Protens, who was faid, as often as he pleafed, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated Metamorphoses among the Pythagoreans, and antient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutality, from Virtue to Vice, from Meekness to Cruelty, and from Justice to Oppresiithe same might also perpetually be maintain- on. For by the lively Image of other creatures did those Antients represent the variable passions, and affections of mortal men; as by Serpents were fignified Deceivers; by doth evermore ascend or descend; so is it Lyons, Oppressors, and cruel men; by Swine, Men given over to lust and sensuality; by Wolves, ravening, and greedy men; which also S. Matthew resembleth to false Prophets, Math. 7. which come to you in sheeps clothing, but in- 15. wardly they are ravening Wolves: by the images of stones and stocks, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungrateful Men; of which S. John Baptist, O ye generation of Vipers, &c.

s. VII.

Of God's ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universal created was exceeding good.

N this work of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, Cui voluisse est fecisse; With whom, to will is to make, faith Beda. Nei- John 5.17. made, and the Creatures therein to them-(faith Christ) and I work; but God rested des) and left him in the hands of his own coun(that is) he created no new species or kinds 3. 14.

fel. Such was the liberality of God, and man's of creatures, but (as aforelaid) gave unto man a power generative, and so to the rest of living creatures, to Plants and Flowers, their feeds in themselves; and commanded Man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their several kinds: all which being finished, God faw that his works were good; not that he foreknew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but he gave to all things which he had created the name of Good, thereby to teach men, that from fo good a God there was nothing made, but that

fimple purity and from so excellent a cause mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, there could proceed no impure or imperfect and all creatures of the first Age destroyed. effect. For man having a free will and liberal but the righteous man Noah and his Family, choice, purchased by disobedience his own with those creatures which the Ark containdeath and mortality; and for the cruelty of ed, reserved by God to replenish the Earth.



CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradife.

§. I.

That the feat of Paradife is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvel that men should erre.

getteth a thousand Children, if the licenti- upon our salvation depended not. oulness thereof be not timely restrained. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themfelves to follow and imitate others, were in all things so observant Sectators of those Masters, whom they admired and believed in, as they thought it fafer to condemn their own understanding, then to examine theirs. tate per suali, transmittimus; We pass over ma- as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius, with others, led and perswaded. And it is true, that many those four Rivers Pison, Gehon, Hiddekel, and

Oncerning the first Habitation of man, | they were men; Et humanum est errare. And we read, that the Lord God planted a to the end that no man flould be proud of Garden Eastward in Eden, and there be himself, GOD hath distributed unto men put the man whom he made, Gen. 2. 6. Of this fuch a proportion of Knowledg, as the wifest feat and place of Paradife, all Ages have held may behold in themselves their own weakdispute; and the opinions and judgments ness: Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; God have been in effect, as divers, among those never gave the knowledg of all things to any that have written upon this part of Genesis, one. Saint Paul confess d that he knew not, 100,110 as upon any one place therein, seeming most whether he were taken up into the third . obscure: Somethere are, that have conceived the being of the terrestrial Paradise, with-and Christ himself acknowledgeth thus out all regard of the Worlds Geography, much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of Many and without any respect of the East and the latter day; and therefore, seeing know- 36. West, or any consideration of the place ledg is infinite, it is God (according to S. where Moles wrote, and from whence he | Jude ) who is only wife. Septentia ubi inve- Jude 51. directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judg, in what and where is the place of understanding? Man 12,18. Region of the World this Garden was by God knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not 4.18. planted, wherein he was exceeding respe- found in the Land of the living. And therefore tive and precise. Others, by being them- seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens felves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the judgments (which inhabit in houses of Clay) first Interpretation; or, trusting to their own cannot be without their mistakings: and so judgments, understood one place for ano- the Fathers, and other learned men, excuther; and one Errour is so fruitful, as it be- sable in particulars, especially in those where-

# §. II.

A recital of strange Opinions touching Paradife.

Ow touching Paradise, first it is to be enquired, Whether there were a Para-For (faith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradise) dise, or no? or whether Moses description Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authori- were altogether mystical, and allegorical? ny gross errours, by the authority of great men have affirmed; and that under the names of of the Fathers were far wide from the under-flanding of this place. I speak it not, that I ledg, there were delivered unto us other my self dare presume to censure them, for I mysteries and significations; as, that by the reverence both their Learning and their Pie-four Rivers were meant the sour Cardinal ty, and yet not Lound to follow them any Virtues, Juffice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Burg. turther, then they are guided by truth: for Prudence; or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milk, 1.143. and Honey. This Allegorical understanding by God in one certain place, and peculiar of Paradife by Origen divulged, was again by Garden; which place Goropius findeth near Franciscus Georgius received (faith Sixtus the River of Acesmes, in the Confines of Senensis; ) whose frivolous imaginations Six- India. tus himself doth fully and learnedly answer, the laft Edition.

gorical construction, and set Paradise in the and all their Secrators, followed the opinion third Heaven, and in the virtues of the mind, of Origen, or rather Origen theirs who would & in nostro principali, which is, as I conceive either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament it, in mente, or in our fouls: to the particu- onely, or else would have it seated out of lars whereof he alludeth in this fort. By the this fensible world, or railed into some high place or garden of Paradise, was meant the and remote Region of the Air. Strabus, and Soul or Mind; by Adam, Mens, or, Under- Rabanus, were both fick of this vanity, with in direct words alloweth both of a celestial ly marvel at the learned men, who so grossly and terrestrial Paradise; the one into which and blindly wandred; seeing Moses, and after S. Paul was wrapt; the other, into which A- him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this dam was put by God. Aug. Chrysamensis was place, by the Region in which it was planted, of opinion, that a Paradise had been; but by the Kingdoms and Provinces bordering that there was not now any mark thereof it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by on the earth: the same being not onely de- the points of the Compass upon which it lay, faced, but withall the places now not fo in respect of Judea, or Canaan. much as existing. To which Luther seemeth to adhere.

Paradife was meant the whole Earth; to whole Earth (faith he) hath the same beauty which opinion, Vadianus inclineth, as I con- ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Oceive his words, in two feveral places. First, cean was that Fountain from whence the upon this; Fill the earth, Gen. 10. Of which | four Rivers, Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrahe gives this judgment. Hoc ipso etiam quod tes, had their beginning; for he could not dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis think it possible, that these Rivers, of Ganges, animantibus, subjicite terram, clarissime docet, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum ran through India, the other through Egypt, erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum il- and the other through Mesopotamia and Arlum Adæ, & posteritatis futuræ fuisse ; These words (faith he) in which God faid Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and fubduc it, and rule over every creature, do clearly shew, that the Universal earth, set or filled with all forts of fruits (as then it was, ) was the garden and feat of Adam, and of his future posterity. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, Vers. 16. out of the Acts, Cap. 17. Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideò factum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terra: tota Moses make it manifest, where it is written, (faith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one in Eden, and there he put the Man whom he had bloud all mankind, to dwell over all the face of made: and howfoever the vulgar translatithe earth: and therefore all the carth (faith he) on, called Jeron's translation, hath convertwas that Paradise. Which conjectures I will ed this place thus, Plantaverit Dominus Deus answer in order. Goropius Becanus differeth Paradisum voluptatis à principio, The Lord God not much from this opinion, but yet he ac- planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginknowledgeth that Adam was first planted ning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden,

Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durandus, Ban, t&; in the 34. Annotation of his fift Book, fol. 338. make Paradife under the Equinoctial; and 126. Postellus, quite contrary, under the North-S. Ambrose also leaned wholly to the Alle- pole: the Chaldeans also for the most part; Standing; by Eve, the Sense; by the Serpent, Origen, and Philo: so was our venerable Beda, Bed. in Delectation; by the Tree of good and evil, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the Syrian, translated by Masur. But as Hopkins and Peter Complete, and Master But as Hopkins and Peter Complete. or from thence springing. Notwithstanding malo genio assertions, that he wondred, 2000 cer. 3. all which, upon the first of the Corinth. c.6. he blown up into this errour; so can I but great-

Novionagus also upon Beda, De natura rerum, believeth that all the Earth was taken The Manichees also understood, that by for Paradise, and not any one place. For the menia) could rife out of one Fountain, vvere it not out of the Fountain of the Ocean.

# §. III.

That there was a true local Paradife Easiward, in the Countrey of Eden.

"O the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of igitur terra Paradisus ille erat; The Apostle And the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward Gen. 2

manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper autem esse proprium nomen, apparet ex quarto name of a Region. For, What sense hath this capite Gen. ubi legimus, Cham habitaffe ad Oritranslation (faith our Hopkins, in his Treatise entalem plagam Heden; For Moses (faith he) Interpreters call it Paradisum Edenis, The Paphrast truly take it for the proper name of a word, That as Florida was a Country, fo called for the flourishing beauty thereof; fo was Eden a Region, called Pleasure, or Deli-Florida fignifieth Flourishing; so Eden fignifieth Pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for Eden being the pro-Hebrew) and Paradise being the choise seat of all that Region, Paradife was truely the Pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greek Fathers, as Bafil, Chryfoftom, Theodoret, Gregory; and to the Rabines, as Ramban, Rabbi Solomon, R. Abraham, and Chimchi; and of the Latines, Severinus, Damascenus, &c. who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a initio; for Damascene's own words are these, Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad 0rientem mirabiliter consitus; Paradise is a place marvelloufly planted by the hands of God I will answer hereafter.

Now, because Paradi

these words of Eden and of the East, contrary to the vulgar Translation; Paristensis, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senensis, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their own words: After this I will begin to speak of Paradiseterrestrial, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. me prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in regione | the Egyptians and Chaldeans.

and ( from the beginning ) for Eastward: it is | terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden of Paradife) that he planted a Garden in doth them most clearly, that Paradise was plant-Pleasure, or, that a River went out of plea- ed of God in a Region of the East Countrey, fure to water the Garden? But the Seventy which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Verlets. radise of Eden; and so doth the Chaldean Para- Genesis, where we read, that Cham dwelt on the East border of Heden. Pererius endeavoureth Place, and for a Noun appellative; which to qualifie this Translation; for this particle Region, in respect of the fertility of the Soil, (saith he) ab initio, is referred to all the time of the many beautiful Rivers and goodly of the Creation, and not to the very first Woods, and that the Trees (as in the Indies) day; alledging this place of Christ, that aldo always keep their leaves, was called Eden, though the Devil was faid to be a Man-flayer Joh, 8.14. which fignifieth in the Hebrew, Pleasantness, from the beginning, yet that was meant but or delicacy; as the Spaniards call the Coun- after the fixth day. But furely, as I think (retry, opposite to the Isle of Cuba, Florida: ferring my self to better judgment) the Deand this is the miltaking, which may end the vil was from the instant of his fall a Mandispute, as touching the double sense of the slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practife till mans Creation. And for conclusion, S. Hierom (if that be his tranflation ) adviseth himself better in the end of cacy, for its pleasure or delicacy: and as the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (a principio) as, God did fet a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden: Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum volupper name of a Region (called Pleasure in the tatis, Cherubin; and Pererius himself acknowledgeth, that this is the true fense of this place, precifely taken, according to the He-Garden of Eden, and truely the Garden of brew, Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; He fet on the East-side of the Garden Gen. 1.4 of Heden, a Cherubin. Becamus affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) fignifieth (with ) as well as (in ) and fo the Text beareth this fense: That God planted a Garden with pleafure (that is to fay ) full of pleasure. But Becanus followeth this construction, onely to the end to find Paradise upon the River of Asceines; for there he hath heard of the In-Region, and set the word (Eastward) for ab dian Fig-tree in great abundance, which he supposeth to be the Tree of knowledg of good and evil and would therefore draw Paradise to the Fig-Tree: which Conceit of his

Now, because Paradise was seated by Mo-And after all these Fathers, Guilhelmus Pa- | setoward the East, thence came the custom risensis, a great learned man, and sixtus se- of praying toward the East, and not by iminensis, of latter times, do both understand tation of the Chaldeans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun rifeth in March, which is directly over Paradife (faith Damafcenus: ) affirming, that we always pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradise, whence we were cast out ; and yet the Temple of Solomon had their Priests and Sacrifi-Post hac incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, ces, which turned themselves in their service quem plantaffe Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem and divine ceremonies, always towards the &c. And then Senensis; Moses enim clarissi- West, thereby to avoid the superstition of

But because East and West are but in re- | most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and frect of places; (for although Paradife were (withal) good for meat: which proveth that East from Judea, yet it was West from Persia) Paradise was a terrestrial Garden, garnished and the ferving of God is every where in the with Fruits, delighting both the eye and we turn our faces, so our hearts stand right, take away all opinion of Allegorical conother then this, that we who dwell West struction, he affirmeth that it was watered from Paradife, and pray turning our felves and beautified with a River; expressing also towards the East, may remember thereby to the Region, out of which this River sprang, befeech God, that as by Adams fall we have which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is and paffion we may be made partakers of the Paradife celestial, and the Kingdom of Heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other mystery in adding the word (East) to Eden by Mofes, then to fnew, that the Reof which Ovid.

Eurus ad Auroram, Nabatheag; regna recessit, Persidaque. O radiis juga subdita matutinis.

The East wind with Aurora hath a biding Among th' Arabian and the Persian Hills, Whom Phabus first falutes at his first rising.

And if it be objected, that Jeremy the not that Babylon it felf frood North from Tewards the North.

Peter Comeftor giveth best satisfaction: for he | Trees, under the Rules of Allegory. useth the word From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the World, (à principio) id eft, (faith he) à prima orbis parte; and af- nifest. For, God gave Adam free liberty to terward he affirmeth, that à principio, and ad eat of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree cipio idem est quod ad Orientem.

end why, is express'd: that he might dress it which were in the Garden of God, envied him; and keep it ; Paradise being a Garden or Or- which proveth both Eden, and Paradise chard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the thereinseated, to be terrestrial: for the Pro-

world; the matter is not great, which way taste. And to make it more plain, and to reef 10. loft the Paradife on earth; fo by Christs death | also a Country neer unto Charon in Mejopo- East, 27. tamia, Ezekiel witnesleth.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Story of the Scriptures into Allegories, Epiphanius answereth in these words: Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam gion of Eden, in which Paradife was, lay East- fons; fi non eft fons, non eft flumen; fi non eft ward from Judea and Canaan: for the Scrip- flumen, non funt quatuor principia, non Pilon. tures alwayes called the people of those Na- non Gehon, non Trigis, nec Euphrates; non est tions, the Sons of the East which inhabited ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Persia: est Adam, non sunt komines, sed veritas jam fabula est & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur; If Paradise be not sensible, then there was no fountain, and then no river; if no river, then no such four heads or branches, and then not any fuch river, as Pifon, or Gehon, Tieris, or Euphrates; no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves; Eve then did not eat of the fruit, neither was there any Adam, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back Prophet, threatning the destruction of Jeru- into Allegories. Words to the same effect hath salem, doth often make mention of Northern S. Hierome upon Daniel: Contitescant corum Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in verithere named, in respect of those Nations that tate sequentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritafollowed Nabuchodonozer, and of whom the tem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores pugreatest part of his Army was compounded; tent Allegoria Legibus se debere subruere: Let the dotage of them be filent, who following sharusalem, though inclining from the East to- dows and images in the Truth, endeavour to ards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, onght to bring Paradife, and the Rivers, and the

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Story, is the place made more ma-Orientem, have the same signification: From of knowledg excepted) which Trees Moses the beginning and East-ward is all one; à prin- in the ninth Verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. But to return to the proof of this place, Besides, God left all beasts to Adam to be and that this story of Mankind was not Al- named, which he had formerly made; and legorical, it followeth in the Text of the 2. these beasts were neither in the third heaven, Chap, and 9. Verse, in these words: For out nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beasts of the ground made the Lord God to grow every in imagination: for if all these things were Tree pleasant to the fight, and good for meat, Enigmatical or mystical, the same might also &c. fo as first it appeared that God created be said of the creation of all things. And E-Adam else-where as in the World at large, | zechiel, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian and then put him into the Garden: and the Kings, which this speech: All the Trees of Eden, Exek 31.9.

Mofes wrote plainly, and in a fimele style. fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradife, than in any other place of such a place there was. And yet I do not ex-Scripture; of purpole, to take away all scruple from the incredulity of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecy) to be apt to fabulous inventions; and that if out : the Story being directly true notwithhe had not described both the Region and the Rivers, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the unbelieving Ifraelites, and others after them, would have misconstrued this raliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, Story of Man-kind. And, is it likely, there would have been so often mention made of tertia eorum, qui utroque modo Paradisum Paradise in the Scriptures, if the same had accipiunt; (that is) There are three opinions of been an Otopia? For we find that the Val- Paradife: the one of those men, which will have ley, wherein Sodome and Gomorrah stood, it altogether corporal: a second of those, which Gen. 13.10 (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the five conceive it altogether spiritual, and to be a fiprincipal Cities therein) was before the de- gure of the Church: the third of those, which struction (which their unnatural sin purcha- take it in both senses; which third Opinion, sed) compared to the Paradise of the Lord, S. Augustine approveth, and of which Suidas and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: giveth this allowable judgment: Quemad-In like manner was Ifrael refembled to the modum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul radife it felf, exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a feat and foil of far exceeding excellency.

Befides, whence had *Homer* his invention

of Alcinous Gardens as Justin Martyr noteth, but out of Moses his description of Paradise? Gen. 2. And whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the Story of Paradife? To which also appertain those Verses of

ovid Mei. the Golden Age in Ovid:

Ver erat æternum; placidique tepentibus auris. Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

The joyfull Spring did ever last, And Zephyrus did breed Sweet flowers by his gentle blaft, Without the help of Seed.

And it is manifest, that Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Hesiodus, and Homer, and, after him, cvid, one out of another, and all these together with Pythagoras and Plato, and their Sectators, did greatly enrich their Inventi-Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poetical conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own speculations and contemplations.

the fame afterwards was divided into four

phets made no imaginary comparisons. But | Havila, and Cush; and that all these are Eastward from Canaan, or the Defarts of the Amorites, where Moles wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that clude the Allegorical sense of the Scripture: for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint Augustine) Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: una est eorum, qui tantummodò corpoqui spiritualiter tantum (id est ) Ecclesiam: In the manner was tract retentioned to the modulus was to sold for God, before the Babylonians conditus erat: sie & hujus sandissilizam nemus wasted it: which proveth plainly, that Pa- scalife it self, exceeded in beauty and fertili- practitum; (that is) is man was created at one croix a radis it self, exceeded in beauty and fertilitime, both sensible, and intelligible; so was this [13.0] holy Grove, or Garden, to be taken both ways, verbot and endued with a double form.

6. IV.

Why it should be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of Paradife.

But it may be objected, that it is needless, and a kind of curiosity to enquire so diligently after this place of Paradife, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or nouse. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Story be necessary, then by the place proved, the same is also made more apparent. For if we should conceive that Paradife were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moon; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and in no part of the known World; from whence, Adam was faid to wade through the Sea, ons by venting the stoln Treasures of Divine and thence to have come into Judea, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could feem more ridiculous than the report of fuch a place? and befides, what But besides all these testimonies, if we find maketh this seat of Paradise so much disputed what Region Heden, or Eden was; if we and doubted of, but the conceit that Pishon prove the River that ran out of it, and that should be Ganges, which watereth the East India; and Gehon, Nilus, which enricheth Branches; together with the kingdoms of Egypt: and these two Rivers so far distant, as

freams can no way be comprifed therein?

death of our Saviour, were faid to have been Moon doth embrace the Moon. To the end in some such Countrey, of which no man ever therefore that these ridiculous Expositions heard tell, and that his Miracles had been performed in the Air, or no place certainly Truth it felf, or make the same subject to known: I affure my felf, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a flender root in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

to the judgment of some Writers upon this place of Genesis (though otherwise for their by knowing this place, we shall the better doctrine in general, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I fay that there is no Worlds inhabitation: for near unto this did Fable among the Grecians or Egyptians more the Sons of Noah also disperse themselves afridiculous: for who would believe that there ter the Floud, into all other remote Regions were a piece of the World fo fet by it felf, and Countreys. And if it be a generous deand separated, as to hang in the Air under fire in men, to know from whence their own the circle of the Moon? or who so doltish forefathers have come, and out of what Reto conceive, that from thence the four Ri- gions and Nations it cannot be difpleafing to vers of Ganges, Nilus, Euphrates, and Tygris, fhould fall down, and run under all the Ocean, and rife up again in this our habitable Mankind have followed and been deduced. world, and in those places where they are If then it do appear by the former, that such now found? Which left any man think that I a place there was as Paradife, and that the enforce, or strain to the worst, these are Peter knowledge of this place cannot be unpro-Comestor's own words. Est autem locus ame- fitable, it followeth in order to examine senissimus, longo terra & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò clevatus ut usque ad lunarem globum attingat, &c. (that is) It is with the fense of the Scripture, and with a most pleasant place severed from our habitable common Reason; and afterward to prove dizone, by a long trait of Land and Sea, elevated rectly, and to delineate the Region in which fo, that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.

And Moses Barcephas upon this place Bern con- And Mojes Barcepus upon this place recediby writeth in this manner: Deinde boc quoque responsum volumus Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esse regione, atque hac nostra extet terra, ecque fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non pollis z eóque impetu impulli presique sub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rursus prosiliant ebulliantque in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which have this fense: Furthermore (faith he) deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in we give this for an answer, that Paradise is set such fort, as no man can find any mark or in a Region far raised above this part which we memory thereof (of which opinion there inhabit; whereby it comes to pass, that from were others also, ascribing to the Floud the thence these Rivers fall down with such a head- cause of those high Mountains, which are long violence, as words cannot express, and found on all the Earth over, with many owith that force so impussed and prest, they are ther strange effects:) for mine own opinion, carried under the deep Ocean, and do again I think neither the one nor the other to be rise and boil up in this our habitable World: true. For although I cannot deny, but that and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, the face of Paradile was after the Floud wiwhich is this: Ephram dicit, Paradifum ambire thered, and grown old, in respect of the first terram, atque ultra Oceanum ita politum esse, ut beauty (for both the ages of men, and the totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet Re- nature of all things Time hath changed:) yet gione, non aliter atque Lune orbis Lunam cin- if there had been no fign of any fuch place, git; (which is) That Paradife doth compass or or if the foil and feat had not remained then

(except all the World were Paradife) these embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orhe Secondly, if the birth and works, and of the Earth on every lide, as the Orbe of the and Opinions do not bring question unto doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of Paradife, which God in his wildom appointed in the very Navel of this our World, and (as Melanthon faies) in parte Terræ meliore, in the best part thereof, that Thirdly, if we should relie, or give place from thence, as from a Center, the Universal might be filled with people and planted; and judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the understand the place of our first Ancestor. from whence all the streams and branches of veral Opinions before remembred, by the Truth it felf; and to fee how they agree God first planted this delightfull Garden.

6. V.

That the Floud hath not utterly defaced the marks of Paradife, nor caused Hills in the Earth.

Nd first, whereas it is supposed by Aug. Chysamensis, that the Floud hath altered,

CHAP. III;

long after Moses, would not have made so Gulfs to receive a Floud, or any descent, or often mention thereof. And though the ve- violent falling of waters in the round form ry Garden it felf were not then to be found, of the Earth and Waters, as aforefaid: and but that the Floud, and other accidents of therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reatime made it one common field and pasture son, that the Waters rather stood in a quiet with the Land of Eden, yet the place is still calm, than that they moved with any raging the same, and the Rivers still remain the or overbearing violence. And for a more same Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wir, Tygris, and Euphrates, we are fure to find in what longitude Paradife lay; one of those pillars erected by Seth, the third afterward doth divide it felf into four pillars were fet up above 1426 years before branches, we are fure that the partition is at the Floud, counting seth to be an hundred the very border of the Garden it felf. For it years old at the erection of them; and To-Sm. 2.10. is written, that out of Eden went a River to feph himself to have lived some source or fiffelf, or to Paradife; yet the division, and on) be called in question. And therefore branching of those Rivers, must be in the it may be possible, that some soundation or the Rivers run as they do, North and South) fuch pillars were raised by sethall Antiquity and therefore these Rivers yet remaining, hath avowed. It is also written in Berosus no fuch defacing by the Floud, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, Enoch, built by *cain* about the mountains waters could there be in a Spherical and this fort: Cujus maxime & ingentis molis round body, wherein there is nor high nor fundamenta vifuntur, & vocatur ab incolis from a higher to a lower, or by the Ebb or luge mass is now to be seen, and the place is Gen. 3. 1. to pass upon the Earth, and the waters ceased. So that the City of Joppa was built before the outragious winds, and beat down, and level than the time denying it. the fwelling and mountainous billows of the

would not Moses, who wrote of Paradise | be none, when the waters were equal, and about 850 years after the Floud, have de- of one height over all the face of the Earth, feribed it so particularly, and the Prophets and when there were no Indraughts, Bays, or and learning out one of these Rivers, which from Adam, was to be seen in his days; which water the Garden, and from thence it was ty years after Christ: of whom, although divided, and became into four heads; Now, there be no cause to believe all that he whether the word in the Latine Translation wrote, yet that which he avouched of his (Inde ) from thence, be referred to Eden it own time, cannot (without great derogati-North, or South fide of the very Garden (if ruine thereof might then be feen. Now, that and Eden manifestly known, there could be (to whom, although I give little credit, yet I that the place could be so altered, as future of Libanus was not defaced by length of ages knew it not, so is there no probability time: yea, the ruines thereof, Annius (who that either these Rivers were turned out of commented upon that invented fragment) their courses, or new Rivers created by the faith, were to be seen in his days, who lived Floud which were not, or that the Floud in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella of Ca-(as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it | file. And if these his words be not true, began to decrease, was the cause of high then was he exceeding impudent : for speak-Hills, or deep Valleys. For what descent of ing of this City of Enoch, he concludeth in low? feeing that all violent force of waters regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, is either by the strength of wind, by descent of peregrini referent; The foundation of which Floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind called by the people of that Region, the City of (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it ap- | Cain, as both our strangers and Merchants repeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: port. It is also avowed by Pomponius Mela for it is written, Therefore God made a wind (to whom I give more credit in these things) as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters Floud, over which Cepha was King: whose fank, there was any wind at all, but that God name, with his brother Phineus, together afterward, out of his goodness, caused the with the grounds and principles of their Rewind to blow, to drie up the abundant slime ligion, was found graven upon certain Altars and mud of the Earth, and make the Land of stone. And it is not impossible, that the more firm, and to cleanse the Air of thick ruines of this other City, called Enoch by Anvapours, and unwholfome mifts: and this we nim, might be feen, though founded in the know by experience, that all downright first age: but it could not be of the first City rains do evermore differer the violence of of the World, built by Cain; the place rather

And to prove directly that the Floud was Sea: for any Ebbs and Flouds there could not the cause of mountains, but that there ten, that the maters of the Floud overflowed by fifteen Cubits the highest Mountains. And Mafius Damascenus, speaking of the Floud, writeth in this manner : Eft Jupra Mingadam excellus Mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is per. The places which Vadianus alledgeth, an high Mountain in Armenia (called Baris) unto which it is faid, that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they faved themfelves thereon. Now, although it is contrary to Gods Word, that any more were faved ayouch, but by report) yet it is a testimony, that fuch Mountains were before the Floud, which were afterward, and ever fince, known it is generally received that the Ark rested : but untruly, as I shall prove hereafter. And

rity, either divine or humane. Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did not fo turn upfide down the face of the earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, af-64.8. 11. when Noah fent out the Dove the second time, into Paradise after Adam's expulsion, if the Trees were discovered) the found not: for on the water; a manifest proof that the Trees were not torn up by the roots, nor fwam upon the waters, for it is written: folium, olive raptum, or decerptum, a leaf pluckt, (which which succeeded him: both which I take the Ocean be taken for the Well, and the for my warrant, and to guide me in this Difcovery.

ś. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to be the fountain of those four Rivers.

answered, who onely giveth his opinion for reason I will in a few words examine that manifest. Yet was their conjecture far more

were mountains from the Creation, it is writ- 1 of the Manichees, of Novionagus, Vadianus, Goropius, Becamis, and all those that underflood, that by Paradife was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Gen 1. 28. in quo confugientes multos, sermo est, Diluvii Universality will appear altogether impro-16. Bring forth fruit and multiply, Fill the Earth, and lubdue it. Rule over every Creature &c. with this of the AGs. And bath made of one bloud all Mankind, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, do no way prove such a generathan eight persons (which Massus doth not lity: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now although all men were of one and by the same names; and on which Mountains | the same fountain of bloud originally; and Adam's Posterity inhabited in process of time over all the face of the Earth: yet it again it appeareth, that the Mount sion disproveth in nothing the particular Gar-(though by another name) was known be- den, affigned to Adam, to dress and cultive, fore the Floud; on which the Thalmudists in which he lived in so blessed an estate bereport, that many Giants faved themselves fore his transgression. For if there had been alfo; but, as Annius faith, without all autho- no other choice, but that Adam had been left to the Universals, Moles would not then have faid, Eastward in Eden, seeing the World Gen. 3.24. hath not East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angel of God ter the waters were decreased, by this, that been set to keep the East-side, and entrance she returned with an Olive leaf in her mouth, Universal had been Paradise? for then must which she had pluckt, and which (until the Adam have been chased also out of the World. For if all the Earth were Paradife, otherwise she might have found them floting that place can receive no better construction than this, That Adam was driven out of the World into the World, and out of Paradife into Paradife, except we should believe with Metrodorus, that there were inis) to take from a Tree, or to tear off. By finite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinks all this it is apparent, (there being nothing writ- one, as to affirm, That in so large a field, as the ten to the contrary) that the Floud made Universal, there should grow but one Thistle. no fuch alteration, as was supposed, but that Novionagus upon Beda, seemeth to be led by the place of Paradise might be seen to suc- this, that it was impossible for those three ceeding Ages, especially unto Moses, by Rivers, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates (which whom it pleased God to teach the truth of water three portions of the World so far the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets distant) to rife out of one Fountain, except

World for the Garden. And it is true, that those four Rivers, being fo understood, there could be no conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appear, that Pifon was fallly taken for Ganges, and Gehon fallly for Nilus, although Ganges be a River by Havila in India, and Nilus run through Ethiopia. The Seventy write Chus for Ethiopia, and thereby the errors of the Mani-"His conceit of Aug. Chyfamens being chees, and the mistakings of Noviomagus, Goropius, and Vadianus, with others, are made

probable.

Athanasus, That Paradise was seated far be- convenience, the people (by reason of their yond the Ocean Sea, and that Adam waded fo many years) are called Macrobici (that is) through it, and at last came toward the Long-lived. A further Argument is used, for buried at Mount Calvary in Hierusalem. And therein was Enoch preserved from the viowere of great stature, and so continued ma- Peter Lombard: in which place also Tertullithome, and much more, it he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is fo ridiculous as it needs no argument to disprove it.

### 6. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moon: and of others which make it higher than the Middle Region of the Air.

altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus ) and Barcephas conceived, that Paradife not fallen fo precipitate) could not have was far in the East, but mounted above the had sufficient force to have thrust them-Ocean, and all the Earth, and near the Orbe felves under the great Ocean, and afterward of the Moon (which opinion, though the have forced their passage through the Earth, School-men charge Beda withall, yet Pererius and have rifen again in the far diftant Regilays it off from Beda, upon Strabus, and his ons of India, Egypt, and Armenia. Master Rabanus:) and whereas Rupertus, in his Geographie of Paradise, doth not much borrowed this doctrine out of Plato, and (as I conceive) well understood; who (undoubtedly) took this place for Heaven it rightly be judged a vanity in the Aniwerer, felf, into which the Souls of the blefled were not much inferiour to that of the Inventer.)

carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst ed death for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the De-

probable, than that of Ephrem, Cyrillus, and I ing above all Clouds of Rain, or other in-Countrey in which he was created, and was proof of the height of this place, because certainly, though all those of the first Age lence of the Floud : approved by Isidore, and ny years after the Floud, yet Adam's thin- an conceived, that the bleffed Souls were bones must have contained a thousand fa- preserved till the last Judgment; which trenaus and Justine Martyr also believed. But this opinion was of all Catholique Divines reproved, and in the Florentine Conneil damned; of which Saint Angustine more modest ly gave this judgment: Sicnt certum eft. Énoch & Eliam, nunc vivere: ita ubt nunc funt, an in Paradifo an alibi, incertumest; (that is) As it is certain that Enoch and Elias do now live : fo where they live, in Paradife, or eisewhere, it is uncertain. But Barcephas gives THirdly, whereas Beda faith, and as the School-men affirm, Faradife to be a Place off. For (faith he) it was necessary that Paradise should be set at such a distance and height, because the four Rivers (had they

These strange fancies and dreams have been answered by divers learned men long differ from the rest, but finds it seated next since, and lately by Hopkins, and Pererius, or nearest Heaven; It may seem, that all these writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeat these few: (for to use long Plato out of Socrates: but neither of them discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for not for fear of the Arcopagites (in this, and being set so near the Moon, it had been too many other divine apprehensions) set down near the Sun, and other heavenly bodies. what they believed in plain terms, especial- Secondly, because it must have been too ly Plato: though Socrates in the end suffer- joynet a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Air in that Region is so violently removed, and carried about with Jul. Man. vil himself do him that right, as by an Oracle, such swiftness, as nothing in that place can consist to pronounce him the wifest man. Justine consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the standard and the standard form of the standard form of the standard form. Scriptures; and S. Augustine gave this judg- (according to Ptolemie and Alfraganus) is sement of him, as his opinion, that (few things venteen times the Diameter of the Earth, changed) he might be counted a Christian. which makes in a groß account about one And it feemeth to me, that both Tertullian hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereand Enlebius conceive, that Socrates, by that upon it must follow, that Paradife, being raiplace aforesaid, meant the celestial Paradise, sed to this height, must have the compass and not this of Eden. Solinus, I grant, re- of the whole Earth for a Basis and soundaporteth, that there is a place exceeding de- tion. But had it been so raised, it could lightfull, and healthfull, upon the top of hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or Mount Atho (called Acrothonos) which be- eyes of men, feeing it would deprive us of being feated in the East, as they suppose, men, that though they were exceeding witty. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, Tofta- yet they better teach all their Followers tus addeth this, that those people which to shift, then to resolve, by their distinctidwell neer those fals of waters, are deaf from ons. Wherefore not to stay long in answertheir infancy, like those that dwell neer the ing this opinion of Tostatus, I confess that it Catadupa, or over-fals of Nilus. But this I is written, that the Mountains of Olympus, hold as feigned. For I have seen in the In- Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and surmount dies, far greater water-fals, then those of Ni- all winds and clouds, and that (notwithlus, and yet the people dwelling neer them standing) there is found on the heads of the are not deaf at all. Tostatus (the better to Hills both springs and fruits; and the Pagan strengthen himself) citeth Basil and Ambrose Pricsts, sacrificing on these mountain-tops, together: to which Pererius, Sed ego hac apud do not find the aftes (remaining of their fa-Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, que crifices) blown thence, nor thence wash'd off nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini; But by rains, when they return: yet experience Ido not remember (faith he) that I ever read hath resolved us, that these reports are fabuthose things either in Basil or Ambrose.

celestial Paradise, for ought we know. For place of Paradise; and on these self-Hills the although flesh and bloud, subject to corrup- ayr is so thin (laith S. Augustine, whom heretion, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, in I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to bear and the feed must rot in the ground before up the body of a bird, having therein no it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith Saint feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance Paul) but all shall be changed: which change in of ayr to mount her self by. Enoch and Elias, was easie to him that is Almighty. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Floud all perished on the earth faving eight persons; and therefore in the terrestrial Paradisethey could not be.

For Toftatus his own opinion, who foared not altogether fo high as the rest, but believed that Paradife was raifed above the middle Region of the Avr. and twenty cubits above all Mountains, that the Floud did not line, as Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durantherefore reach it (which scotus and other dus: judging, that there-under might be latter School-men also believed; for, say found most pleasure, and the greatest fertilithey, there were no finners in Paradife, and ty of foil: but against it Thomas Aquinas obtherefore no cause to over-whelm it:) this jecteth the distemperate heat, which he sup-is also contrary to the express letter of the poseth to be in all places so directly under Scripture, which directly, and without ad- the Sun. But this is (non causa pro causa,) mitting of any distinction, teacheth us, that for although Paradise could not be under the 6m. 7.10, the waters over-flowed all the mountains under Line, because Eden is far from it, in which beaven. And were it otherwise, then might Paradise was; and because there is no part of we aswell give credit to Massius Damascenus, Euphrates, Tygris, or Ganges under it (Ganand the Thalmudists, who affirm, that there ges being one of the four rivers, as they supwere of the Gyants that faved themselves on pose) yet this conceit of distemper (being

the Mountain Baris, and on sion. But to help but an old opinion) is found to be very unthis, Scotts being (asthe rest of the School- true, though for the conjecture not to be men are) full of distinction, saith; That the condemned, considering the age when those waters flood at Paradife, as they did in the Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this; Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud that whereas it appeared, that every Counwas not natural, so was Raradise saved by mi- try, as it lay by degrees neerer the Troracle. And Thomas Aquinas qualifieth this pick, and so toward the Equinoctial, did so high conceit with this supposition, That it much the more exceed in heat; it was therewas not believed, that Paradise was so fore a reasonable conjecture, that those feated, as Beda and others feem to affirm in Countries which were fituated directly unwords, but by Hyperbole and comparatively, der it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: for the delicacy and beauty so resembled. but it seemeth that Tertullian conceived bet-

the Sun's light, all the fore-part of the day, But this I dare avow of all those Schoollous; and Pliny himfelf (who was not sparing But for the bodies of Enoch and Elias, in the report of wonders) avoweth the con-God hath disposed of them according to his trary. But were it granted, yet the height wisdom. Their taking up might be into the of these Mountains is far under the supposed

# 6. VIII.

Of their opinion that feat Paradife under the Æquinoctial: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climats.

Hose which come neerer unto Reason, find Paradise under the Æquinoctial

37

uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and necreft to the Line it felf. For hereof Experience hath informed Reason. and Time hath made those things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed, it hath fo pleased God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that fuch inconveniences which we contemplate a far off, are found by tryal and the witness of mens travails, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vain, or as a fruitless lump to fashion out the imaginary worlds, nor under Torrida Zona 1/50 45. 1. rest. For Cod himself (saith Esay) that formed it followeth that now we discover and find the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he out the feat thereof, for in it was Paradise by gions of the world, feated under the Equi- have often changed names with their Madaily gale of Easternly wind (which the spa- remembred, forgotten by those names of all miards call the Brize) that doth evermore Historians and Geographers, as well antient blow strongest in the heat of the day, as the as modern. down-right beams of the Sun cannot fo much master it, that there is any inconvenience or lonians, Medes and Persians (Cyrus only and diftemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are fo cold, fresh, and equal, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my felf have feen, neer the Line and under it) I know no other part of the World of better, or equal temper: Only there are some tracks, which by accident of high Mountains are barr'd from this without trees, which are not therefore fo rence of foils we find also in all other parts inthralled. of the world. But (for the greatest part) ches are never unclothed and left naked, their fap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the frost: neither

ter, and fo did Avicenne, for they both | Nature being liberal to all without labour. thought them habitable enough; and though necessity imposing no industry or travel. (perchance) in those days it might be thought idleness bringeth forth no other fruits then a fantastical opinion (as all are which go a- vain thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So gainst the vulgar) yet we now find, that if that, to conclude this part, Tertullian and there be any place upon the earth of that na- those of his opinion, were not deceived in ture, beauty, and delight that Paradise had, the nature of the place: but Aquinas, who the same must be found within that supposed misliked this opinion, and followed a worse; and (to fay the truth) all the School-men were gross in this particular.

# 6. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Calosyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved, out of Efa. 37. and Ezek. 27.

Hese opinions answered, and the region of Eden not found in any of those created it not in vain, he formed it to be in- God planted. The difficulty of which fearch habited. Now we find that these hottest Re- resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations notial line, or neer it, are so refreshed with a sters; so are most of these places, by Moses

Besides, we find that the Asyrians, Babya few other excepted) fought to extinguish the Hebrews. The Grecians hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the Romans despised, once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies fucceeded each other: fo did they transform the names of all those principal Places and Cities in the East: And after them, the ayr and fresh wind, and some sew sandy parts | Turk hath sought (what he could) to extinguish in all things, the antient memory of well inhabited as the reft; and fuch diffe- those people, which he hath subjected and

Now besides those notable marks, Euphrathose Regions have so many goodly Rivers, tes and Tygris, the better to find the way Fountains, and little Brooks, aboundance of which leadeth to the Country of Eden, we high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting are to take for guides these two Confidefhade; so many sorts of delicate fruits, ever rations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from bearing, and at all times beautified with Canaan and Judea; and, that it was of all oblossom and fruit both green and ripe, as it, ther the most beautiful and sertile. First them may of all other parts be best compared to in respect of situation, the next Country to the Paradise of Eden: the boughs and bran- Indea Eastward was Arabia Petraa; but in this Region was Mofes himself when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was Arabia the Defart, both which in respect of the doth Pomona any time despise her withered insertility could not be Eden; neither have Husband Vertumnus, in his winter quarters any of the Arabians any fuch Rivers, as are and cldage. Therefore are these Countries express'd to run out of it: So as it followeth called Terra vitiosa, Vicious Countries: for of necessity, that Eden must be Eastward,

and beyond both Arabia Petræa, and Deferta. | traded with the City of Tyre, which was then But because Eden is by Moses named by it felf, and by the fertility, and the rivers only described, we must seek it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour-Nations better described. In the Prophet Hay, I find it coupled and accompanied them into Syria, now Soria, and to the Port with other adjacent Countries, in these words, spoken in the person of senacherib the City of Tyre, afterward to Tripoly, and by Rabsakeh: Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as Gofan, and Haran, and Refeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaffar ? and in Ezechiel, where he prophecieth against the Tyrians: They of Haran, and Canneh, and Nations of the East, as the onely Mart-town of the Merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and of that part of the World, reciteth both the Eden, the Merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were thy Merchants, &c.

frand that there were two Edens, one of ed; and having counted the several People which the Prophet Amos remembreth, where and Countreys, he addeth the particular which the Provinces, Trade, which each of them exercised: They Versi 20. whereof the first he maketh Syria Damascene, or Decapolitan: the second part is that Vallev called Avenis, otherwise Convallis, or and of broydered works, fine Linnen, Coral, the tract of Chamath, where Afgria is joyned and Pearl: and afterwards speaking of the to Arabia the Defart, and where Ptolemie Merchants of Sheba and Raamah, and what placeth the City of Averia: and the third is kinds they traded, he hath these words: The knowen by the name of Domus Edenis, or Merchants of Sheba, and Raamah were thy Mer-Colo-Syria, otherwise Vallis cava, or the hol- chants, they occupied in thy Fairs, with the low Valley, because the mountains of Libanus chief of all spices, and with all pretious stones, both fides, and border it: for Cale in Greek which Persia and Arabia Falix yield: and is Cava in Latine. But this is not that Eden, ing these two Regions; both called Eden: and that he altogether mif-understood two of the four Rivers (to wit) Pison and Gehon, as shall appear hereafter. Now to find out Eden, (which as Moses teacheth us) lay Eastward from the Defarts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red-Sea; we must confider where those other Countries are found. which the Prophet Isaiah and Ezechiel jovn-Reservation of Latter of Eden, which were 1,13, at Telassar. Also Faschiel eth with it. For (faith Ifai ab) Gofan, Haran, and Eden, who together with those of Sheba,

(faith Exechiel) The Mart of the people for mainy Isles. And it hath ever been the custom, that the Persians conveyed their Merchandise to Eabylon, and to those Cities upon Euphrates, and Treris, and from thence transported of the Mediterrane Sea: as in ancient times to now to Aleppo, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of Alexandretta, in the Bay of Isieus, now Lajazzo. Ezechiel in the description of the magnificence of Tyre, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the people, with whom they had commerce, and But to avoid confusion, we must under- also what commodities every Country yieldmere thy Merchants (faith the Prophet) in all forts of things, in rayments of blue Silk, and Anti-Libanus, take all the length of it on and Gold. Now, these be indeed the riches because sheba and Raamah are those parts of which we feek: neither doth this Province Arabia; which border the Sea, called the Perlie East from Canaan, but North, and so joyn- fian Gulf, therefore did those Nations both eth unto it, as it could not be unknown to vent fuch Spice, fweet Gumms, and Pearls, as the Hebrews. Yet, because there is a little their own Countries yielded: and (withall) City therein called Paradife, the Jews be- having trade with their Neighbors of India, lieved this Culo-Syria to be the same which had from them also all forts of Spices, & plen-Moles describeth. For the same cause doth ty of Gold. The better to convey these com-Hopkins in his Treatife of Paradise reprehend modifies tothat great Mart of Tyre, the She-Beroaldus, in that he confoundeth this Eden, bans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tywith the other Eden of Paradise, though, to gris, and from the City of Terredon, (built or give Beroaldus his right, I conceive that he enlarged by Nebuchodonozor, now called Balled the way to Hopkins, and to all other later (fara) thence fent up all these rich Merchan-Writers, faving, That he failed in diftinguish- | dizes by Boat to Babylon, from whence by the body of Euphrates, as far as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reached within three days journey of Aleppo, and then over Land they past to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly, (formerly Hieropolis) and thence to Alexandretta, as aforefaid. Now, the Merchants of Canneh. which Ezechiel joyneth with Eden, inhabited far up the River, and received this trade from Arabia and India, besides those proper commodities which themselves had, and which they received out of Perfia, which bordered them. Saint Hierome understand-Ashur, and Chilmad, were the Merchants that eth by Canneh, Selencia, which is seated upon

and which took that name from selencus, who made thereof a magnificent City. Hierosolymitanus thinks it to be Ctesiphon: but Cteliphon is feated down low upon Tygris, and Cannel cannot be on that fide. I mean, Plin ! \$, on the East-side of Tyeris; for then were it out of the Valley of Shinar. Plinie placeth the Schenita upon Euphrates, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of syria, after it leaveth to be the bound of Arabia the Defart, and where the River of Euphrates reflecteth from the Defart of Palmirena: for these people of Canneb (afterward schenitæ) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, stretching themselves, from their own City of Canneh in Shinar, Westward along the banks of Euphrates, as far as the City of Thapfacus, where Ptolemy appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which alto agreeth with the description of the Sche-Strabo. 1.16 nite by Strabo, whose words are these: Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam, & Babyloniam cuntibus.iter eft per Schenitas; The Merchants which travel from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon. take their may by the Schenites. Therefore those that take Canneh for Charran, do much mistake it. For Charran, to which Abraham came from Ur in Chaldea (called by God) frandeth also in Mesopotamia; not uppon Euphrates it self. but upon the River of the Merchants of Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneb in Ezechiel (as) Merchants. Wherefore Charran, which is fometimes called Charre, and Haran, and Aran, is but the same Charran of Mesopotamia; for the Region of Mesopotamia; or Aran fluviorum, the Greek word (Mesopotamia) imbia, giveth that tract of Land from the borders of Calofria, to the edge of Mesopotamia to the Schenitæ, who also inhabited on both fides of Euphrates, and were in afterages accounted of these Arabians which inhabit Batanea, and the North part of the Defarts, firetching themselves toward the inhabited folitude of Palmirena, which li-

Euphrates, where it breaketh into four heads, | and therfore they are by the Prophet Ezechiel coupled together. They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden &c. But S. Hierome made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalne, by Seleucia: for Seleucia was antiently called Chalanne (witness Appian )and so Rabanus Maurus calleth it in his Commentaries upon Genesis : the name by time and mixture of Languages being changed from Chalne, or Canneh, to Chalanne: of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with Seleucia, and almost the next unto it (as) Thelbe-Canne, and Mann-Canne, the one a little to the West of Seleucia, and the other opposite unto it; where these Rivers of Tygris and Euphrates are ready to joyn. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was (being all three within the bound of the Valley Shinar ) it is uncertain: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certain feat thereof, that so many other Cities did retain a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of Thelbe and Man to the word Canne, were but to make difference between the East and the West, or the greater and the less Canne, or between Canne the old and the new: which additions to diffinguish Cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other City joyned with Eden, as Haran, or Charran, S. Hierome on the Judges Judg. 1. Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates: and speaketh thereof in these words: Cumque reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, que est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo They of Haran and Canneh and Eden, the Mer- die; When they returned, they came to Charran chants of Sheba, Asher, and Chilmad, were thy (which is the mid-way against Nineveh) the eleventh day.

This City is by the Martyr stephen, named ARITE Charran (speaking to the High-Priest:) re and when it is written Aran, then it is taken Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: the God of glory appeared to our Father Abraham, while he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in porting, A countrey between Rivers: for Charran. But the feat of this City is not Mesos in Greek, is medius in Latine, and Po- doubted of: for it is not only remembred in tamos, fluvius. And when it is written Haran many Scriptures, but withall exceeding faor Aran, it is then taken for the City it felf, mous for the death and overthrow of Crassins to which Abraham came from Ur (as afore- the Romane, who for his unfatiable greedifaid.) For Strabo in the description of Ara- ness, was called Gurges avaritie; the Gulf of avarice. Whereof Lucan:

Asyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras. With Roman bloud th'Affyrian Carre he 105.

But this City Canne, or Chalne, is made manifest by Moses himself, where it is written Gen, 16. of Nimrod: And the beginning of his King- 10. doms was Babel, & Erech, and Acad, and Chain, eth between Syria, and Arabia the Defart. in the Land of Sinaar, or Shinar: where Moses So as these of Cannel lay in the very high- sheweth the first composition of the Babyloway from Babylon to Tyre, and were neigh- nian Empire, and what Cities and People bours (indifferent) to Charran, and to Eden: were subject unto Nimrod; all which lay in

the faid Valley of Shinar, or near it; and | Frankincense is gathered: which people have this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on called Babylonia and Chaldea, into which the East-side of the Fersian gulf. By this it also Eden stretcheth it self. Chaldea, Baby- appeareth who were the shebeans, spoken of lonia, Sinar idem funt (faith Comestor.) Three by Exechiel, and said to have been the Mernames of one Country; which Region of Ba- chants of Tyre, for Gold, Spices, and precious bylonia, took name of the Tower Babel; and Stones: of which they had not onely plenty the Tower of the confusion of Tongues. And of their own, but were also furnished from that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the that part of India (called Elana, according eleventh Chapter of Genesis, in these words: to strabo) for exchange of their Aroma-And as they went from the East, they found a tiques, and other proper commodities. For, Plain in the Land of Shinar, and there they as Strabo reporteth out of Eratofthenes, In abode : in which Plain Babylon was built (as Persica ora initio Insula est, in qua multi & aforesaid.) Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh,

in the first beginning of Nimrod's greatness, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by Moses to be in Shinar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Baof senacherib against Jerusalem (with other Nations that Senacherib vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telassar. But before I ceffary to describe those other Countreys, which Ezechiel joyneth therewith, in the fense: Reges Sheba & Saba. places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in Genesis the with the Edenites, because they inhabited tenth: Moreover the Sons of Ham were Cush, upon the Out-let of the same River, upon &c. And the Sons of Cush were Seba, and Havila and Sabtah, and Raamah, &c. And of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and upon it, the Sons of Raamah were Sheba, &c. and past up the Countrey, by Tyeris and Enphraanon after; Cush begat Nimrod: so as sheba tes, being joyned in one main stream, and so was the grand-child of Cufb, and Nimrod the through the Region of Eden, which Tygris Son of Culb, whose elder brother was Sebah: boundeth, thereby the better to convey though some there are that conceive to the their merchandise toward Tyre. And as the that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, and his Sons, which possessed it.) For (faith ten use. Exechiel) the Merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy Merchants, they occupied in thy fairs with the chief of all spices, and all precious stones, and Gold. So as Sheba was that Tract of Countrey, which parteth Arabia Deserta from Arabia Fælix, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tygris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselves to the Ocean. This and Arabia, and also to convey it over into part, and the confining Countrey, strabo syria, and to Tyrus. Now, to make these calleth Catabria, where the best Myrrhe and things the more plain, we must remember,

pretioli uniones cionantur: in aliis verò, clari & perlucidi lavilli. Erastothenes (faith Strabo) affirmeth, that, In the beginning of the Persian gulf, there is an Island, in which there are many precious Pearls bred: and in other. very clear and shining Stones. Now, the difference between sheba the Son of Raamah, bylonia; which also Ezechiel coupleth with and Seba the Son of Cush, is in this, That Eden, and (further) affirmeth that those of Seba is written with the Hebrew (Samech;) Eden were also the Merchants which traded and sheba with (schin:) but whatsoever with the Tyrians: and Isaiah in the threats the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countreys and Habitations are diverse. For sheba is that which bordereth the Persian Sea, and Saba (whence the Queen of saba) neighboured the Red-Sea; and fo conclude where Eden it felf lyeth, it is ne- that place of the 72 Plalm expounded Reges Arabum & saba, hath in the Hebrew this

The shebans, Ezechiel nameth together which the Edenites were feated : and fo those contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in va- Cities of Charran, and Channeh, border Eden lour and understanding, though not in time on the West and North-west: so doth Sheba and precedence of birth; who inhabited on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Meafterwards Babylonia. His brother Raamah dia, as appeareth in the Chaldean Paraphraft; or Regma took that part adjoyning to Shinar, which Countrey, by the Geographers is caltoward the Sea side and Persian gulf (called led Coromitena, (L) placed by exchange afterwards Raama and Sheba, by the Father for (R) which change the Hebrews also of

Thus much of those Counnries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chief were the Edenites, inhabiting Telassar: for these Senacherib vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Telaffar lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from Sheha

that

obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were utterly dif-joyned.

Elay 37. v. Gods of the Nations delivered them whom my and Mesopotamia took, the name of Babylonia. <sup>2</sup>Kingi 19. others subjection: for *Efar-Haddon* held <sup>35.20.12</sup>. Asyria; and Merodach Baladan, Babylonia. Flay 39.1. Salem (Hezekias then reigning) while Sena- in his Annotations) Justerat nasci arbores in destroyed; the King of Babel sent to Hezehealth, and his victory obtained over the of Arabia and Mesopotamia. Asyrians. After which overthrow, Senacheaib himself was slain by his own sons in the Temple of his Idols, Efar-Haddon fucceeding him in Afyria. To the Babylonian Ambasla-Est 39.1. dours sent by Merodach, Hezekias shewed all his treasures as well proper as consecrate, which invited the Kings of Babylon afterward to undertake their conquest and subversion. So as, the suspition of war encreasing between Babylon and Affyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of shinar towards the North, and towards Afgria, were this Telassar is the same, which Am. Marcelli-um in the History of Julian (whom he sollowed in the enterprize of Persia ) calleth Thilutha in stead of Telassar, who describeth the exceeding ftrength thereof in his 24. much as the Emperour Julian durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a conveni-

ent place for a Garrison against the Asyrians,

being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into

that before the death of Senacherib, many | eth Thelbe-Canne) on the right hand; not parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his far from whence, is also found the City of Mann-Canne, upon Tygris; and all these feated together, as Efay and Ezechiel have forted them. But the understanding of these For it appeareth both in Esay the 37. and in the fecond of Kings, by the threats of places is the more difficult, because Asrria Rabfache, the while the Army of Afgria lay (which the Chaldeans call Atturia,) and Mebefore Jerusalem, that the Cities of Gosan, Jopotamia, were to often confounded; the Haran, Reseph, and the Edenites at Telassian, one taken for the other by interchanging of colonial hadresisted the Asyrians: though by them Dominion. Asyria & Massiania in Baby. (in a fort) mastered and recovered. Have the lonix nomen transferunt (saith Niger, ) Asyria Fathers have destroyed as Gosan, and Haran, Lastly, it appeareth by those adjacent Regi-Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were ons by the Prophets named, in what part of at Telassar? But it appeared manifestly after the World Eden is seated, as, by Charran or Senacherib's death, that these Nations for- Haran in Mesopotamia: also by Canneb and merly contending, were then freed from the Reseph, according to the opinion of Vatablus. who in these words translateth this place: Plantaverat autem JEHOV AH Deus hortum And after that the Army of Senacherib, com- in Eden, ab Oriente; The Lord God planted a manded by Rabsache which lay before Jeru- Garden in Eden Eastward: that is (saith he cherib was in Egypt, was by the Angel of God Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabia & Mesopotamia; He commanded Trees to kias, both to congratulate the recovery of his grow in Eden, an Eastern Region in the borders

# 6. X.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradife.

Nd for a more particular pointing out And for a more particular pointing of this Eden, it seems by the two Epiftles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit Mesopotamia: which Epistles in the year 1552. they fent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, and Andreas Maemployed to bear offthe incursions of the fine hath published them, translated out of Afgrians; and their Garrison-place was at Sprine into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) Telassar: and the very word (Telassar) faith it seems we may have some farther light for Junius, fignifying as much as a Bulwork a- the proof of that, which we have faid about gainst the Asyrians. This place Hierosolymi- the Region of Eden in those parts. For in Lanus takes for Refem, others for Selencia: but them both, there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tyeris, or at least, Tyeris in both these Epistles is called the River of Eden. This Island, as Masins in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called Gozoria (as it were, The Island, by an eminen-Book: It is feated in an Island of Euphrates cv.) It hath (faith he) ten miles in circuit, and upon a fteep and unaffaultable Rock, in fo was fometimes walled round about, which name of the Ifland Eden may (doubtlefs) remain to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed up with the fame of those flourishing King-Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the doms of Mesopotamia, Asyria, Babylonia, and Country adjoyning were lodged to defend chaldea. This Island of Eden hath up the Rithe same. This place Ptolemy calleth Teridata, ver, and not far beyond it, the City of Hahaving Reseph (which he calleth Resepha) on San-Cepha, otherwise Fortis Petra: below it, the left hand; and Canneb, (which he call- it hath Mofal or Mofel, from which (as in that

ther is it to trouble us, That Mofal or Mofel, been, and hath by conquest and corruptiby Marius Niger is remembred among the on of other Languages, received new and vi for. Cities higher up Tygris, in these words, Juxta differing names. For the South part of autem Tygrim, Civitates funt Dorbeta prope Eden, which stretcheth over Euphrates, was Taurum montem, que mine Mosel dicitur; after the Floud called sbiner, and then, of magna sane, &c. (that is) By Tygris are these, the Tower of Babel, Babylonia; and the Cities. Dorbeta neer unto mount Taurus (which North part of Eden is that Tract of Melopotais now called Mosel) which is a great one, &c. mia, Aspria, and Armenia, which imbraceth This opinion of Niger, displacing Mosel, and both the banks of Tygris between Mount making it to be Dorbeta (Isay) needs not Taurus, and Selencia. And of this Region of here to trouble us: feeing for this matter, Eden that antient Ethicus maketh mention. the testimony of Masins, informed by the (not that latter Athieus, Disciple of Gallini-Christians that dwelt there ( the Seat of cus, otherwise by Plutarch and Atheneus callwhose Patriarch it is) ought to be of credit, ed Isra, who lived in Egypt in the Reign of avowing that this Mosal (or Mozal) is in the Philadelphus; but another of a far higher Confines of Mesopotamia and Assyria, seated and remote time) the same being made Laupon Tyris, and in the neighbour-hood of tine out of the Greek by Saint Hierom. And Nineve; and that it is the famous Seleucia though by corruption of the antient Copie Parthorum. The Nestorian Christians in their it be written, in Athicus, Adonis for Edenis: former Epistle, call it Attur in these words: yet Adonis being a River of Phanicia, can-Ex omnibus civitatibus & pagis que sunt cir-not be understood to be the Region named cum Civitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in vici-nia Nineves; Of all the Cities and Townes try, and not a River, and joyneth it with which are about the City of Mosal (that is) At- Mesopotamia and Athiopia, calling the land tur in the neighbour-hood of Nineve. As also of Chus Æthiopia, after the Vulgar, and Sep-Niger acknowledgeth Cteliphon a City there- tuagint. And laftly, the River which waterabout to be called Assur, (which is the same eth the Regions (saith Æthicus) salleth inas Attur, after the Dialect of those Nations, to the Gulf of Persia: which River he called which change Shinto T.) Neither is it much | Armodius for Tygris; Tygris being but a that he should mistake Ctesiphon, (which is name imposed for the swiftness thereof. And not far off seleucia) for seleucia, to be Affur. By this then we may come somewhat near have their original: for out of Eden came a the end of our purpose. For the Isle of Eden, River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which lieth in the brest of Tygris, is but which Rivers (to wit) Tygris and Euphrates, twelve miles from Mofal, and that antient come out of Armenia, and both of them tra-City, which Ptolemy and Tacitus call Ninus, and the Scriptures Nineve; Philostratus, and by the name of Eden, for their beauty and Simeon Sethi, Mosula, and John Lean, Mosal, fertility. And it is very probable, that Eden others Mosse, (though it be not the same contained also some part of Armenia; and bout. For the same Andreas Masins, which are alway green, and therefore therein a perlow Hasan-Cepha, which is upon the same

CHAP. III.

The only difficulty is this, that some peris not yet quite worn out; though the Regi- | Hiddekel and Perath, were Tygris and Euphra-

River of Tygris.

which followeth it shall appear out of Mass-ton hath been subject to the same change; us) it is not above twelve miles distant. Neithat all other Kingdoms of the world have out of Armenia, both Tygris and Euphrates verse Mesopotamia, Regions first of all known with Mosal) is set but a little higher upon the excellent fertility thereof in divers places the same River of Tygris, near Mosal: so that is not unworthy the name of Eden. For in we are like to find this Isle of Eden herea- some part thereof (faith strabo) the leaves placeth it above Mosal, makes it to be be- petual Spring. Also Stephanus, de Orbibus, mentioneth the City of Adana upon Euphrates: and the name of Eden was in use in Amos's time, though he spake not of Eden in haps may think, that the words of the Ne- the East, but of Eden in Calo-Syria. But to florians in both their Epistles, speak not of a- the end I may not burthen the Readers pany Isle in Tygris, called the Isle of Eden; but tience with too long a Discourse, it may sufof an Isle in Tygris, a River of Eden. But this fice to know, that Emphrates and Tygris (once fense of their words in my opinion seemeth joyned together, and afterward separate) the more unprobable. And yet, if this were are two of those four heads, into which these the meaning here, we have a testimony from Rivers which are said to water the Garden the Learned of those parts, that not only of Paradise, were divided: whose courses be-Euphrates, but also Tygris was a River of E- ing known, Eden (out of which they are faid den, and that the name of Eden in those parts to come) cannot be unknown. Now that

all others convert Perath by Euphrates: 6 out of the Ille of Eden, which lyeth in the River Hiddekel, Tygrim omnes exponent; And all Tygris. And in a second Epistle at the same men understand Hiddekel by Tygris (faith Va-time fent, they used these words: Neq3 superfunt tablus.) And because that which I have said apud nos Metropolite, quorum est ordinare Caof the Isle of Eden shall not be subject to the bolisms sed foli panci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbele, censure of self-invention, I have here-under Episcopus Salmasti. Episcopus Adurbeigansen è veset down the words out of the two general stigio convenious in Insulam, que est intra Tj-Epistles of the Nestorians, as Massus (ad ver- grim slumen, Eden, fecinusq; compatium inter bum) hath converted them into Latine. The nos. &c. (which is) Neither are there remaining occasion of those Letters and Supplications among, us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it to the Pope, were, That the Neftorian Christians, which inhabit Mesopotamia, Africa, Per- Stops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salfia, Babylonia, and have to this day (at least in Queen Marys time they had) fifteen Churches in one City called Seleucia Parthorum, or Mosel upon the River of Tygris; having no fufficient authority to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without four or three Metropolitan Bishops at the least) sent to the Bishop of Rome, in the year of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtain allowance unto fuch an Election, as fitans in those parts of the World, and in the themselves had made: having three hundred | South part of Africa, which he calleth Neftoyear before that, upon the like defect, fent rians, Jacobites, Maronita, and Cophti, he go one Marius thither to be confirmed; and eth on in these words: Mox, audita illius in this negotiation they made known to the morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuarib in illam Bishop of Rome the state of the Christian quam modo dixi Tygris Insulam, qua duodecim Church in those parts: for, upon the death circiter passium millibus supra Mosal posta, deof their Patriarch (who of a covetous de- cem fere millia passum suo ambitu continet, tute Metropolitan Bishops, when the places Christianis hominibus habitata: which is, fire to enrich himself, had forborn to instifell void) they all assembled themselves to- Now bearing of the death of the Patriarck, (as gether to consult of the Church-government. those that came to Rome reported) they ran And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred years had been of one House and Famithere yet remained one Bishop of the same ing very neer ten miles in compass, and every Stock and Kindred, who aspired to the same where invironed with a wall, inhabited by sew dle of the said Epistle; Verum nos non acceptavimus, neg; proclamavimus ipsum; sed subitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis que sunt circum civitatem Mosel (hoc est, Attur)in vicini å Nineves, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbelå, ex Infulà qua est in medio Tyeris, stumithis man, neither pronounced him: but suddenly we affembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring Eastward from Arabia Petraea, and the Desart upon Ninevez, and out of Babylon, Carrha, Ar-bella; and out of the Island which lyeth in the bordereth Carran according to Exechiel, and

tes, it is agreed by all: for the Seventy and | middle of Tygris, a River of Eden, or rather belongs to ordain a Patriarch, but only a fewBimastus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo. we affembled freedily in the Island of Eden, which

The first Book of the first Part

is in Tygris, and agreed between our selves, &c. Now this Island of Eden, Masius describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the Nestorian Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (faith he) the better understood. And after he hath diftinguished the four forts of Chrimuris undiq, cincta, & à paucis aliis quant tumultuously together into that Island of Tygris or Eden before spoken of, which Island is situly to the prejudice of the Church, and that ated about twelve miles above Mofal, containdignity which his Predecessors had held; other men then Christians. And afterward, he the reft of the professors refused to allow maketh a recapitulation of the Christian him. Upon which occasion, and for the Churches; among the rest he addeth the choice of a Governour more sufficient, the Isle of Eden by the name of Geserta, Insula Teachers in all the Churches affembled Tygris; five Geferta. Furthermore, describthemselves. The words of the general E- ing the City of Hosan-Cepha, or Fortis Petra, piftle to the Pope are these, about the mid- he placeth it supra predict am Tygris Insulam, rupi asperæ impositam; Above the aforesaid Island of Tygris, being seated on a steep Rock. Of this Island of Geserta, Andrew Thevet maketh mention in his tenth Book of his general Cosmography, in these words: Geserta on Gesire est au milien de la Riviere du Tygre, & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de nisEden,&c. i.e. But we did neither accept of toute l' Asie; Geserta or Gestre is in the middle of Tygris, the soyle the most fertile of all Asia.

By this we see that the antient name of Eden liveth; and of that Eden which lyeth affertion of the faid Prophet, and joyned with those Nations of Reseph, Canneh, and Charran, and the rest which traded with the Tirians, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of Afgria, and Babylonia, where the Edenites in Thelaffar were garrisoned to refist the Asyrians, whose difplantation Senacherib vaunted of (as above written;) and lastly, the same Eden, which embraceth Tygris, and looketh on Euphrates, two of the known Rivers of those four, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

# 6. XI.

Of the difficulty in the Text, which feemeth to make the four Rivers to rife from one fiream.

DUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a River went out of Eden, and not Rivers in the plural: which scruple phrates, as this name comprehendeth all the Matthew Beroaldus hath thus answered in his branches thereof. For this River (after he Chronologie: The Latine Translation, faith is past the place, where we suppose Paradise he, hath these words: Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradifum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuer capita: Countries, though not all the way down Que verba melius consentient cum rei narra- stream (for this is no where in the Text) tione, & ejusalem explicatione, si ita reddantur; Et fluvius crat egrediens ex Edene (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And a River went out of the place of pleasure to mater Para-dise, and thence was divided into sour heads: Which words (faith Beroaldus) do better a- not fay, it compasseth or washeth the whole gree with the narration and explication of Region of Afgria (as it had used this phrase the place, if they be thus translated; And a of Pison and Gebon) but that it runneth to-River was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers | wards Afgria. The first branch Pison, is Nawent forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden har-malcha (by interpretation) Basilius, or to water the Orchard; and from thence it was flumen regium, which runneth into Tygris undivided, and they became four heads. The Tygurine differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus, Et fluvius egrediebatur de the Land of Havila or Susiana. The second deliciis; And a River went out of pleasure, in branch Gehon, is that which in Historians is stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the Nabarfares or Narragas; for Nabar-ragas: word locus, or place, Et fluvius egrediebatur both which names signifie flumen derivatum de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of (a River derived,) also Acracanus, quasi Rathe place of pleasure: and so the word (place) nosus, by reason of the Froggie Fens which may rightly be referred to Eden, which was it maketh: this Gehon leadeth to the first (of all other) a Region most delightful and seat of Chus, about the borders of Chaldea fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence, and Arabia, and it is lost at length in the was divided, hath reference to the Country Lakes of Chaldea. The third branch Hiddeof Eden, and not to the Garden it felf.

usual among the Hebrews: for it is written: Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herb that feedeth Seed, the fruitful Tree, &c. Here the Hebrew useth the Singular for the Plural, is called Hiddekel or Tygris, having before no Herb and Tree, for Herbs and Trees; and a- known proper name, the Text in this place

that Eden which is scated according to the | stead of (Trees: ) And thirdly, The man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God: In medio lioni Paradili: In the middle of the tree of the Garden, for (Trees. ) And of this opinion is David Kimchi, and Vatablus, who upon this place of Genesis say, that the Hebrews do often put the Singular for the Plural, as illud, for unumquodq; illorum; and he giveth an inscance in this question it self, as, A River (for Rivers) went out of Eden.

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, be given to the objection, That Moses speaketh but of one River, from which the heads fhould divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four potable passages into famous Countrics. And so we may take the word (River) Verse the tenth for one River, (to wit) Euto have been) divides it felf, and ere long vieldeth four notable passages into several where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit. to Affiria) were up Tygris.

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddekel, as it rifeth from the River of Eden, doth der Apamia; whence rifeth the name of Pali-Tygris, as it were Pifo-Tygris. This leadeth to kel, may be expounded the upper stream of And for the word (River) for Rivers, it is Pison, or Basslins, which runneth into Hiddekel, properly to called (that is, into Tygris) above Seleucia, where it sheweth a passage up Tygris into Afgria: where, because at length it gain, We eat of the fruit of the Tree, in calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The phrates, which runneth through Babylon and crat. Hac Regio, omnium quas nos victimus, Otris. But beit a River or Rivers, that come optima eft, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out out of Eden, seeing that Tygris and Euphra- into Tygris, not far from the place where Nites are noted in the Text, there can be no nus is feated. This Region, of all that we have doubt, but that Paradise was not far from seen, is most excellent: and he addeth afterthese Rivers: for that Perath in Moses is ward; Cereris antem fruitu procreando aded Euphrates, there can be no question; and ferax est, ut nunquam non fere ducenta red-(indeed) as plainit is that Hiddekel is Typris. dat, &c. (that is) It is fo finitfull in bringing For Hiddekel goeth (faith Moles) Eastward forth Corn, that it yieldeth two hundred fold: towards Affur, as we find, that Tygris is the The leaves of Wheat and Barley, being almost River of Affria proprie dicta, whose chief four fingers broad. As for the height of Millet City was Nineveh, as in Genesis the tenth it is and Sesame, they are even in length like unto written: That out of that Land (to wir) Trees; which although I know to be true, jet I Babylonia, Nimrod went into Afur, and build-forbear to speak hereof, well knowing, that ed Nineveb, which was the chief City of those things which are reported of this fruitful-

be spoken of the beginning of their division Meats and Wine, and Honey, ordering them from the first stream. Caput aque (faith Olpi- as the Fig-Trees. Thus far Herodotus. anus ) illud est unde aqua noscitur ; si ex fonte nascatur, fons; sex flumine, vel ex lacu, pri- the East-India, Strabo and Niger add a fourth of the River.

# 6. XII.

Of the strange fertility and happiness of the Babylonian Soyl, as it is certain that Eden was such.

miles, or thereabout, from Nineveh, and so full and fat a foil, that they are faid to drive

fourth Perath, or Euphrates, fo called per ex- from Mofal. Ex Euphrate exicus in Tygrim, cellentiam, being the body of the River Eu- alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Nini sita ness, will seem very incredible to those, which And as for the kind of speech here used in never were in the Countrey of Babylon. They the Text, speaking of four heads; though the have commonly in all the Countrey Palm-Trees heads of Rivers be (properly) their Foun- growing of their own accord, the most of them tains, yet here are they to be understood, to bearing fruit, out of which they make both To this Palm-Tree, fo much admired in

ma initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be excellency, which is, that it rieldeth bread; out of a Fountain, then is the Fountain taken Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acefor the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; tum conficient; Of which these people make and if from a main River any branch be fe- Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger. But Antoparate and divided, then where that branch nins the Eremite findeth a fifth commodity, doth first bound it self with new banks, there not inseriour to any of those four, which is, is that part of the River, where the branch that from this self-same Tree, there is drawn forfaketh the main stream, called the head a kind of fine Flax, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their Ships. And that this is true, Athanasius in the life of Antonius the Eremite, confesseth, saying: That he received a garment made thereof from the Eremite himself, which he brought with him out this Region. So therefore those Trees which the East Indies so highly esteem T may also be demanded, whether this and so much admire (as indeed the Earth Region of Eden, by us described, be of yielded no plant comparable to this) those fuch fertility and beauty, as Eden the feat of Trees (I fay) are in this upper Babylon, or Paradise was: which, if it be denied, then Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of must we also consider, that there was no the Field. Sunt etiam (faith Strabo )passim per part of the Earth, that retained that fertili- omnem Regionem palme sua sponte nascentes; ty and pleasure, that it had before the Curse: There are of Palms over all the whole Region. neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulness growing of their own accord. Of this place, to any part of the Earth, nor the same vir
\*Duintus Curtius\* maketh this report: Euntitue to any Plant thereon growing, that they

bus à parte læva Arabia (odorum fertilitate had before the Floud; and therefore this nobilis) regio campestris interest inter Tygrim Region of Eden may be now no such flou- & Euphratem Jacens, tam ubere & pingui folo, rishing Countrey, as it was when it was first ut à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietus created in his perfection. Yet this I find writ- perimat; (that is) As you travel on the left ten of it: First, in Herodotus, who was an hand of Arabia (famous for plenty of fweet oeye-witnes, and speaketh of the very place dours) there lieth a Champain Countrey placed it self; for the Isle of Eden is but twelve between Tygris and Euphrates, of so fruittheir Cattel from pasture, lest they should perish | world: the Scriptures making it so plain, by satiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonii se- that these Rivers were divided into four cant; The Babylonians cut their Corn twice a branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, rear (faith Niger.) And as Countreys gene- Reason, and Experience bearing witness. rally are more fruitfull to the Southward, There is no errour which hath not some slipthan in the Northern parts: fo we may pery and bad foundation, or fome appearjudge the excellency of this by that report | ance of probability, refembling truth, which which Strabo maketh of the South parts of when men (who fludy to be fingular) find America, which is the North border of Eden, out (straining Reason according to their or a part thereof. His words be these in the fancies) they then publish to the world mat-Latine: Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arbo- ter of contention and jangling; not doubtribus abundat mansuetis, itemque semper vi- ing, but in the variable deformity of mens rentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleasant minds, to find some partakers or sectators, fruits, and Trees always green: which wit- the better by their help to nurse and cheneffeth a perpetual Spring, not found elfe- rifh fuch weak Babes, as their own invenwhere but in the Indies onely, by reason of tions have begotten. the Sun's neighourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetual activity. In brief, of Pifon ) feemeth to have grown out of the fo great is the fertility of the ground, that not-diffinguishing of that Region in India, the people are constrained twice to mow called Havilah, from Havilah which adjoyndown their Corn-fields, and a third time to eth to Babylonia, afterward known by the eat them up with Sheep: which husbandry name of Sustana. For Havilah upon Tygris, the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of took name from Havilah the Son of Cush; Mexico, for the first fourty years, could and Havilah in India, from Havilah the Son not make our kind of Wheat bear feed, but of Joilan; the one remembred by Moses in it grew up as high as the Trees, and was the description of Paradise, the other where fruitless. Befides, those fields are altoge- Moses fetteth down the generations of Noah, fecond year, the very ftubble (or rather falling down of the feeds again) yieldeth them and Havilah, &c. of which latter (to wit) a harvest of Corn without any further la-

Nat. bour: his words are these, "Ubertatis tanta Island of Ophir, (whence Solomon had Gold) Hill. 1.18. funt, ut sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat and Havilah adjoyning, had their names. leges.

# 6. XIII.

Of the River Pifon, and the Land of Havilah.

eth to prove that Pison and Gehon are bran- est in the World; whence (supposing that ches of Trgris and Euphrates: For, that the Ganges was the next great and famous Riany of fame known or discovered in the Gangem, which lie between those two proud

But this miltaking (and first for the River

ther without weeds (faith Pliny) who adad and his Sons after the Floud. For the Sons deth this fingularity to that foil, That the of Cn/h were Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, and Ra-Gen, 10.7. amah; and the Sons of Jostan were ophir, of Ophir and Havilah the Sons of Jottan, that Now, because Ganges is a great and a famous Gen. 10. River of the East India, and Havilab a Country of the fame and is fituated upon Ganges, hence it came that Ganges was taken for Pifon, which River is faid by Moses, to water the Land of Havilah. Or perhaps, it was fup- Gen.2. 11. Fter the discovery of Eden, and the te- posed, that those four Rivers named by fimonies of the fertility thereof, it rest. | Moses, must of necessity be four of the greatknowledge and certainty of these two Ri- ver after Tyaris and Euphrates) they chose vers should trouble so many wise men, it is out this River to make one of the four. And strange to me; seeing necessity it self (Tygris vet certainly there is another River, whom and Emphrates being known) findeth them in these respects they should rather have out: for Euphrates, or Tygris, or both, be chosen than Ganges: for the River Indus on that River or Rivers of Eden, which water this fide India, for beauty, for nearness, and Paradife: which River or Rivers, Moles wit- for ability, giveth no way place to Ganges, neffeth afterward divided into four heads, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any whereof the one is called Pifon, the other reasonable man conceive, that Ganges can be Gehon. &c. Could there be a stranger fancy of the four heads, seeing Indus cometh bein the world, than when we find both these tween it and Tygris? and between Tygris (namely) Tygris and Euphrates in Affyria and and Indus is all that large Empire of Persia, Mesopotamia, to seek the other two in India | consisting of many Kingdoms. And again farand Egypt, making the one Canger, and the ther towards the East, and beyond Indus, are other Nilus? Two Rivers as far distant as all those ample Dominions of India intra

Rivers

Rivers of Indus and Ganges, now called the | Havilah the fon of Cufb gave name unto, and degrees to the Eastward of Indus? Surely, whofoever readeth the Story of Alexander. shall find that there is no River in Asia, that can exceed Indus. For Hydaspis was of that breadth and depth, as Alexander thereon but one of many branches of Indus, comparable to it, and as great as it, having befides this, the Rivers of Coas, of Suaftus. Acclines, Adris (otherwise Hirotis,) Hispalis, and Zaradus, all which make but one Indus, and by it are fwallowed up with all their children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one stream, it crosseth athwart Asia, and then at Cambaia visiteth the Ocean Sea.

But because Pison, which compasseth Ha-Gen. 2.15. vilab, as also Gehon, which watereth Cufb, must somewhere be joyned with the rest in out of the same Country of Eden, out of which the other two heads do proceed; the other be Ganges, or Nilus: For Nilus rifeth in the uttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the Mediterran Sea; and the River Ganges rifeth out of the Mounin the fame Armenia. by the Georgian Mounthence be separated, or divided into four heads or branches, according to Mofes.

Therefore the River Pison, which inrich-

Kingdom of Mogor. So as if Indus be not ac- not Havilah of India, so called of Havilah the counted for any of the four, because it is | Son of Jostan, who inhabited with his broremoved from Tygris by all the breadth of ther Opkir in the East. And this Havilah of Persia, then how much less Ganges, which the Cushites had also Gold, Bdellium, and the falleth into the Ocean, little less than fourty Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigness of an Olive, whereof Arabia hath great plenty, which yieldeth a certain Gum fweet to fmell to, but bitter in tafte, called also Bdellium. The Hebrews take the Loadfrom for Bdellium. Rerealdus affirmeth, that in great Gallies transported himself, and the Bdela in Hebrew fignifieth Pearl: so doth greatest part of his Army, and in failing | Eugubinus; and Hierom callsit Oleaster: be down that branch of Indus, found it so large it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearl, and deep, and by reason thereof so great Havilah or Susiana hath plenty of both. Now a billow, as it endangered his whole this Country of Susiana or Havilah, stretch-Fleet, which was ready to be fwallowed eth it felf towards the North as far as the Alup therein: Hydaspis (as asoresaid) being tars of Hercules, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as far as the Persian Gulfe, on the East side thereof: from which East fide had the Shebans (which traded with the City of Tyre according to Ezekiel ) their great plenty of Gold; which Strabo also witnesseth, as was shewed

The Greeks had a conceit, that Pison was steuth. Danubius: the Rabbins take it for Nilus, Hopk, Aben-Ezra (faith Hopkins) out of Rabbi Saa- Par. dia, translateth Pilon into Nilus: But Nilus findeth the same impossibility that Ganges doth: and Danubius hath the Sea of Helleone body, or at least be found to proceed front, and all Asia the less between it and Tygris. Now Pilon, which runneth through Havilah or Susiana, doth to this day retain out of doubt they cannot either the one or some signe of this name; for where it and Tygris embraceth each other under the City of Apamia, there do they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called Pifo-Tygris. And it is strange unto me, that from tain Imaus, or (as others will have it) Can- fo great antiquity there should be found recafus, which divides the Northern Scythia maining any refembling found of the first from India and runneth from North to South name: for Babylon it felf, which dwelleth fo polices into the Indian Ocean. And as for Perath and near these Rivers, is by some writers known mog. Hiddekel (that is, Euphrates and Tygris ) the by the name of Bandas, as, by Postellus: by one of them is begotten in Armenia, near Castaldus, of Balduch: by Barius, of Bagdad; Three. Georgiana or Iberia, the other is not far off and of Boughedor, by Andrew Thevet; and Colm yet all those that have lately seen it, call it Asault tains; fo as Ganges, who only travaileth in Bagdet. To this River of Fison Ptolemy inher own India, and Nilus through Ethiopia deed with many others give the name of Baand Egypt, never faw the land of Eden, or filins or Regins, and Gelon they term Maharjoyned themselves in one channel, either Jares, and Marsias, and Baarsares. So is Euwith themselves, or with either of the other; phrates, near the Spring and Fountain, by and therefore could not at any time from Strabo and Pling called Pixirates: by Junius, Puck-perab, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profusion, or coming forth of Euphrates: where it breaketh through the Mountain eth Havilah, is the same which by joyning it Taurus, it takes the name of Umgra. Plutarch felf with Tygris, was therefore called Pifi- calls it Medus and Zaranda: the Hebrews Tygris or Pife-Tygris, of Pifen and Tygris, Parath (faith Ar. Montanus:) Pagninus, Pecen. 2. v. which River watereth that Havilah, which rath: Josephus, Phorah; Eusebius, Zozimus;

Ammianus.

limitius, term it Cobar: which Ezechiel call- the interjacent Countries: for Saul fmore eth Chebar; but this is but a branch of Eu- the Amalekites from Havilab to Sur: which phrates. The Afgrians know it by the name Sur, the Chaldean Paraphrast converteth Hacommonly it is called Frat.

The fame confusion of names hath Tygris, as Dielite and Dielath, Seilax and Sollax : was no fuch Travailer or Conquerour, and of the Hebrews it was called Hiddekel: now therefore Havilah must be found nearer of the inhabitants, Tegil.

But Mercer upon Genelis conceiveth rightly of these Rivers: for Euphrates and Tygris (below Apamia, ) lose their names and are called Pifi-Tigris, and the memory of Euphrates extinguished, is, because the best part of Furthrates running through the channel of Gehon, finketh into the Lakes of Chaldea, not far from Ur, the City of Abraham, and fall not entirely into the Persian Sea, as Tygris, accompanied with Pifon, doth.

This errour, That Pifon was Ganges, was first broached by Josephus, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weeds) and other men (who take his authority to be sufficient in matter of defeription, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For, Epiphanius, fay did Cush (being by the Seventy translated Augustine, and Hierom, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as Pifon was transported into the East India to find out Havi-lab: so was Gebon drawn into Africa to compass Æthiopia. But if Havilah, whereof Mofound to be a Region, adjoyning to Babylon on the one fide, and Cush (which is failly interpreted Ethiopia) fastned to it on the o- South in Africa; yet those of Thebaides are ther fide, we shall not need then to work those so often remembred in the Egyptian wonders (that is) to impose upon menthe stories, and out of which Nation they had transportation of Rivers, from one end of the many times their Kings of Egypt: all which the Land (called Cufb) which Gebon watereth, took name of Cush himself. For as the then Chufa, Sufa, and Sufiana.

From this Havilah unto the Defarts of Sur,

Ammianus, Chalymicus: Giftilianus and Co- did the Ifraelites and Amalekites poffess all of Armalchar, or Nahor Malcha: but now gra, and Hagra bordereth the Red-Sea. But 1 Sam. 15. this was not meant from Sur upon the Red-7. Sea, to Havilah in the East India, for Saul home, where the Sons of Imael inhabited. and which Country Saul wasted: for Amalek and the Amalekites poffes'd that neck of (Gith he) ftream into four branches; two Country, between the Persian Sea, and the of which keep their antient names, and the Red Sea; Havilah being the extream of the other two are called Pilon and Gehon. The one, towards the East, and sur of the other, reason why these two Rivers, joyned in one towards Egypt and the West, leaving that great body of Arabia felix towards the South, and they spread themselves with the Midianites and Edumeans, from the Eastpart, or backfide of the Holy Land, to the banks of Euphrates, comprising the best part of Arabia Petraa, and Deferta.

# §. XIV.

Of the River Gehon, and the Land of Cush, and of the ill translating of Ethiopia for Cush, 2 Chron, 21, 16,

Ow as Havilah in the East India drew Pison so far out of his way thither, so I Ethiopia) force Gehon into Africa. For Cush being taken for Ethiopia by the Greeks, whom the Latines followed, Gehon consequently was esteemed for Nilus. But Ethiopians are. as much as black or burnt faces, whose proper See more fes speaketh in the description of Paradise, be Country called Thebaides, lyeth to the South-of this ward of all Egypt. And although there be Section many other Regions of Ethiopians, and far World to the other, which (among other Ethiopians are very near, or else directly unuses) were made to transport men. Now it der the Equinotial line, which is very far was in the Vally of Shinar, where Cush the from that Land inhabited by the Chustes, Son of Ham first sate down with his Sons She- who are neither black of colour, nor in any bah, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Nimrod, &c. fort neighbouring Torrida Zona. But this and of Havilah, the Son of Culb did that Re- translation of the Septuagint, Pererius doth gion take name, which Pifon compaffeth; and | qualifie in this manner: There are (faith he) two Ethiopia's, the East, and West: and this division he findeth in Strabo, out of Homer. Sons of Jottan, Ophir, and Havilah, feated Now because there is no colour to make themselves as near together as they could in Chus Ethiopia in Africa, Pererius will make India, so did the Sons of Cush in Shinar, or Chush and the land of the Chustes (which is Babylonia, where Nimrod built Babel: for Arabia Petraa, and part of Arabia the Happy, Havilah, or Chavilah, was first Chusea, of Custs with the Region of Madian) to be the East Ethiopia.

Now, if it be granted, that Chufb and the

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it well appeared, when Zearah the Chusite, strange progress for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mighty a King as the King of Egypt, between Palestina and Æthiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites. Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Afa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie he in following his Victory took fome of the Cities of King Zearah round about, as Gerar. Now, that Gerar is a City of the Æbe the words of the Scripture disproving it : Exod. 17.8. And Abraham departed thence, toward the South Countrey, and dwelt between Kadesh and sojourned in Gerar : Now Sur is that part upon which Mofes and the Ifrelites first fet their the Amalekites in Rephidim fet on them, fup- troubled mater. poling that they had been weary and unable written : Wherefore Isaac ment to Abime- taken for Ethiopia. Moses married the daugh-North, and Gerar by Gaza towards the South. of Arabia Petraa, bordering the Red-Sea; an honest excuse, salve this Translation of Moses fled from Pharaoh into the Land of Mi-Chus for Æthiopia; yet it appeareth plainly, dian, and fate down by a Well, &c. And again, Homer's East and West Athiopia, they are Madian, . Indeed, these four Nations are

Land of the Chulbites be that Tract from Sur | Book, and eighth Chapter, citeth Homer for to Havilah, according to the Scriptures: Ha- an Authour of these two Æthiopia's. But the bitavit Ishmael ab Havilah usque Sur, que re- East Æthiopia is that which compasseth Nispicit Agyptum introcuntibus Asyrios, Ismael lus to the South of Egypt, and is the South dwelt from Havilah unto Sur, that is, towards border thereof; now a part of the Em-Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria. The same pire of the Abissines under Prester John; fufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot be Nilus, And the West Ethiopia is that which joynbut a River that watereth Culb, and not #- eth it felf with the River Niger, which we thiopia. But this place of Scripture, Habitavit | call Senega and Gambra: for thereabours Ifmael, &c. hath this fense: Ifmael dwelt from are these Ethiopians called Perors. Dararites. Havilah, which is the way of Affyria, or the with divers other names, which Pliny num-Countrey bordering Afgria; and Sur, which | breth. But all these are in Africa, and beyond lieth toward Egypt, which is as much to fay, the Defarts thereof, faith Pliny out of Homer. Plin !! as, The islues of Ishmael (whereof there were | Agrippa and Juba; which Regions indeed (1 ". ". twelve Princes) whom God had promifed to mean that of Niger, and that of Prester John. make a great people, inhabited all those Re- and the Troglodites) lie due East and West. gions between the border of Egypt and Afy- But as for Cufb, and the Region of the Ifmaria. And that they were (according to the elites, &c. they are extended directly North Word of God) so increased and multiplied, from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that Josephus was exceeding groß herewhich others call Tharantha, brought an Ar- in, it appeareth by that fiction which he hath mic of ten hundred thousand against Ala of Moles when he served Pharaob in the Wars King of Juda, Which Armic came not out of against the Æthiopians: for in that (to make Æthiopia beyond Egypt; for that had been a Chus, Æthiopia) he transporteth Madian by miracle over the Red-Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and fetteth it in Æthiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the World's Plantation. Again, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greek Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet Hieremie; And what hast thon now to do in the way of Egypt, to thiopians, it cannot be suspected; for these drink the water of Nilus? Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon? To this faith Pererius, profetto Hebraice ibi non est vex Gehon, sed Sichor, qua significat Nigrum & C.s. v. 18 turbidum: Truly (faith Pererius) the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hefeet after they passed the Red-Sea, where brew, but Sichor; which signifieth black and Furthermore, this is a manifest and un-

to refift. Again, in the Story of Isaac it is answerable argument .! that Chus was ill lech, and the Philliftines unto Gerar : and I am ter of Jethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, Exod, 1.16 thropians. And lastly, Mose himself, where he dianite, and not Æthiopiss, as (with Jo. 1. describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these fephus) the Geneva converts it, though it words: Then the border of the Canaanites mas help it a little with a marginal Note. Now from Sydon, as thou comest to Gerar: for sy- it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of don was the frontier of Canaan towards the the Country of Madian, which is that part But indeed, howfoever Pererius doth, with for it is written in the fecond of Exodus, that that the septuagint and Josephus did altogether mil-understand this place. And first, for sheep of Jethro, his father in-law, Priest of Versit. both found elsewhere: For Pliny in his fifth every where mixt in the Scriptures, because

and the Chastes, which were all, in one general word, Arabians; and in the Scriptures and all are one Nation, and all Arabians. fometimes called by one of these names, and fometimes by another; as in Gen. 37. v. 25, Chus, is, among other places, made must ap-27, and 28. that Joseph was fold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter, v. 36. it is written, that the Madianites fold Joseph to Potiphar, Pharaoh's Steward. The Genevians, in a marginal Note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) fay, that Moles wrote according to their opinon, who took the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moles wrote not after any mans opinion, he wrote the truth; and these were all Arabians: and so in this very place it appeareth with the Land of the Chusters, and are distant by their Merchandise, which they brought from Æthiopia about two and thirty, or three with them, when they bought Joseph. for and thirty degrees; and therefore not their their Camels were loaden with Spicerie, and next neighbours; but all Egypt, and the De-Balm, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of fart of sur and Pharan are between them. Arabia felix: from whence chiefly, and So as this place of the second of chronicles, from the East India, all the World is served should have been translated in these words: with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the Spices they received from the East fide of Spirits of the Philiftines, and the Arabians. the Arabian Gulf, as aforesaid. And in the which confine and border upon the Chusites, 39 Chapter, it is faid: That Potiphar bought Joseph of the Ismaelites, which the Chaldean Paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now to make this the more manifest, it is Vers. 10. written, Judg. 6. That when Ifrael had fown, then came up the Madianites, and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came upon them: they of the East were Arabians of the Defart; so as where before in the buying of No, he knew it, no living man so well, and Joseph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were therefore would never have named Gebon confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites for Nilus, or Nilus for Gehon. Surely, if Moses are made one Nation. For in the profecution of the Story of Gedeon, the Madianites onely are named, as comprehending both Nations; and in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. these Na-(18, 7. and in the eighth Chapter, v. 24. tions are called *Ifmaelites*, and neither *Madi*anites, nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon defired that every man would give him the golden Ear-rings, which they had taken after the victory against Zeba and Zalmunna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shekels of Gold, it is written: For they had golden might justly have thought, that he had de-cu.so. in Ear-rings; because they were Ismaelites. And these Ijmaelites were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of War. Manus ejus contra omnes, O manus omnium contra cum; His hand (faith God, of Ismael) shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites come the Mahometan Arabians, though some Writers think Mahomet to be of the Schenite. And these Ismaelites, which inhabit chiefly in Cedar, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan (faith Josephus) use

they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the | do. Toward the South-east are the Madi-Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, anites, and Chusites: and beyond them towards the Defarts of Arabia, the Amalekites,

Lastly, the ill Translation of Æthiopia for parent in the fecond of Chronicles, in these words: So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and the Arabians, 2chro. 21. which confine the Æthiopians; fo Hierome reads it: the Geneva Translation hath it, which were besides the Æthiopians. Now how far it is off between the Philistines and the Negro's or the Æthiopians, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the Philistines and Arabians do mixe and joyn who indeed are their next neighbours. \* Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in sa- \* Steuth. cris literis sa Arabia propinqua; There remain- Gen. c. 2. eth no doubt (faith steuchius) but Æthiopia in the Scriptures, is taken for that Country which joyneth to Arabia.

Now, may we think, is it probable, or poffible that Mofes could be ignorant of Nilus ? had meant Nilus, when he named Gehon, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon Reeds, and preserved by God. working compassion in the Daughter of Pharaoh) a River of Egypt, wherein he was born Exod. 2. and bred, and wrought so many miracles. Besides, the River of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of Gekon. And if Moses had told the Ifraelites, that Nilus had been a River of Paradife, they days of their lives, and found no fuch Paradise at all, nor any memory, or speech thereof, except we shall believe the Paradise of Hesperides, where (faith Pliny ) there Plin.1 5. was nothing found in his time, but wilde c.i.c.i3.
Olives in flead of golden Apples. But Nilus v. 18. istwice called Sichor, once in Ifaiah, and once in the Prophet Jeremie; and yet in those places it is not faid to be a River of Æthiopia; but of Egypt. For in a word, the Ifraelite's poyfon upon their Arrows, as the Indians had never any communion or affairs with

the Æthiopians, nor any intelligence or trade | felf in the best of the Valley, where he built beyond Egypt, to the South; but the enemies Eabel, whereof that Region had afterwards which they had on the South, and East parts, the name of Babylonia. Chus himself and his were these Nations of the Chastees, Philiftines, brother Mizraim first kept upon Gelon, Ifmaelites, Amalekites, and Madianites: who which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldea; and being often governed by many little kings, or in process of time, and as their people in-Regult, were diftinguished in names, accord-creafed, they drew themselves more Westering to the Fathers or Heads of those Nati- ly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from ons; but in one general name were all Ara-bians. On the North side of Canaan, they which Tract the Chistes remained for many were afflicted with the Calo-Syrians, with the Magogians, Tubalites, and others their adherents. And thirdly, within themselves, the they might entitle Gehon, they translated Nations which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities upon the do examine this mistaking by example, we Sea-coast, as Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others; yea, Jerusalem it self was us suppose, that Brute, or whosoever esse that with-held from Israel, from the days of sirst peopled this Illand, had arrived upon the

That which now remaineth of most difficulty, is, that it doth not appear that any part of Gebon watereth that part of Arabia Defart it was, that Matt. Beroaldus lost himfelf in seeking out Paradise: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two rerum Natura, as he hath described : by which

even Arabia the Defart. And as he well proved that Pifon was not them elsewhere, it feemeth he knew not. maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza. and whose Springs he findeth far East in Arathe state of Ifrael stood, and when it floutrance of Arabia-fælix. Nimrod feated him- off, and in places not yet entituled, and far-

years after. Now, because there could be no fuch River found in Arabia the stony, which Chus, Æthiopia; and Gehon, Nilus. And if we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let Adofes, even unto the time of David, by the River of Thames, and called the Island after his name Britannia, it might be faid that Thames or Tems was a River that watered Britannia: and when afterwards, in process of time, the same Brute had also discovered the ftony, which the Chaftes inhabited in and conquered Scotland, which he also entithe times of the Kings of Ifrael: and in this tuled by the fame name of Britannia, afterages might conclude that scotland was no part thereof, becuse the River of Tems is not found therein. Or let us suppose that Europa, Rivers, and call them Gehon and Pifon , to the Daughter of the King of Tyre in Pheni-noulti the end that the one might water Chus, and cia, gave the name to Europe, according to add the other Havilah; for I find none such In Herodotus, and that the first discoveres thereof arrived in the mouth of the River Rivers he also includeth within Paradife, in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discovered; Shall we in like fort resolve that France, Spain, and Italy, &c. Ganger, nor Gehon Nilus; fo where to find are no pars of Europe, because that River is not found in them, or any of them? In like Certainly, this River of Gehon, which he manner was it faid by Mofes in his defeription of Gehon, that it watered the whole Land of Chus; but not the whole Land which the bia, is but imaginary; for the Current by Chustes should, or might in suture time con-Gaza, is but a small stream, rising between quer,people, and inhabit sseeing in after-ages it and the Red-Sea, whose head from Gaza they became Lords of many Nations, and it self is little more than twenty English they might (perchance) have been Masters miles, as shall appear hereafter. But questi- in time, (as the Saracens, which came of onless, hence it comes that many were mista- them, were) of a great part of the World. ken. They all confidered of the habitations For, though the Babylonian Empire which of the Chustes, as they were planted when took beginning in Nimrod the Son of Chus, confifted at the first but of four Cities, (to rished, being then their near neighbours, and wit) Babel, Erech, Acad, and Chalne, yet we never looked back to the first seats and plan- find, that his Successours within a few years tation of Chus. For after the Floud, Chus after, commanded all the whole World in efand his children never refted, till they found feet: and the fame of Babel confumed the the Valley of Shinar, in which, and near memory of Chusea. For of this Torrer of Conwhich himself, with his Sons, furt inhabited. fusion did all that Land take the name of Havilab took the River-side of Tygris chiesly Babylonia: and the greatness of that Emon the East, which after his own name he pire founded by Nimred a younger Son, called Havilah, (now Sulfana:) Raamah, and obscured the name and Nation of his Father Sheba farther down the River, in the en- Cufb in those parts, until they crept farther

ther from the Babylonian Empire, where the habitable World, feated in the lower part Chulites retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soil and Territory, by themfelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not think, that Chus, or any of his, could in haft creep through those defart Recellent temper of all other (to wir) 35. degions, which the length of 130. years after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with North-pole: in which Climate, the most ex-Thickets, and permitted every Bush and cellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Grain of all Brvar, Reed and Tree, to joyn themselves forts, are to this day found in aboundance. (as it were ) into one main body and For- And there is nothing that better proveth the rest. For if we look with judgment and reafon into the Worlds Plantation, we shall find. that every Family feated themselves as near together as possibly they could; and though wherein soever the Earth, Nature, and the Sun necessity enforced them, after they grew full can most vaunt that they have excelled; yet of people, to fpread themselves, and creep shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all out of *shinar*, or *Babylonia*; yet did they it their works: This Tree alone giveth unto with this advice, as that they might at all man whatsoever his life beggeth at Nature's times refort and succour one another by Ri- hand. And though it may be said, that these ver, the fields being then(without all doubt) Trees are found both in the East and West impassible. So Nimrod, who out of wit and Indies, which Countries are also blessed with frength usurped dominion over the rest, a perpetual Spring and Summer; yet, lay sate down in the very confluence of all those down by those pleasures and benefits, the Rivers, which watered Paradise: for thither seafful and dangerous Thunders and Lightit was, to which the greatest troups of Noah's nings, the horrible and frequent Earthchildren repaired; and from the same place quakes, the dangerous diseases, the multiwhence Mankind had his beginning, from tude of venimous Beafts and Worms, with thence had they again their increase. The first Father of men, Adam, had therein his former habitation: The second Father of the other. Mankind, Noah, began from thence his difperfion.

Now as Nimrod the youngest, yet strongest, made his choyce of Babel (as aforesaid) which both Tygris and Enphrates cleanfed how much Adam exceeded all living men in and enriched; so did Havilah place himself upon Piso-Tygris; Ramah and his Son Sheba manship of God, by so much did that chosen farther down upon the same River, on the and particular Garden exceed all parts of Sea coast of Arabia: Chush himself upon Gehon, the fairest branch of Euphrates. And planted (that is) made to grow the Trees, of when they began to spread themselves far-ther off, yet they alwaies sastened them-and becomming the Paradise, and Garden felves to the Rivers sides: for Ninive, Charran, Reseph, Canneb, Or in Chaldea, and the other first peopled Cities, were all founded eys of men in this Scripture have been dimupon these navigable Rivers, or their branches; by which the one might give fuccour and affiftance to the other, as is already often remembred.

6. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of something Spoken of before.

Dut now to conclude this Dispute; It ap-Beareth to me by the testimonies of the where it was, and whereof the name (in Scripture, that Paradife was a place created fome part) remaineth to this day. A River by God, and a part of this our Earth and went out of Eden to water this Garden, and

of the Region of Eden, afterward called Aram fluviorum, or Mesopotamia, which taketh into it also a portion of Shinar and Argrees from the Equinodial, and 55. from the excellency of this faid foil and temper, then the abundant growing of the Palm-trees, without the care and labour of man. For other inconveniences; and then there will

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradise had, before God (for man's ingratitude and cruelty) cursed the Earth, we cannot judg; but I may fafely think, that by the Univerfal World, in which God had

of fo grant a Lord.

fighted (some of them finding Paradise beyond our known World: fome, above the middle region of the ayr: fome, elevated

near the Moon: others, as far South as the Line, or as far North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the Reader will be sufficiently satisfied, that these were but like Castles in the ayr, and in mens fancies vainly imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (faith Mofes; ) Eastward, in respect of Judea, that God planted this Garden ; which Eden we find in the Prophets

phrates swimming through Eden do joyn in off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into one, and afterward taking waies apart, do the Mediterrane Sea: and Euphrates diwater Chus and Havilah, according to Moses, stilleth out of the Mountains of Armenia, and the true feats of *Chus* and his Sons being their falleth into the *Gulf of Persia*: the one riseth in the Vally of *Shinar*, in which *Nimrod* built in the South, and travaileth North; the o-Babel. That Pison was Ganges, the Scripture, reason, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be the other. In this leaf following, I have addivided; Ganges, which inhabiteth India, maketh the same impossibility; and this River is a greater stranger to Tygris and Euare between Tygris and Ganges above four this description of mine be reproved by a thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same better.

from thence divided it felf into four bran- quarter of the World; but Nilus is begotten ches; and we find that both  $T_{ggris}$  and  $E_{H-}$  in the Mountains of the Moon, almost as far ther riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three degrees the one from cannot be a branch of the Rivers of Eden; terrestrial Paradife, that the Reader may That Gehon was Nilus, the same distance thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I look for, that my labour may but receive phrates, then Ganges is: for although there an allowance suspended, until such time as

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CHAP. IV.

Of the two chief Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

§. I.

That the Tree of Life was a material Tree; and in what sense it is to be taken, that man by kis eating the forbidden Fruit, is made subject to death.

the banishment of temporal life, faith Beda. That these Trees of Life and Knowledg were material Trees (though Figures of the Law tile as nothing can fix them, and so slippery as nothing can fasten them, have in this aldoctrine.

a Plural construction, and is to be understood, Lignum vitarum, The Tree of lives, be-

it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged | have been translated and glorified. Law of God imposed on his creatures; Man But of what kind or Species this Tree of (notwithstanding ) should have enjoyed Life was no man hath taken on him to teach:

Or eating the forbidden fruit of the tree | thereby a long, beautiful, and ungrieved of Knowledg, was Adam driven out of life: after which (according to the opinion Paradife, In exilium vite temperalis, Into of most Divines) he should have been tranflated, as Enoch was. And, as before the Floud, the days of men had the long meafure of eight hundred or nine hundred years; and of the Gospel) it is not doubted by the and soon after the Floud, of two hundred most religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are so volational though the wits of men, which are so volational through the wits of men, which are so volational transfer and upwards, even to five hundred: so if Adam had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandment, the lives of men on earth might have continued double, treble, fo delivered to the World, an imaginary or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have con-The Tree of Life (fay the Hebrews) hath ceived. Chryfostom, Rupertus, Tostatus, and others were of belief, that (but for Adams fall and transgression) Adam and his Postecause the fruit thereof had a property, to rity had been immortal. But such is the infipreferve both the growing, fensitive, and ra-nite Wisdom of God, as he forefaw that the tional life of man; and not only (but for earth could not have contained Mankind; Adam's transgreffion) had prolonged his or else, that millions of Souls must have been own daies, but also given a dureful continu- ungenerated, and have had no being, if the ance to all his posterity; and that so long, as first number wherewith the Earth was replenished, and although it is hard to think that the state of And although it is hard to think, that therefore that of Chrysoftom must be underflesh and bloud could be immortal, but that stood of immortality of bodies, which should

the same was not material, but a meer Goropius uleth, both concerning the Tree, Allegorie; taking their strength out of Solo- and the reasons wherewith he would induce Ausgore, taking the Area other men to that belief. For Moles Bar-Ce-mon, where Wildom is compared to the Tree other men to that belief. For Moles Bar-Ceof Life, and from other places, where also phas in his Treatife of Paradise (the first Part Christ is called the Tree of Life; as out of and fol. 48) faith, That the Tree of Knowthe Apocalyps, I will give to him that overcometh, to eat of the Tree of life which is in the of which the greatest plenty (faith Becanus) Paradise of God. But to this place Saint Auguftine's answer may suffice, (which is) That the Rivers which falleth into India, where the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestrial Paradise, so near the Kingdom of Porus. there was a celestial. For although Agar and there was a celetitate of the old and New Teflament; yet to think that they were not Wo- what bigger; and that it is a Tree, so seemen, and the Maid and Wife of Abraham, per serens, Always planting it self; that it were meer foolishness. And so in this place, spreadeth it self so far abroad, as that a troup the fense of the Scripture is manifest; For of Horse-men may hide themseives under it, God brought out of the Earth every Tree fair to Strabo faith, that it hath branches bending the light, and sweet to the taste; the Tree also downwards, and leaves no less than a shield. sheweth, that among the Trees, which the Earth by God's commandment produced, the Tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, Hesiod, Homer, Ovid, and others, steal the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of Paradise they took the Platform of the Orchard of Alcinous, and another of the Hesperides: and from the Tree of it no where else, would needs draw the Gar-Life, their Nectar and Ambrolia; for Nectar, according to Suidas, fignifieth making young; and Ambrosia, immortality; and therefore faid to be the meat and drink of the gods.

6. II.

of Becanus his opinion, that the Tree of Knowledg was Ficus Indica.

the praise due to others, at least if the invention be at that price at which he fetteth it. ferreth the invention to an antiquity more Tree in the world can do. Now, one of these remote, citing for his Authour Philoxenus Trees confidered, with all his young ones,

in which respect many have conceived, that | Maburgensis, and others, whose very words ledge was Ficus Indica, The Indian Fig-Tree; are found upon the banks of Acesimes, one of

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigness of of Life in the midst of the Garden: which Ariftobulus affirmeth, that fifty Horle-men tib. to may shadow themselves under one of these (47.24 Trees. Onesicritus raiseth this number to four hundred. This Tree (faith Theophrastus) exceeded all other in bigness, which also Pliny and Onesicritus confirm: to the trunk of which, these Authours give such a magnitude, as I shame to repeat. But it may be, they all speak by an ill-understood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a Plant as Becanus conceiveth, who, because he found den of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the River Acesines. But many parts of the world have them, and I my felf have feen twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not far from Paria in America. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot up some twenty or thirty foot in length (some more, some less, according to the foil)they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the trunk or ftem : for Ow, for the Tree of Knowledge of from the utmost end of the head-branches, good and evil, fome men have prethere iffueth out a Gummy juyce which fumed farther, especially Goropius Becarus, hangeth downward like a cord or finew, who giveth himself the honor to have found and within a few moneths reacheth the out the kind of this Tree, which none of ground; which it no fooner toucheth, but the Writers of former times could ever it taketh root, and then being filled both gues at, whereat Goropius much marvelled. from the top-boughs, and from his own pro-But as he had an inventive brain, so there per root, this cord maketh it self a Tree exnever lived any man, that believed better ceeding hastily. From the utmost boughs thereof, and of himfelf. Surely, howfoever of these young Trees, there fall again the like his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth cords, which in one year and lefs (in that World of a perpetual Spring) become also Trees of the bigness of the neather part of For Moses Bar-Cephas fastened on this con- a Lance, and as streight as Art or Nature can jecture above fix hundred years before Be- make any thing, casting such a shade, and canus was born: and Ear-Cophas himself remaking such a kind of Grove, as no other

may (indeed) shroud four hundred or four | give credit to this his borrowed discovery by thousands in the inner parts of Trinidado. The cords which fall down over the banks into the Sea, shooting alway downward to cords out of the Sea, I have feen five hunon Trees in India. But that they bear any

good and evil is described to be.

Secondly, This Tree having so huge a that this Tree hath no extraordinary magni- goodness of pure and simple Obedience. tude, as touching the trunk or stem: for among ten thousand of them, it is hard to find any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a mean fize. Secondly, the words of Moles translated. In medio ligni, are by all the Interpreters understood in the plural number (that is) In the midst of the Trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of Moses Bar-Cephas) word for word, 601.3.7. is, That when Adam and Eve found themther the Tree it felf was a Fig-tree, or that a possest with shame, did not run up and down the Garden to feek out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it felf; and these leaves of all other were most commodious, by reason of their largeness; which Pliny avoweth in these words; Latitudo foliorum pelta effigiem Amazonia habet; The breadth of the

of which Targets Virgil toucheth: Virg. An. Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis 1. 1. 494: Penthefilæa furens.

> The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield Penthesilea leads into the field.

Here Becanus desireth to be believed, or

thousand Hors-men, if they please; for they using this confident (or rather cholerick) cover whole Valleys of ground where thefe speech : Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus fi Trees grow near the Sea-bank, as they do hee à nobis, de ficu hac, ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Moisis narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere. Aliam arborem inveniri posse,qua cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstifind root under water, are, in those Seas of nate, if he compare these things which we have the Indies where Oysters breed, intangled reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient in their beds, fo as by pulling up one of these Writers delivered, with the narration of Mofes. as to dare to avow, That any other Tree can dred Oysters hanging in a heap thereon; be found, which doth more properly answer, or whereof the report came, That Oysters grew | agree therewith? But for my self, because I neither find this Tree, forting in body, in fuch huge leaves, or any fuch delicate fruit, largeness of leaves, nor in fruit to this re-I could never find, and yet I have travelled port; I rather incline to the opinion of Philo. a dozen miles together under them. But That the Earth never brought forth any of to return to Goropius Becanus: This Tree these Trees, neither before nor after. But I (faith he) was good for meat, and pleafing leave every man to his own belief, for the to the fight, as the Tree of Knowledge of matter is of no great weight as touching his kind; onely thereby, and by the easie Commandment by God given to Adam, to fortrunk (as the former Authours report, and bear to feed thereon it pleafed God to make Becanus believeth) it was in this Tree that trial of his obedience: Prohibita non propter Adam and Eve hid themselves from the pre- alind quam ad commendandum pura ac simpli-Maam and Eve and encountries from the pier cis obedientia bonum; Being forbidden, not for fence of God; for no other Tree (faith he) cis obedientia bonum; Being forbidden, not for could contain them. But first it is certain, any other respect, than thereby to commend the commend the

# 6. III.

Of Becanus his not-unwitty allegorizing of the Story of bis Ficus Indica.

DUt in this I must do Becamus right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it felf to be true. The effects whereof, because sclves naked, they made them breeches of his discourses are exceeding ample, I have Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that ei- gathered in these few words. As this Tree (faith he) so did Man grow straight and up-Fig-tree grew near it: because Adam being right towards God, until such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandment of his Creatour; and then like unto the boughs of this Tree, he began to bend downward, and stooped toward the Earth, which all the rest of Adam's Posterity after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiousness of leaves hath the shape of an Amazonian shield: this Tree, he compareth to the dark and which also Theophraft confirmeth; the form shadowed life of man, through which the Sun of justice being not able to pierce, we have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased christ to climb the Tree of the Cross for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruit which it beareth, and which is hard to find among fo many large leaves, may be compared (faith he) to the little virrather threatneth us all that read him, to tue, and unperceived Knowledge among CHAP. IV. fo large vanities, which obscure and shadow | conceive, that Adam being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanlhip and delicate to the taste and palate: so are of Gods own hand, in greater perfection the delights and pleasures of the World most than ever any man was produced by genepleafing, while they dure. But as all those ration, being (as it were) the created Plant, things which are most mellifluous, are sooneft changed into choler and bitternels: fo | up; and having received immortality from are our vanities and pleasures converted in- the breath or spirit of God; he could not to the bitterest forrows and repentances. (for these respects) be ignorant, that the dif-That the leaves are so exceeding large, the lobeying of Gods commandment was the fruit (for fuch leaves) exceeding little; in fearfulleft Evil, and the observation of his this, by comparison we behold (laith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly perfect health do (notwithstanding) conmen, their follicitude, their outward flews, ceive, that fickness is grievous, and yet in no and publick oftentation, their apparent pride fuch degree of torment, as by the fuffering and large vanities; and if we feek for the and experience in themselves they afterfruit, which ought to be their virtuous and wards witness: so was it with Adam, who pious actions, we finde it of the bignels of could not be ignorant of the punishnents, the smallest peaze; glory, to all the world due to neglect and disobedience; and yet apparent; goodness, to all the World in- felt by the proof thereof in himtelf another vilible. And furthermore, as the leaves, botterrour than he had fore thought, or could dy and boughs of this Tree, by so much eximagine. For looking into the glass of his ceed all other Plants, as the greatest men of own guilty foul, he beheld therein the horpower and worldly ability furpas the mean-rour of Gods Judgments; to as he then knew, rishing statelyness, and magnitude. Lastly, fought for leaves to cover himself withal: this may serve to put us in mind of his and our fins, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorn our rotten and mortal bodies: to pamper and maintain which we use so many uncharitable and cruel practices in this world.

# §. I V.

of the names of the tree of Knowledg of good and evil: with some other notes touching the story of Adam's sin.

what operation the fruit thereof had, and as Defart, Viventis, & videntis. touching the propertie of the Tree it felf, Moses Bar-Cephas, an antient Syrian-Doctor (translated by Massue) giveth this judgment: ther knowledg then he had perceived in That the fruit of this Tree had no fuch virtue or quality, as that by the tasting thereof, there was any fuch knowledg created in Adam, as if he had been ignorant before; but as Junius also noteth: Arbor scientia boni & mali (id eft) experientia boni & mali ab e- blown forward, by the gentle wind of pleaventu. The Tree of Knowledge of good and fing perswasions, unawares; his progression evil ( that is ) the experience of good and being strengthened by the subtile arguments evil by the event. For thus much we may of Sathan, who laboured to poyfon mankind

est: so is the little fruit of such Men, and (he feelingly knew) and had trial of the late fuch Trees, rather fitting and becoming the good, which could not be prized, and of the unworthieft Shrub, and humbleft Bryar, or the poreft and bafeft Man, then such a flour press d. He then saw himself naked both in Body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods whereas Adam, after he had disobeyed God, grace and former felicity: and therefore and beheld his own nakedness and shame, was this Tree called the Tree of Knowledg, and not because the fruit thereof had any fuch operation by any felf quality or effect: for the same phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signs and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such fort, as this Tree was called the Tree of Knowledg, because of the event, as is aforefaid: fo was the Well Num: 20. of contention therefore called Efek, and the Well of hatred Sitnath, because the Heards- Gen. 16. men of Isaac and Gerar contended for them: 20, 21. and the heap of Stones called the heap of mit- cap. 31. ness, between Jacob and Laban; not that 48. the Stones bare witness, but for a memory 19. Ow, as touching the sense of this Tree of the Covenant. So Jacob called the house con 16. of Knowledg of good and evil, and of God Bethel; and Hagar, the Well in the 14-

But Adam being both betrayed and mastered by his affection, ambitious of a farhimself, and looking but slightly (as all his issue do ) into the miseries and sorrows incident; and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtain by tafting the fruit forbidden: he was transported and in the very root, which he moistened with | obedience? even a desire to know what was

himself perished for ever.

being given to man for a comfort and comtempted; even by the most ugly and unentred and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her dif- passion of dissimulate forrow and unquietness.

the liquor of the same ambition, by which most unfitting for her knowledg; an affection which hath ever fince remained in all the But what means did the Devil find out, or posterity of her Sex. Thirdly, what was it that what instruments did his own subtilty pre- moved the man to yield to her persuasions? fent him, as fittest and aptest to work this even the same cause which hath moved all mischief by? even the unquiet vanity of the men since to the like consent; namely, an Woman; so as by Adams hearkning to the unwillingness to grieve her and make her voice of his wife, contrary to the express add, lest she should pine and be overcome commandement of the living God, Mankind with forrow. But if Adam in the state of by that her incantation became the subject | perfection, and solomon the Son of David. of labour, forrow, and death: the woman Gods chosen servant, and himself a man endued with the greatest wisdom, did both of panion, but not for a counsellor. But because them disobey their Creator, by the perswastthou half obeyed the write of thy wife, &c. (faid on and for the love they bare to a woman, it God himself.) Carsed it the earth for thy sake, is not so wonderful as lamentable, that other in forrow shalt thou eat of it all thy life. It is men in succeeding ages have been allured to also to be noted, by whom the woman was so many inconvenient and wicked practices by the perswasions of their wives or other beworthy of all beafts into whom the Devil loved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit



CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things, between the Fall of Adam, and the Floud of Noah.

§. I.

Of the cause and the revenge of Cains sin: and of his going out from God.

Sons of Adam, as it were, urged and provoked God) he destroyed all Mankind, but Noah and his Family: for it is written, The in the same place, Moses giveth a reason: for saith he, The Earth was filled with cruelty: is) he was left of God, and anon after, God himlest made the cause ved of his protection. known unto Noah, faying; An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth. Neither was this cruelty meant to have been in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all forts of Injustice and Oppression. After

The same Pride and Ambition which | this Murther of Abel, Cain went out from the began in Angels, and afterward poffcfs d Adam, Cain also inherited: for Nocl, towards the East-side of Eden: in which Cain (envious of the acceptation of his Bro- words, The going out of Cain from the prethers Prayer and Sacrifice) flew him, mak- fence of the Lord, is not to be understood ing himself the first Manslayer, and his Bro- after the literal sense, God being wholly in ther the first Martyr: the revenge of which all parts of the World: Totus in calo est, tounnatural murther, although it pleased God tus in terra, non alternis temporibus, seduto mitigate, when Cain. cried out that his trumque smul; God (sith S. Augustine) is Ang. it punishment was greater then he could bear. For the same offence chiefly (wherewith the enterchanged times, but all at once; And that the enterchanged times, but all at once; And that the enterchanged times, but all at once; this is true, David witnesseth: If I be in Hea- Pfd; 134 ven (faith David) thou art there; if in Hell, 81. thou art there also. But what is meant there-Gen. 6 v. Earth also was corrupt before God: of which by? Exit à facie Dei (faith Chrysoftom) Cain went out from the presence of the Lord 5 (that in Ga. is) he was left of God, disfavoured and berea- Hom.

6. II.

of Cains dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.

"His word Nod or Naid, S. Hierom and nier, rd I many others understand to fignisie Hib.

or agitation, faith Junius; but the Seventy East-side of the Garden of Eden be set the Chernconvert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth 70-Cobus. But it feemeth to me, that Cain was dam was cast out, and therefore inhabiting 16.1. rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else; and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if in regard of the Murther committed, justly fearing (by his own words) the like violence: And whosoever findeth me (saith Cain) shall slay me. Now, that Nod or Naid was a an Abiding : and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and the shiding more manifest, Moses teacheth in what part of the earth this his habitation was ter Cain departed from the presence or fasheweth that he feared to wander, and ra- on and cast out from the favour of God. ther fought to fortifyhimfelf against revenge. Cyrillus faith, that Cain and Abel were figures of the City of Henoch, were the first society of Christ, and of the Jews; and that as Cain and civil affembly of all other, it is likely after that he had flain Abel unjustly, had that the fame of these People (either for thence-forth no certain abiding in the cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in World: fo the Jews, after they had crucified memory of Noah and his Sons: fo that after the Son of God, became Runnagates: and it the Floud (as there were of all forts of nais true, that the Jews had never fince any cer- tures, some vertuously, some impiously distain Estate, Common-weal, or Prince of their posed, and every active mind setting before own upon the Earth. Now, this Land of Nod, it whom to follow or imitate) those People, Junius taketh to be in Arabia Deferta, a Re- which delighted in cruelty and oppression, gion of the Nomades; but Arabia the Defart took on them their names whose natures is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, they most liked and allowed; of whom neither are these Nomades any particular these Henochians were not the least. Per-People or Nation. For all these, in what chance the place it self, where Henoch stood part of the World foever, which in old time | before the Floud, and whereof Monuments lived by Pastorage, and fed (as we call it in | might remain(as the pillars or foundation of Quotidie as Ireland) upon white meat, without tilling of Joppe did) gave occasion to the Planters of box magnetic the ground, are called by the Greeks No- that place, to call themselves by the same orbemulamades, and by the Latines, Paftores wagi, as the Northern Tartarians, the Getulians, and many Nations in the borders of Pontus, and Jandama-Numidians in Africa, the ancient Britains, and Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, and Bactria; of the la jaciumthe Northern Irifl: yea, such were the Inhabitants of Italy it self, till such time as Italy are otherwise call d Coraxioi. And seeing that nominal contents of Italy it self, till such time as Italy. (who gave them that name ) taught them the busbandry of Tillage, used at this day. But which the most aged Time hath covered prioribin) the Region Eastward from Eden is that part over, or defaced, we may (according to the orimitar of Asyria, called by Ptolemy, Calena; which counsel of Plato) exceedingly rejoyce, and Albinan, also might be derived of Carena, the Coun- therewith satisfie our selves, if of so great, "Plin.16. trey of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in and almost worn-out Antiquity, of the el- :911.00 those parts, it may be gathered by the first | dest Peoples names and nations, there re- med. 1. 1. possession of his Father Adam; for thus it is main any print or footsteps to Posterity. written, Genes. 3. Therefore the Lord God sent

wandring, or uncertain habitation : vexation | following : Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the bims: which sheweth that the entry intoParadife was from the East by which entrance Aon that fide of Paradife which was Eastward, according to the Text. Cain also in the same the word Nod, or Naid, do fignific profugus, that is, a Fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertain habitation of Cain. then till he built the City of Enoch, the first Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth of the World, which he enclosed, either for by the word (dwelt) for dwelling fignifieth his own defence, or (as Tolephus writeth) to oppress others thereby. So as, for mine own opinion, I am resolved with the septragint, that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which Cain useth of himself, it seemethby the perclose of which he affirmeth towards the East-side of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein Eden. Secondly, it is faid by Moses, that af- understood for such an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: For whofoever findeth your of God, he built a City, and called it me (faith Cain) shall slay me; or else (Vagaby the name of his first-born, Enoch; which | bond) is taken for a man without protecti-

> And because these Henochians, so called ain any print or footsteps to Posterity.
>
> In \* Pliny, P. Mela, Strabo, Valerius Flac- Val. Fluc.

him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the cus, Lucan, Stephanus, we find those Henochei, 1.6. Earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse described, though diversly written: as in Lucan, 1.3,

Pliny.

CHAP. V.

which inhabit upon the Sea Euxinus, but yet all things else) out of the word (Heniochi) none of these are on the East side of Eden, or which signifieth Cart or Coach-men, make times with a borrowing, as Eastward, or ranged the coasts of Asia the less, in an open the Land of Shinar; but in this of Cain, he ad- fuch an open Boat, which could hardly carry deth the word (towards) as, in the land of Nod, their own Rowers, being fifty four, there was towards the East-side of Eden; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two,either to the North, or to the South of the East. But, as we may conjecture that these Na-

tions took name of Henoch the City of Cain; or of the Region wherein it stood, when the fame was re-peopled after the Floud: fo it is probable that these Henochii of Colchis, and other parts adjoyning, were not the first of that name after the Sons of Noah began to fill the World again: because, had this Henoch the City of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then been feated North, and not against certain particulars in the fourth and East or Eastward from Eden. But as Pliny fifth Chapter of Genesis: against which, for findeth their habitation towards Pontus fo af- the first, it is demanded, How it was posterwards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For than his Son Henoch to perform such a he calleth these of Colchis (now, Mengrelia) Work as the building of a City, seeing there
Plin. 16. Sanni Heniochi; Ptolemy, Zani; beyond which is thereto required so many hands, and so an hundred & fifty mile Eastward, he findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these he again discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest | Parent of an impious Race) Moses useth no took beginning, which inhabited on the ample declaration; and fo it best agreeth West side of the mountains of Paro-panisus; between them and the great River of Oxus, taineth the whole Story of the first Race, which bordereth Badiria on the North side; which lasted, by the least account, 1656. gion of Eden, and Eastward from the very may every man borrow of his own weakest Garden it felf.

these Henockii took name from the memory | a measure as 800. and 900. years, that in such of the City of Enoch directly; yet because a space Cain had not want of leisure and they inhabited due East from Paradise, and means to build many such Cities as Henoch, afterwards spread themselves Westward (as be the capacity answering to what other of all Noah's Sons did that came into Shinar) the the World soever: for in what Age of Cain's conjecture is far more probable than that of life he built it, the Scriptures are filent: as of Annias the Frier, who fets Henoch in Phani- whose times, and the times of his issues, Motia, quite centrary to Moses word: Phanicia ses had the least care. And as it is said of

Henochia, and the same also in the East, with required is to be understood: which advice,

Pling, sometimes Henochii; in Mela, Enochii; na, of the same name. Onely the Grecians in Flaccus, Heniochi; in Lucan, Eniochi: All (according to their fabulous inventions of none of these are on the East fide of East, of which infilmed the Care of the Wag - Nat. (see (according to Moses words) Eastward from these Nations to have sprung from the Wag - Nat. (see alleth) Eden For Mofes, in all places where he descri- goners of Castor and Pollux (to wit) Amphites them Bis beth any Region, was so exceeding precise, and Telehius, who attended them in the interas sometimes he useth the word East or South prize of Jason into Colebis. And though I do without borrowing or addition; at other not deny, but that Jason, with other Greeks, Strablin Southward, or towards the East or South. In Boat or kind of small Gally,\* of whom I shall In the the place of Genefis the eleventh, he writeth | speak in his own time: yet no man doubteth Books the word (East) simply and directly. And as but that the tale of the golden Fleece was for this sint the word (East) imply and directly. And as but that the tale of the golden withall, that in 13.5%, they went from the East, they found a Plain in the most part Poetical; and withall, that in 13.5%, no place, and less use, of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

# 6. III.

of Moses his omitting fundry things concernine Cain's Generation.

DUt of the remembrance and testimonies D of the name of the City of Henoch in prophane Story, thus much may fuffice : Now it followeth to answer some few Objections great a mass of all forts of materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to confider, That of Cain (because he was the with his divine Reason, seeing that he conand these Henochii are due East from the Re- years, in five short Chapters: Yet thus much reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow And although we cannot be assured that on the first generations of mens lives so long from all parts of Eden, being directly West.

And besides these several Nations of the Henockii, Stephanus findeth a Region called World; but in both, the process of time divers mountains about Bedria and Sogdia- seeing Moses useth where the space less requirethit, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may easily understand that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference between the birth of Abel, and the oblation of Cain, he spake it in this fort, Fuit autem post dies multos, or à fine dierum (that is) in process of time, it came to pass that Cain brought an oblation. And therefore it is in like fort to be understood of Cain, that many years foregone, and when his people were increased, he built the City of Enoch or He-

And where it is written, as of Cain, that he built Enoch, fo of solomon, that he built the Temple of Jerusalem; yet it is well known of solomon, that he imployed in that Work 150000. labourers: for this phrase or fneech is common with our felves to fay, the King invaded, when he caused an invasion to be made: and he built, when he commanded fuch a building. And therefore feeing that we find that Moles had no regard to the ages, birth or death of any of cain's issues, it is not to be marvelled at why he also patieth over in a word the building of Enoch, without ad-601.4.17. Writeth in this manner: Cain also knew his wife, who conceived and bare Henoch, and he

built a city, and called the name of the city af-18. ter the name of his Son Henoch. And to Henochroas born Irad, and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methusael, and Methusael

Now, of seth, Moses writeth far otherc.s. v. s. wife, and in this manner. And Seth lived an hundred and five years, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch 807. years, and or Cenan at seventy years, Mahaleel and begat sons and Daughters: fo as all the days of Enoch at threescore and five years, whereas Seth were 912. years, and he dyed: as for the years and times of the wicked, they were not numbred in Libro viventium, faith Cyril. at 182, and Noah at 500, years. Now this dif-But in seth was the Church of God establish- ference hath been the more enforced, beed:from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and work Mokes walked in, and finished it with Marriage out of the Religion of Abstinence, care, passing over the reprobate Generation, (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of Adam by Cain. Moles remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning Adam for one; and of the Line old. of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam also therein, as followeth.

# I. ADAM.

2 Cain. 3 Henoch. 4 Irad.

5 Mehujael. Methufael. 7 Lamech, who by Adab had

8 Jubal and Tubal and by Silla Tulal-Cain and Noema.

# I. ADAM.

2 Seth. Henoch. Methusalem. 3 Enofb. Cainan. 9 Lamech, Mahaleel. and 6 Tured. 10 Noah.

These be the Generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but 70fephus giveth unto Lamech threescore and feventeen Sons and daughters, by his two Wives, Ada and Sylla: and to these three Sons of Lamech, Moles ascribeth the invention of Pastorage, of Musick, and the working in Metal; for it feemeth that Jubal first gathered together, and made familiar those beafts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Herds and Droves: Tubal Gen. 4. 20, invented Musick, and Tubal-Cain the work- 21, 22. ing in Brass and Iron: the one being addicted to Hufbandry, the other was Mechanical the third given to idleness and pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepherds, Handy-crafts-men, and Mulicians. And in the iffues of Seth began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecie, and Aftrodition of any circumstance for of Cain, Moses nomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

# 6. IV.

Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

Second scruple hath been made, How it came to pass that the Patriarchs begat their children at so divers Ages, as Cainan Fared begat not any of his untill he was 162. years old: Methusalem begat at 187. Lamech cause it cannot be conjectured, that either Jared. Methusalem, or Lamech abstained from feeing that Enoch, who was translated by God for his fingular Sanctitie, begat children before he was threefcore and ten years

The apparent difference hereof arifeth in this, that Mofes did not number the Generations before the Floud precifely, according to the first-begotten and eldest Sons of the Patriarchs, but he drew down the Line of Noah from Seth. and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestours, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldest of Jared, nor Lamech the first-born of Me-

thusalem.

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thusalem, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is moneth when he begat Enosh: and if the when we find Mahaleel to be begotten by Kefirst Son of Kenan, and then reckon that Methusalem begat Lamech in the 187. year of his rejecteth all the other Sons of Methulalem ther of Noah, as aforesaid. Of this Saint Augustine hath somewhat else in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, De Civi-

the first Age, and so to Abraham, and the children of the promise after him; so doth St. Matthew recite the Genealogy of Christ, not by the eldeft Sons, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without refpect of the first-born, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Evangelist Mat. 1. 2. nameth Haac, and not Ismael, though Ismael the younger, and not Esau the elder; neieldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simeon, or Levi, venteen and an half of our years. but from Juda a fourth Brother, and fo from 1 Kings 2. the Heir of Grace, namely Solomon.

6. V.

Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late memory.

and to this day, not the tenth.

are cafily confuted. For whereas seth begat then had seth lived but eight years and one cleanfed matter, shall wax old as a garment ; v. 16.

there any thing known to the contrary, but time of Enosh have the same allowance when that Noah night have had many Sons before he begat Kenan, then could Enosh at that shem, Ham, and Japhet, though these time have been but six years and fourty eight were onely named, and furviving, and which weeks old; and so it may be gathered of by God were reserved to be the Fathers of the rest, excepting only Adam, who was cremankind after the Floud; and therefore ated perfect in his kind, as were the trees in their kind, bearing Fruit and Seed. But this nan at threescore and ten years, who was the were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of generation at fix, feven, or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the life, the difference seemeth strange, where Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of Lamech is taken for the eldeft. But Alofes our first Fathers, who being descended from rejecteth all the other Sons of Methylalem Adam, the workmanship of Godshands, and but Lamech onely, because he was the Fa- begotten and born in the strong youth of the World, had length of daies, and ability of body agreeable. Again, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary years, then there would follow this extremity, that But as Moses counted the Generations of those which lived longest, and upwards of nine hundred years, had by that account but the time of fourfcore and ten and odd years; which were not only less by far then the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but fhort of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourfcore, and some an hundred years. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, Gen. 25. That Abrawere first in time: so doth he take Jacob ham died in a good Age, an old man, and of great years: all which (if the former acther is Christ derived from any of the three | compt were of Lunary years) makes but se-

And if we feek for a cause of this long life David a younger Son of Jessai; and lastly, in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first we find, that the Kingdom it self of Juda man, created in highest perfection, should was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to also beget children of equal strength or little differing: for of the first and purest feed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfullest plants. Secondly, the Earth it felf was then much less corrupt; which yielded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any fuch mixture of harmful quality, as fince that time the curse He third Objection is, that the great of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, difference of years between those of brought on it and mankind: Neither had the first Age, whereof some of them had well the waters of the Floud insused such an imneer seen a thousand years, makes it disputa- purity, as thereby the natural and powerful ble, whether the account of times were of operation of all Plants, Herbs, and Fruits upthe same measure as in after-Ages, seeing that on the Earth received a qualification and foon after the Floud, men lived not a third harmful change. And as all things under part of that time; and in succeeding Ages, the Sun have one time of strength, and another of weakness, a youth and beauty, and They that have hereon refolved that those then age and deformity: so Time it self (unyears were but Lunary years (to wit) of a der the deathful shade of whose wings all moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian years, things decay and wither) hath wasted and worn out that lively virtue of Nature in Enosh in the year of his life an hundred and Man, and Beasts, and Plants; year the Heafive, if those years be taken but for moneths, vens themselves, being of a most pure and pfalso. in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance the last taxation, number, and review of the of God receive operative Virtue from the eighth Region of Italy, there were found fuperiour.

how far doth our education and simplicity of living differ from that old time? The tender bringing up of Children, first fed and dred and thirty: asmany that were an hundred nourished with the Milk of a strange Dugge; an unnatural curiofity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to find out Nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender years, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her felf hath not yet any root sufficient to maintain her own top; and fuch half-ripe feeds (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and wax old even in their Infancy. But above all things, the exceeding luxuriousness of this gluttonous age, wherein we press Nature with over-weighty burthens, and finding her strength defective, we take the work out of her hands, and commit it to the artificial help of strong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which Lucan hath these elegant Verses:

O Prodiga rerum

Luxuries, nunquam parvo contenta paratu; Et quesitorum terra pelagoque ciborum Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mensa, Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam: Et quantum natura petat. Non auro myrrháque bibunt : sed gurgite puro Vita redit : satis est populis, fluvinsque Ceresque.

O wastfull Riot never well content With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and

Vain-glory of a Table fumptuous, Learn with how little life may be preferved. In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to

caroule, But with the Brook the peoples thirst is

ferved; Who fed with Bread and Water are not

sterved. The Egyptians affirm, that the longest

time of man's life is an hundred years, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty years, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. Epigenes findeth in his Philosophy that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty years, and Berofus to an hundred and seventeen years. These opinions Pliny repeateth and reproveth, pro- | a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ftrong

and then much more the power generative | ducing many examples to the contrary. In in the Roll (faith Pliny) four and fifty per-Plint. 7. But besides the old Age of the World, sons of an hundred years of age: seven and english fifty of an hundred and ten: two of an hundred and five and twenty: four of an hundred and five and thirty, or an hundred and feven and thirty years old: and last of all, three men of an hundred and fourty: and this search was made in the times of Vespatian the Father, and the Son.

The simple diet and temperate life of the Escans, gave them long account of many years : fo did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Persian Magicians, and Indian Brachmans. The Greeks affirm 70f. and out of Homer, that Neftor lived three Ages, Plin. 17. and Tirefias fix, sybilla three hundred years, c, 48. Endymion of the less Asia, little less: Also Majaniffa of Numidia lived very long, and Dando of Illyria. Among the Kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred years (faith Ephorus.) Hellanicus affirmeth of the Epeians, that some of them lived full two hundred years; and fo doth Diodorus Siculus of the Egyptians: and that these reports are not fabulous, Josephus bringeth many witnesses with himself; as Marethon, Berosus, Mochus, Estius, Hieronymus, Egyptius Hecataus, Ephorus, and others. And Anthony Fume, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the year 1570. there was an Indian presented to Solyman, General of the Turks Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my felf knew the old Countess of Desmond of Inchiquin in Munfter, who lived in the year 1589, and many years fince, who was married in Edward the Fourth's time, and held her joynture from all the Earls of Defmond fince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munster can witness: Strozzius Sicogna, out of Torquemada, Maffaus, and the like Authours, telleth of some that have not onely farr exceeded the term prescribed by Epigenes; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit age to fresh youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference between the ability of men in those days wherein Galen the Physician lived, it may eafily prove unto us, what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For Galen did ordinarily let Bloud fix pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) stop at fix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Con-

stellations) which are the natural causes of

M. acrob Satur lib.

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CHAP. V

which are built of rotten timber, or moul- Cadmus, and others; but falfely. dring stone, cannot stand long upright; on Ayr we feed alwaies and in every instant, and on meats but at times: and yet the heavy load of abundance, wherewith we opfore with a good constitution, a pure Ayr, and a temperate use of those things which companions of a long life.

# §. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledg by Tradition: and that Enoch writ before the Floud.

Fourth scruple hath been made, How A the certain knowledg of the Creation came to Moles, feeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had been, vet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Universal Floud.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder Ages, we shall find, that knowledg was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar fort, as Jewels of inestimable old: from whence this knowledg by an eaprice, fearing the irreverent construction of fie and ordinary way might come to Ifrael, the ignorant and irreligious: fo as whatfoe- and fo to Mofes. ver was attained unto concerning God, and his working in Nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wife men to a posterity equally Zealous; Ex animo in animum fine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From that one of them remained even in his time mind to mind without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought thereof) which Pillars by others are ascribed by Esdras, origen, and Hilarius (as Mirandu- to Seth. But of thele Prophecies of Enoch, withal, fecretiorem & veram legis enarratio- their names and motions) were afterward nem; a more secret and true explanation of found in Arabia fælix, in the Dominion of mysteries, which he called secretiona, to the rude multitude, were no other quam dare fanclum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas; then to give holy things to Dogs, and and Letter, had not the spirit of God instruto cast Pearls before swine. In succeeding cited and inspired him as it did: which also times this understanding and wisdom began his many and strange Miracles (performed to be written in Ciphers and Characters, and before he wrote the Scriptures) make more Letters bearing the form of Beafts, Birds, and | manifest. other creatures; and to be taught only to

Parents, a pure and thin ayr, and temperate | the Jews was an imitation: the invention of use of diet, pleasure, and rest: for those the other is ascribed to Zoroaster, Mercurius.

This Cabala importeth a Law, received by Cabalan tradition and unwritten. Cabala in Hebrew Theologic is Receptio in Latine, and a Receiving in En- non reve glish. And this custome was also held by the Base Mira, press and overcharge Nature, maketh her to Druids and Bards of our antient Brittains, 110.fd fink unawares in the mid-way; and there- and of latter times by the Irifh Chroniclers called Rimers. If then such as would seem wifest in the use of reason, will not acknow-Nature wanteth, are the only friends and ledg, that the story of the Creation or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the Holy-Ghost guiding the hand of Moses; yet it is manifelt, that the knowledg thereof might by Tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certain prefumption, then any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their fuccesfors: which their wife men (as they terme them ) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazards. For, leaving to remember that Adam instructed seth, and seth his children and fuccessors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that Methusalem lived together with Adam himself two hundred fourty and three years, and Noah with Methusalem no less then five hundred years: and before Noah died, Abraham was fifty and eight years

But besides this Tradition, it is questionless. that the use of Letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those Prophecies written on Pillars of Stone and Brick by Enoch: of which Josephus affirmeth, Jos. 1.1. (meaning belike some ruin or foundation la conceiveth) that Mofes did not only upon | St. Jude testifieth; and some part of his Books que Exi the Mount receive the Law from God, but ( which contained the course of the Stars, 9.14. the Law; which (faith he, out of the same the Queen of saba (saith Origen) of which origin Authors,) he delivered by mouth to Joshua, Tertullian affirmeth, that he had seen, and Ho and Jostua to the Elders: for, to teach these read some whole Pages. It is not therefore Lin Stand strange, that Moses came to the knowledg of the Creation, and ftory of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by Tradition

Now for the Books of Enoch, howfoever Hom-18,18 fuch as served in their Temples, and to their some men make mention of them, sure I am Nam or Kings and Priefts. Of the first the Cabala of that Tertullian, Origen, Angustine, Beda, ProceEvong.
pins. Johns.

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writings: although Medina, for an argument to prove them unwritten Traditions, et dift. alledgeth that Pope Gelasus among other the Apocryphal Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not these of Enoch; but that whatsoever was remembred out of them, the same was delivered by Tradition from the Jews. But I rather think with Pererius, that such a Book there was, and that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, and many things added thereunto by Hereticks, fice in publick. For although Adam inftruwho took occasion upon the antiquity thereof and out of that place of Michael contending with the Devil about the body of Moses, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their own. One of the greatest arguments against these Books, is, that neither Philo nor that is, they served and praised God by Com-Josephus (the most diligent searchers of An-munion and in publick manner, or calling tiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of St. Augustine, were the Sons of God, or the Godly, distin-Scripfife quidem nonnulla divina Enoch, illum guished from the wicked. From the birth of Cotimum ab Adam, negare non possumus: That Enosh the Son of seth, to the time of Henoch Enoch the seventh from Adam, did write di- the Son of Jared, there is nothing rememvers divine things, we cannot deny. Now his bred by Moses, but their owne births, the writings which came afterwards to light, birth of their Sons, the length of their lives, were suspected because of the antiquity, and and deaths. But of Henoch it is written: That Gen. 5. 24. of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten he walked with God, and he was no more seen: of Angels, and others; and by so much the for God took him away. By that, that he more, because no such Book was found a- walked before God, was meant, that he was a mongst those Canonical Scriptures, kept by just and upright man, and that he feared, the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in Ar- loved, and obeyed Gcd. For the same phrase mario Judaico (saith Tertullian) who yet af- Moses useth of Noah; Noah was a just and firmeth, that this Book might be preserved upright man in his time, and Noah walked by Noah. Surely, that Enoch wrote the Pro- with God. The Seventy convert it, Enoch phesies remembred by Jude, no man can de- placuit Deo; Enoch pleased God. And alny; how they were delivered to posterity, though Aben-Ezra, and others, understand I know not; whether by the Jews Cabala, or this place, (tulit cum Deus) scilicet, mortuus by what other means, the same is but mans eft; God took him away, (that is) he dyed, conjecture. And (certainly) by the know- which (indeed) agreeth both with the phrase ledg ascribed to Noah of the motions of the of the Scripture, and with our manner of Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctihis Sons, to Zoroafter, and then to Abraham, Moses maketh between the piety of Henoch, knowledg of the first Age, be it by Letters, or by Cabala and Tradition, had the undoubted Word of God need of any other proof then felf-authority.

pius, Gazeus ( with others) cite them in their

# §. VII.

of the History of the World:

Of the men of renovon before the Floud.

Ow let us confider the relation of Moles, who nameth feven descents of Cains children: and of Adam by Seth, ten; Seth being given by God in stead of Abel: And of seth was Enolb begotten, in whose time men began to profess Religion, and to offer facrifred his Children in the knowledg of God their Creator, as appeared by the Sacrifice offered by Cain and Abel; yet it scemeth that after the death of Enosh, men began publickly to call on the Name of the Lord, upon the Name of the Lord; and thereby speech to this day, to say, God took him aons of the Stars; and afterwards to some of way when he died; yet the difference which it is very probable that Noah had seen and and the rest of the Patriarchs, and by omitmight preserve this book. For it is not like- ting the word (death) which he useth to all ly, that fo exquisite knowledg therein (as else, makes it manifest, that Henoch was not these men had) was suddenly invented and dissolved as the rest. For to all the rest of found out, but left by seth to Enoch, and by the Patriarchs, Mofes ufeth these words, And Enoch to Noah, as hath been faid before. And he dyed; but of Henoch he spake otherwise, therefore if Letters and Arts were known faying only, He was milling, or, he was not from the time of Seth to Enoch, and that Noah feen. Et non inveniebatur (laith the Apostle lived with Methusalem, who lived with Adam, to the Hebrews) quia Deus eum transfulit; and Abraham lived with Noah; it is not strange And he was not found, for the Lord took him (Isay) to conceive how Moses came to the away. In the same place it is expresly added, that he saw not death.

But whether this taking away of Henoch were not with the same kind of changing which St. Paul promifeth, when he faith, that, i con 14. when the end shall come, we shall not all die, 51.

God.

learned Divines.

After Enoch, Mofes paffeth over to Methufalem and Lamech, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that Lamech prophefied of his Son Noah, Gen. 5. 19. faying, This fame Shall comfort us concerning our work, and forrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curfed. Of Noah. Moses writeth more amply than of any of the rest of Adams children by seth, being the last Gen. 6. 9. of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and scared

policy of those strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories, if they had been preserved, and what else was then performed in that newness of the world, there could no-thing of more delight have been left to Pofterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their strength of body and natural wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900, years) how much of necessity must the tuerpian (who thought his own wit more Gifame adde of wisdom and undertakings? Likely it is, that their works excelled all whatfoever can be told of aftertimes especituled, Gigantomachia; and strained his brains ally in respect of this old age of the world, when we no sooner begin to know, but we men : his reasons (whosoever defires to lose Aphor, 1. begin to die; according to Hippocrates: Vita time) he may find them in the Treatifes bebrevis, ars longa, tempus praceps; (which is) fore named. It is true, that Cyrillus re-Life is short, art is long, time is headlong. And many things worthy admiration, it may be Gen. 6. 4. were mighty men, which in old time were men removed Islands out of the Sea, with like the Daughters of Cain, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world onely.

That thele sons of God were Angels, which to Latine: being taken with the beauty of women, ac companied them, and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, Last antius, and Eusebius, mis-led by fosephus of whom I can not doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this miftaking many Writers have taken great ad-

but all shall be changed, I leave it to the vantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needless: the question being uncapable of dispute, especially fince S. Chrysoftom and S. Augustine have anfwered it largely long ago. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appear in Scripture; and on the contrary, to think that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) always attend his commandments, should after a separation from the rest which fell with Lucifer, forfake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become Incubi, or Succubi, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more But of the war, peace, government, and than madness to imagine.

# s. VIII.

That the Giants, by Moses so called, were indeed men of huge bodies : as also, divers in later times.

F these Giants which Moses calleth mighty men, Goropius Becanus an Angantical than the bodies of Nimrod, or Hercules) hath written a large Discourse, intito prove, that there were never any fuch proves the Grecian Poets for their monthat those people of the first Age performed | strous fictions: who affirm shamelessly, That the Giants have in elder times, not onegathered out of these words of Moses; These ly cast up Mountains upon Mountains, but of renown, But these men of renown (whom fooleries. And for that invention of castthe Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both ing up Hills, and making War with the for frength of body, and cruelty of mind) gods, no doubt but that the same was bortrusted so much to their own abilities, as they rowed out of the Story of Nimrod, as before forgat altogether the piety of seth, and the remembred; and even out of this Scripture. ways wherein Henoch walked: for all the ima- That the Sons of God faw the Daughters of ginations of their hearts were evil, onely evil Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten. and continually evil. And this wickedness was was that conceit, taken from Orpheus and Henot onely found in the iffues of cain, but it findus, That Giants were the Sons of the Heawas then universal, when the children and ven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens Sons of God (or of the godly)were corrupt- the sons of God, and by the Earth, the Daughed and mif-led by their Idolatrous Wives, ters of Men: which verses of Orpheus are by John Cassam (who hath written a very witty Discourse of this Subject) thus changed in-

> Nomine cœlestes illos dixère Gigantes, Orti qued terra fuerint & sanguine celi.

From th' Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came,

Whom thereupon the gods did Giants

CHAP. VI. But what will not Opiniators, and felf-be-| four hundred years after the Expedition of lieving men dispute of, and make doubt of, if Chedorlaomer, Moreover, those Discoverers

common experience the other?

Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our

and not to strength of body, and eminent sta- fight, like Grashoppers, and so we were in their ture: fuch men might with better reason call sight (that is) the Searchers found in their them Oppressors, because they were Giants; own judgments a marvellous difference beand therefore had ability to oppress, than tween the Anakims and themselves: inso-

fay, That they were called Giants onely, be- much that the Ifraelites were fo ftricken with calleth them mighty men; which shewetha turn again into Egypt, and were more willing ftrength surpassing others: and afterwards to endure their former slavery, than to fall

have more willingly heark ned to a dispute, kels of Brass: the shaft of his spear was like

and yielded to interpretation. But besides all these famous Giants found to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the Gethews, because he was of Gath: and of Story of Britany) the Scriptures do cleerly, and without all Allegorical construction, a-

of these Giants in the time of Abraham, Gen 14. 5. of Moles, of Josuah, and of David; namely, the Rephaims in Afteroth; the Zuzai, or Zan zummims in Ham, and the Emims which dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab; whom

Moles (for stature) compareth with the Anakims which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for Giants as the Anakims. Like- And lastly, he took the gates of Azzah, and wise where Moses speaketh of the Land of Ammon, he useth these words: That also was

ants called Rephaims in Afteroth and Karna- Time hath (with it felf) infeebled and alim, and the Zuzzei or Zanzummims, Cheder- most worn out the virtue of all things, laomer, King of Elam, overthrew, affifted by then, I say, That as in all other kinds the other Kings his aflociates. Also the Pro- Earth (before that Sin had increased the

of Giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Cedar; and whose strength to the Oaks: it did in after ages: so also those Giants,

ants who commanded the Kingdom of Basan of men which are now born, in the withered

they cannot conceive that there were in the and Searchers of the Land of Promife (fent first Age such kind of men; and of which by Moses from Cadesbarne in Paran) made rethere have been in all times fince; feeing the port at their return of the great stature of Scriptures avow the one manifeftly, and those people in general, and especially of the Sons of Anak in these words: All the people Numb. 13. And for that superlative straining of words, which we saw in it, are men of great stature: for v. 34. and the meaning of them, that the name of there we faw Giants, the Sons of Anak, which

cause Oppressiours. For first, Moses himself fear, as they rather sought, and desired, to re-

men of renown (that is) of great under-taking and adventurous actions. And if the fame stature of body, and ability, had not that Goliah the Philistine of Gath, was a Giant been found among divers Nations after the of fix Cubits and a fpan long: the Armour 1 Sam, 17. general Floud, the a might this place of Moses which he wore, weighed five thousand she-2.4.

a Weavers beam, and his spear head weighed fix hundred shekels of Iron. Also in Samuel 2 Sam 21. in prophane Histories (which I will referve there is mention of another Goliah, surnamed v. 19.

three other Giants; of which the first was t chron. flain by Jonathan, David's Nephew, who had 1 vow, That besides Nimrod, there were found twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of

great stature, and his fingers were by fixes, even four and twenty. Also that Sampson was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion Jud. 14.6.

as it had been a Kid, and after flew thirty of 14. 19 the Philistines, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Ass: the two posts, and lifted them away with the

barrs, and put them upon his shoulders, and taken for a Land of Giants, for Giants dwelt carried them to the top of the Mountain be-therein afore-times: and, whom the Ammonites fore Ebron. If then it be approved by every call Zanzummims; a people that was great, and judgment, that both Nature, and the Heamany, and tall as the Anakims. And these Gi- vens wax old, and that the great age of

phet Amos found among the Ammonites, men curse and corruption) brought forth her

and the Prophet Baruch, These were the Gi-ants famous from the beginning, that were of exceeded the proportion, nature, and so great stature, and so expert in warr. Parti-litrength, of those Giants, remembred by cularly, it is written of Og King of Basan, Moses of his own time, and after him their

that his bed of Iron was nine Cubits long, fucceffors, as the ordinary proportion of and four Cubits broad: for onely og King men in general, foon after the Floud, and in of Basan remained of the remnant of the Gitimes far off, exceeded the bulks and bodies

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ing youth and newness of the World.

and oppression) of these men was such, as doth not repent him of any thing which he hath God therefore by the Floud, gave end to done (as men use to do) but if the Scripture all fiesh, but to the just Noah and his Fa- did not use those words, or the like, it one coin mily. And God repented him that he had should not (in a sort) instinuate it self fanet coin made man: which Saint Angustine thus exmiliarly to all sorts of men, for whom it poundeth; Neque enim sicut hominem, ita would provide: that it might terrifie the Deum facil sui panitet, cujus est de omnibus proud. sir up the negligent, exercis the omnibus rebus tam six a sententia, quam cer-search est et truth, and nourish those that ta prascientia. Sed si non utatur Scriptura lundersand.

quarter and Winter of the World. If there-, talibus verbis, non se quodammodo familiafore Giants were common in the third and rius infinuabit omni generi kominum quibus fourth Age, much more in the first flourish- vult esse consultum : ut & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat que-But the wickedness (especially in cruelty rentes, & alat intelligentes; God (saith he)



# CHAP. VI.

Of Idolatrous corruptions, quickly rifing, and hardly at length vanishing in the World: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient Times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

# 6. I.

That in old Corruptions, we may find some signs of more ancient Truth.

further, the occasion offereth That the Corruptions themselves were very ancient, as in the Family of Noah, and in the old Egyptians.

Ere, before we proceed any it felf for us to confider how the Greeks, and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into But this defection and falling away lous inventions, and by breaking into But this defection and falling away lous inventions, and by breaking into But this defection and falling away lous inventions, and by breaking into But this defection and falling away lous inventions, and by breaking into But this defection and falling away lous inventions. parts the Story of the Creation, and by gels, and afterwards in men (the one having delivering it over in a mystical sence, erred but once, the other ever) as concernwrapping it up mixed with other their own ing Man-kind, it took such essect, that theretrumpery, have fought to obscure the truth by (the liberal Grace of God being withtumpery, nave lought to oblicure the truth by (the hoeral Grace of God being with thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those inter-mixed Discourses fuffing a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. of God and Nature, for the inventions of the control of the contro Poets and Philosophers, and not as any imperfection and harmfull quality, as the thing borrowed or ftoln out of the Books waters of the general floud could not so wath of God. But, as a skilfull and learned Chy-mist can as well by separation of visible hath had continuance in the very generation elements draw helpfull Medicines out of and nature of man-kind. Yea, even among poison, as poison out of the most health- the few Sons of Noah, there were found full Herbs and Plants (all things having in strong effects of the former posion. For as themselves both life and death) so, conthe children of shem did inheritathe virtues trary to the purpoles and hopes of the Hea-of Seth, Enoch, and Noals; so the Sons of Cham-then, may those that feek after God and did posses for the Sons of Cain, and Truth, find out every where, and in all of those wicked Giants of the first Age. the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Whence the Chaldwans began, soon after the Story of the first Age, with all the works Floud, to ascribe divine power and honour and marvels thereof, amply and lively ex- to the Creature, which was onely due to the prest.

Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sun, and then the Fire. So the Egyptians and Phænicians

Phenicians did not onely learn to leave the true God, but created twelve feveral Gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus faith, Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in usu habuisse. atque Græcos ab illis cepiffe mutatos, cofque prins Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Dins, fibi crexisses The Egyptians (faith he) first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the Greeks received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples, for the gods.

# 6. III.

That in process of time, these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the groß Superfitions of the Egyptians.

Dut as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, do then after wander for evermore in vices unknown, and daily travel towards their eternal perdition: fo did thefe groß and blind Idolatets, every Age after other, descend lower and lower, and shrink and of whatsoever was done therein, partly and flide downwards from the knowledg of from fome inferiptions upon stone or metal one true and very God; and did not there- remaining after the Floud; and partly from by erre in worshipping mortal men onely, Mizraim the Son of Cham, who had learn'd but they gave divine reverence, and had the the same of Cham, and Cham of his Father fame respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowls, Noah: for, all that the Egyptians write of Winds, Earth, Water, Ayr, Fire, to the their ancient Kings, and date of times, can-Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, not be fained: and though other Nations afand Roots, to Passions and Affections of the ter them had by imitation their Jupiters al-Mind, to Palenes, Sickness, Sorrows, yea, to fo, their Saturns, Vulcans, and Mercuries, the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, Rhodins An-Nat. Com. axandrides derideth in this manner:

Bovem colis, ego Deis matto bovem. Tu maximum Anguillam Deumputas: ego Obsoniorum credidi suavissimum. Carnes fuillas tu caves, at gaudeo His maxime : canem colis, quem verbero Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obsonium.

I facrifice to god the Beef which you

I broyl th'Egyptian Eeles, which you (as god) implore:

You fear to eat the flesh of Swine; I find You worship Dogs; to beat them I think

When they my store devour.

And in this manner Juvenal.

Porrum, aut cape, nefas violare aut frangere

O sanctas gentes quibus hac nascuntur in hortis

The Egyptians think it fin to root up, or

Their Leeks or Onyons, which they serve with holy rite: O happy Nations, which of their own

Have store of gods in every Garden growing!

# 6. IV.

That from the relieks of Ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were invented: and the first Jupiter was Cain, Vulcan, Tubal-Cain. Oc.

DUt in so great a confusion of vanities,

where among the Heathens themselves

there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient pattern they erected with the rest, which S. Augustine out of Varro, Eusebius out of many prophane Histories; and ma-civil De. Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and ma-civil De. ny more have observed, to wit, the Phienici- Euleb. L. 1. ans, Phrygians, Cretians, Greeks, and other Evang C.7: Nations; yet was Cain, the Son of Adam, (as o'l' 2. fome very learned men conceive) called and cic. 13. reputed for the first and ancient Jupiter; and denai. De-Adam for the first Saturn: for Jupiter was said orum.
Arnob. 8.
to have invented the founding of Cities; and contra the first City of the World was built by Cain, Gent. which he called Enoch, of whom were the Henochii, before remembred. And fo much may be gathered out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Hyginus in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For befides that many Cities were founded by divers men; Tamen primam latissiman à primo & antiquissimo Jove edis-catam: jet the first and largest was built by the sift and most ancient Jupiter; seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Moses: And Cain dwelt towards the East side of Eden, &c. where also the Henochii were found after the Floud. And therefore was Inpiter by the Athenians called Polieus, com. 4. 16. a Foun-

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a Founder of Cities, and Herceios, an Inclo-Phorn I de fer, or strengthener of Cities (say Phornutus Design 14. there were in very many places Altars and without a person, yet, as it is usual among the 5. 6 10.1 Temples erected. And, that there were Ci-in Protago. ties built before the Floud, Plato also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirm-

ties were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud. This first Jupiter of the Ethnicks was then the same Cain, the Son of Adam, who marrying his own Sifter (as also Jupiter is said to have done) inhabited the East, where Ste-

phanus de Urbibus placeth the City Henochia. Gen. 4: 10, And besides this City of Henoch, Philo Judaw conceiveth that Cain built fix others, as Maich, Jared, Tebe, Jesca, Selet, and Gebat: but where Philo had this, I know not. Now, as Cain was the first Jupiter, and from whom also the Ethnicks had the invention of Sacrifice : fo were Jubal, Tubal and Tubal-Cain (inventors of Paltorage, Smith-craft, and Mufick) thesame which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, Mercurius, Vulcan, Left. 1, 4, and Apollo. And as there is a likelihood of name between Tubalcain and Vulcan: fo doth Augustine expound the name of Noema. or Naamath, the Sifter of Tubalcain, to fignifie Venusta, or beautifull, Voluptas, or pleasure; as the Wife of Vulcan is faid to be Venus, the Lady of pleasure and beauty. And as Adam was the ancient and first saturne; Cain, the eldest Jupiter : Eva. Rhea, and Nomea, or Naamath the first Venus : so did the Fable of the dividing of the World between the three

Brethren, the Sons of Saturne, arise from the

true Story of the dividing of the Earth be-

transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hefperides: the Prophecies, that Christ should break the Serpents head. and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned tivating Cerberus: fo out of the taking up of Henoch by God, was borrowed the conversion of their Heroes (the inventors of Religi on, and fuch Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars, and heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and ascention of Astraa: of which ovid;

Ouid. Met. Ultima cælestum terras Astraa reliquit. Aftrea last of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For although thereby the Ethnicks would understand Justice it self to have failed, as Nat. Com. Naura De and Pausanias;) and that to Jupiter Herceios, it is a vertue abstract, and may be confidered the in ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women as Defire by Capid, Valour by Mars, Beauty or ing, that, soon after mankind began to in-crease, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plain terms, in his by Jultice and Aftraa, Enoch, the jultice and third Book of Laws: for he faith, that Cipreft, as that of Noah was by Moses : for Noah Gen. 7. was faid to be a just man; And Noab walked Gen. 5.11. with God. And of Enoch it is written. That he 24. walked with God and he was no more feen : for

From this Story also of the first Age, and from that part where Moses remembreth the Giants begotten by the Sons of good men upon the Daughters of the wicked (whom Moses calleth mighty men, and men of renown) did they freal those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and again, their Warr undertaken against the Gods, from the building of the Tower of Babel by the Giant Nimrod, as S. Augustine termeth him. Which war of their Lib de die Giants, Cornelius Severus thus describeth.

Tentavere (nefas ) olim detrudere mundo Sydera, captivique Jovis transferre Gigantes Imperium, & victo leges imponere cælo.

The Giants did advance their wicked Against the Stars, to thrust them headlong

And robbing Jove of his Imperial Crown, On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that Nimrod purposed to raise the building of Babel to that Josephili tween the three Brethren the Sons of Noah: fo also was the siction of those golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent from the deep, nor by any conjunction of the Stars, should bury them under the moiwhich tempted Evah: fo was Paradife it felf sture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it felf. Also the making of leagues, peace the Fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of Hefferides, and descending into Hell, and capboth in the eighth and twelfth of his Eneids hath a touch, was (as it feemeth) borrowed from Moses, Exod. 24. who, when he read the Book of the Covenant, fprinkled the people with bloud.

We find also many remembrances of seth, the paternal Ancestor of Henoch and Noah; for Amenophis, the same King of Egypt which reigned at fuch time as Moses carried thence many very famous. But herein was the memory of seth most manifestly preserved, that the Egyptians worshipped seth, as their most antient Parent, and of the first Tradition: in honour of whom they called a principal Province Setheitica. We also find in Bithyname elsewhere. And sure, from the Egyptians did the Grecians borrow this kind of Theologie, though they fcorned to acknowledg any antiquity preceding their own: and that they might not feem to learn to theirs.

5. V.

of the three chiefest Jupiters, and the strange story of the third.

Dut of all those Armies of Jupiters, remembred by the Antients, Cicero maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who fought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was Jupiter, the Son of Aether and Dies, fo called because the one had reference to his Celestial conditions (for ather is as much as *shining* or pure *fire*:) the other discovered his natural virtues, which daies and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions

The second was said to be the Son of Calum or Heaven, for the same former respect; and this Jupiter was an Arcadian, and King of Athens.

The third, of whom all the Grecian fables were devised, was of Crete (now Candie,) the Son of Saturn and Ops. The name derived from the Latine is taken of Juvans pater, from the Greek word Zeus; it lignifieth life, but somewhat strained. Boccas in his Genebut iomewhat itrained. Hoccas in missement alogie of the Gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from Jupiter the Planet;

by Crefta the King, or by the Curetes, a peoTomp. but whether that Star had such a name be- ple and nation thereof. fore the fame was given to men, I know not. Jupiter is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberal, merciful, loving, and faithful (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those antient Kings education and first fostering. Some affirm beautified with these conditions, might be that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recomcalled thereafter Jupiter: but howfoever pence whereof he changed their black coats

the children of Ifrael (as of late some learned 1 they were, or were not with those virtues men, mistaking his time, supposed) called inriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the his Son and Successiour sethe, of seth: and eldest times assumed those Titles and Sirof the same seth (as many men of good judg- names: great Princes affecting as high Titles ment have granted) were the Princes of Thrace, called seuthers, whereof there were were, acquired by their well-defervings. Joves omnes Reges vocarunt antiqui. The antients called all Kings Jupiters, as Tzetzes in his varia historia confirmeth; Reges olim Joves vocârunt omnes; In old times all Nations call'd their Kings Jupiters. But where this last nia the City of Sethia, and others of the same and most remembred Inpiter was born, it is uncertain. Some there are, that make him of Crete: others that he was but fent thither by his Mother Ops, or Opis, to be fostered 1.1.6.7. and hidden from the fury of Titan his Uncle: because it was conditioned between Saturn elsewhere, they gave the same names to and Titan, that Saturn being a younger Brotheir own Idols, which the Egyptians did ther, and reigning (for his own life) by Titans permission, he should put to death all his male children, lest the Titans might be interrupted by any one of them in their succession; which agreement, because saturn performed in his first born, it is seigned that Saturn devoured his own children. Hereof Lycophron, thus turned into Latine :

> Hand fit pinguior, Crudis sepulchrum quod sit ipse filiis.

saturne to be the father is not known, By being the grave and burial of his own.

This composition between Titan and Saturn, Sybilla also witnesseth in these words ;

Conceptis verbis , Titan jurare coëgit Saturnum, de se natum ne nutriat ullum, Quò possint regnare, senis post fata, Nepotes.

Things thus agreed; Titan made Saturn

No Son to nourish, which by reigning

Usurp the right of Titans lawful heir.

But Opis the Mother of Jupiter, being delivered at once both of Jupiter and Juno conveyed Jupiter (first called Lysanias) into Crete, as the did afterwards his two Brothers, Neptune and Pluto: where he was brought

Others challenge him to be of Thebes and Thebane: others call him an Arcadian: others make him of Messena. The like contention is found among the Greeks touching his

India,

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fuch a God; others, that he was nourished Daughters, and Sons, buying of Virgins, and in the end, when Titan had knowledg that Saturn had broken his faith, he set on him, and took him and his wife prisoners, whom Jupiter again rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the Father and the Son equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. 8aturn being the less powerful, fled into Italy, and left his Kingdom in Greece to his Son. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many virtues, the name of Jupiter was given him: yet after he was once fetled, and became potent, and adultery, without all respect of Honour, as do ascribe the actions of many to one Jupiter, that not therewith fatisfied, he was afterwards known to offend in the fin of sodom Hymns also witnesseth; but, as offended with Ganimedes and others: and did not only begin with incest, marrying his owne Sifter Juno, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and took by ftrong hand all the beautiful women born in his time, within the limits of his own Kingdoms, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame; Niobe, Laodamia, and Alemena, the Wife of Amphytrion, by whom he had Pelagus, Sarpedon, Argus, laith) by some Greek Writers, that the origi-and Hercules: by Taygete he had Taygetus, of nal of these Gods was from the Western parts whom the Mountain Taggetus took name; of Africa. For there among the Atlantidae with another Son called Saon, of whom Sa- reigned one Vranus (which figuifieth Heavonas; by Antiope he had Amphion and Zetus: ven) called fo, for his great (kill in Aftrology; by Lada, Caftor and Pollux, Hellen and Clytemnestra: by Danae, Perseus; by Jordana, Deucalion: by Charme (the daughter of Eubulus) Britomartis: by Protogenia, he had Athlins the Father of Endymion: and by Io had seventeen Sons and two Daughters, all (the daughter of Inachus ) Epaphus, the foun- which were called after their Mothers name, der of Memphis in Egopt: which Epaphus, the Titanes. Of Titea, likewiseit is said, that married Libja, of whom that Country took lihe for her goodness was Canonized as a name, for so the Greeks afterward called Goddes, being dead, and called the Earth,

Africa. He ravished Aegina the Daughter of as her Hulland was styled Heaven. But of all Aesopus, and carried her into the Island Oe- the children of Titea, her Daughter Basilea nopia or Cenotria, afterward called Aegina, on whom he begat Aeacus: by Torrhebia he had Archestlaus and Carbius: by Ora, Colaxes: called Regina) excelling the rest as far in he had also Dardanus by EleBra, who built virtue asin years, was by general consent of Dardanus, afterward linm or Troy. He begat the Brothers Talici, on Thalia; and on to rule as Queen after her Father's death, be-Garamantis, Hiarbas. He had besides these

and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting | betrayings, stealing away of mens Wives. by Bears: others, by Goats: and of all these the like, came in all those antient fables of the idle Greeks have many pretty tales. But his transformations into showers of Gold, Eagles, Bulls, Birds, and Beafts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Grecian forgeries. And yet did not the Greeks and Romans fear to entitle this Monster Optimus Maximus, though Cicero in his fecond Book, de natura Deorum, affirm, that he deserved nothing less; and in his Oration, pro domo sua, reprocheth Clodius for his incest, by the name of Jupiter. His burial was in Crete (faith Lucian.) Cretenfes non folum Sacrif. natum apud fe, & sepultum Jovem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum ejus ostendunt ; The Crehe gave himself over wholly to palliardize tians, or Candians, do not only avow that Jupiter was born and buried among them, but they Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such frem his Grave and Sepulchre: which Epiphanius also confirmeth; for in his time there remained the Monuments of his Tomb in the Mountain Jasius. This, Callimachus in his

> The Cretians ever lyars were, they care not what they fay: For they a Tomb have built for thee, O King, that liv'st alway.

thereat, faith thus:

Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report Diod.l. 1. from the Libyan Fables, confirmed (as he 6.5. faith) by some Greek Writers, that the origiand for his knowledg, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a God after his death. He had by many Wives fourty five Sons; but by his principal Wife Titea, he (which name founding as Queen in English, fhe is by the Latine translatour of Diodorus ing as yet a Virgin. She took to husband (if they bely not their chief God) Philens her Brother Hyperion, to whom she bare a and Pilumnus, inventers of the Bakers craft; Son and a Daughter, called Sun and Moon. and I know not how many more; but I The beauty and towardliness of these chilknow well that he could not be father to all | dren moved her Brethren to envie, and bred these, who were born in Ages so far differ- in them a fear of being excluded from the And of these his several ravishments, succession: wherefore they took the Boy and

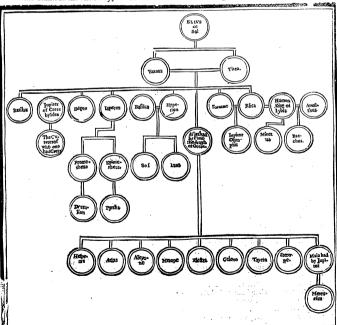
after a wild fashion, in fight of all the people, these, Atlas and Saturn were chief. Atlas called Tritonia. He also begat on Amalthea, grew to be called Olympus. Whilest Bacchus a Son, called Bacchus, whom he caused se- travelled through all Nations, as farr as into

drowned him in the River Eridanns, now creetly, for fear of his life, to be brought up called Poe. The loss of this child, caused his at Nyla, an Island in the River Trison, under fifter to break her own neck; and the loss of the tuition of his Daughter Alinerva, and both her children, made the mother to play | certain Nimphs. To Amulthea he gave in remany mad prancks, dancing with Cymbals, ward a goodly Country, that lay on the Scacoast, bending in form like a Horn, whence before whom she is said to have vanished grew the tale of Amalthea's plentifull Horn, away. Ere she died, her Son (as the Fable famous among the Poets. When Rhea heard hath it) fignified unto her in a Dream, that these news flie fled from her Husband to her he and his lifter, by the providence of God, brother saturn, who, not onely entertained should become immortal; that also the sun her as a fifter, but took her to Wise, and at and Moon should be called by their names, her instigation, made warr upon Hammon, and that their death should be revenged up- vanquished him by the assistance of the Tion the Murtherers. According to which it is tans, and made him flee into Crete. The Cusaid, that the people did so call those two retes, Jupiter's children before mentioned, Planets, and withall held her felf as a god- held the Island at that time; which was new dess; and tearmed her the great Mother, named Crete by Hammon, after the name of which name they had formerly given to her, Creta the Kings Daughter, whom he took to for her motherly care in cherishing her bre- Wife, and had with her (women, as may thren whilest they were young. Hyperion and his Race being extinguished, the other the Kingdom. Bacchus was grown a proper Sons of Eranus divided the Kingdom. Of young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting of Trees, and mareigned over the Countries lying about the Mountains, which afterward bare his name; before the flight of his Mother-in-law. Now a just and wise Prince, deeply skilfull in A- therefore, hearing report of all that had firelogie: and, for invention of the Sphere, hapned, and that Saturn was coming against faid to have supported Heaven. He had him with the Titans; he levied an Army, to many Sons; but the principal of them called which the Amazons, living not farr from Hesperus, being of his Fathers qualities and Nysa, added great forces, in love of Minerva, ftudies, was faid to have been carried away who was entred into their profession. So Bacby the Wind, from the top of an high Hill, in chus leading the men, and Minerva the wothe middest of his contemplations; and his men, they fet forward against saturn, met name, in honour of him, imposed by the him, and overthrew him, and taking many people upon the morning Starr. The feven of the *Titans* prifoners, returned to *Nyfas*; Daughters of *Atlat* were also faid to have been excellent Ladies, who accompanying fuch as came to be Deified, or registred apared for a second Expedition. In the semong the Worthies, brought forth children, | cond Expedition he behaved himfelf fo well, answerable in quality to those that begat that he wan the love of all the people by them. Of these it is held, that the seven Stars, whom he passed; in so much, that partly for called Pleiades, took name. Saturn, the bro-good affection to him, partly in hatred of ther of Atlas, reigned in Sicilia, part of Africk Saturn's rigorous government, he was greatand Italy. Jupiter, another of the Sons of ly strengthened, and the Enemy as much en-Vranus, reigned in Crete; who had ten Sons, feebled by daily revolts. Coming to the City which he called Curetes: he called that Island of Hammon, he wan a battel of Saturn beafter his Wives name, Idea; in which Ille he fore the very walls. After which, Saturn, died, and was buried. But this Jupiter must with his Wife Rhea, fled by night, setting the not have been that great one, but Uncle to Town on fire, to despight Bacchus. But they the great Inpiter, if these Fables of the Lybi-um were caught in their slight, pardoned by answere true. Saturn (as these Lybian) tell Bacchus and kindly entertained. Saturn had ans were true. Saturn (as thele Lybrans tell! Bacchm, and kindly entertained. Saturn had the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified a young Son by Rhêa, called Jupiter. This firting places, the better to keep hispoople is hill. Bacchm; took with him in a great Exinculpiection. His fifter Rhea was married to pedition that he made into the East-Countenance, who reigned in some part of frick. Hammon loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called Minerval, the Countrey; but appointed unto him as need to the River Visita who theremon was an Oversteen. One Clambus, as whom Imiter neer to the River Triton, who thereupon was an Over-feer, one Olympus, of whom Jupiter

ges of some one true History. For the Expe-Terenus, or Indigena, and of Mus to Saturn, ditions of Opris and of Bacchus; the warrs of but omitting Jupiter of Crete. the Giants in the one Story, of the Titans in

India, doing good in all places, and teaching the other; the Kingdom of Egypt given by many things profitable to the life of mansthe Hercules Lybicus to Orus, by Eacebus to Jupi-Titans had found out his father Hammon in ter the rattles of This and the Cymbals of Bali-Crete, and began to war upon him. But Hac-clus returned out of India, with whom Ju-enough refemble each other, howfoever not piter from Egypt, and his fifter Minerva, toge-ther with the rest, that afterwards were held (as Eusebins cires him) would have all these to gods, joining all their forces, went into Crete, be Phanicians, and is earnest in saving, That overthrew the Titans, chased them, took and it is a true Story, and no Allegory. Yet he flew them, and freed the World of them all. makes it feem the more allegorical, by giving After all this, when Hammon and Bacchus to Oranus or heaven for daughters, Fate, and were dead, they were Deified; and the Beauty, and the like, with addition of much great Jupiter, the Son of Saturn, fucceeding fabulous matter, omitted by Diodorus, them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, though Diodorus have enough. To the Gehaving none of the Titans left alive, nor any nealogie, he adds Elius, or the Sun, as father other to disturb him. Between this tale of the of Vranus, and among the children of Vra-Lybian gods, and the Egyptian Fables of Osiris, nus, Japetus, Batilus, and Dagon (whom Diothere is a rude resemblance, that may cause doth not mention by their names) givthem both to be taken for the crooked Ima- ing withall to Uranus, the proper name of

The Pedigree of them is this:



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of Cham, and other wicked ones; whereof fome gat, some affected, the name of God.

F Jupiter Belus, the Son of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise Nimrod; it seemeth that Cicero had not heard, (at least by that name;) who was more ancient than any of the former three, by him remembred: for long after these times were the Greeks but Salvages, if they feek no farther off for their

But the Egyptians, even after the Floud began (somewhat before this Chaldean Jupi ter) to entitle Cham, the Parent of their own Migraim, Jupiter Chammon or Hammon. For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon) which the Greeks deduce ab arenis, from the Gands is ridiculous (faith Pencer ;) neither yet is his own much better, who brings it from Hammath, which fignifieth Heat : because the Temple of Jupiter Hammon was scated in Libya, where the ayr is exceeding hot and fcorching. And as for the Antiquity of the latter Jupiter (among the Greeks and Romans the most renowned) it is certain that he was born not long before the War of Troy, as by many of his Sons is made manifest; namely, Caftor Pollux, Hercules, Sarpedon, and others, which lived in that Age of Priamus, under whom, and with whom, Troy was destroyed.

Now feeing that mortal men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortal among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that Alexander Macedon, Tyberius Nero, Caligula, and others, fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed Monsters as the rest: for by what reason could the same Drity be denied unto Laurentia and Flora, which was given to Venus? feeing they were as notorious and famous Harlots, as the was.

sayahila ad sovii.

That the wifer of the ancient Heathen had far better opinions of God.

DUt that ever Pythagoras or Plato, or Orphens, with many other ancient and excellently learned, believed in any of these fooleries it cannot be suspected though some of them (over-bufily) have mixed their own inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punilhment. For their riftlions, did Pythagoras hard to find out the Creator of the Universal, hang both Homer and Hessad in Hell, where he fained that they were perpetually stung him worthily. And what can be more agreeand pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be able to the Majesty of Gods Nature, than doubted, but that Homer had read over all this property by Plato acknowledged? Deno

the Books of Moles, as by places froln thence, almost word for word may appear; of which Justine Martyr remembreth many in that Treatife converted by Mirandula. As for Plato, though he diffembled in some things for fear of the Inquisition of the Arcopagites, yet S. Augustine hath already answered for him(as before remembred) Et mirifice iis delectatus est, que de uno Deo tradita fuerant; And he was greatly delighted in the dollrine of one God, faith Justine Martyr. Now, howfoever Lactantius pleased to reprehend Plato. because (faith he) Plato Jought knowledge, Engle as from the Egyptians, and the Chaldeans, New young Lit. glecting the Jews, and Books of Moles; \* En- Cyril cons, februs, Cyrillus, and Origen, find reason to believe the contrary, thinking that from thence contrar he took the grounds of all by him written of cellon God or favouring of Divinity: and the fame Irea. Ep. 6.

opinion had S. Ambrose of Pythagoras. But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Philo- mus few fophers and Poets, that Plato also published mons Mar-(not under the right Authours names) those his hill; things which he had read in the Scriptures, but for fearing, the feverity of the Areopagites, deptal and the example of his Mafter Socrates, by matters them put to death by poylon; I cannot judge. actined for called Justine Martyr (as it feemeth) ascribeth it at fifth, bewholly to Plato's fear, whose words among cause Mars many other of the fame effect, are these; therein Plato, Mosis mentionem facere, ob id, quod ed his caus unum folumque Deum docuerat, fibi apud Athe- for the nienses tutum non putavit veritus Areopagum; of Huir-Plato, fearing the Areopagites, thought it not riothos fufe for him among the Attention, to make Anicona mention of Moses, that he taught there is but com to one God. But for that Divinity which he 6.7. Jul. hath written in Times. Id infum de Den diffe. Mart. adin. hath written in Timeo, Id ipfum de Deo diffe- Gen fol 8. matty mitten in 11mau, sa typim ac De agre en jels. rrit quod & Moses; He discoursed and taught A utspr. the same of God (aith Justine Martyr) which Evod 3.14 Moses did. For, where it pleased God by his Angel to answer Moses, Ego sum existens, (which is) I Am; and, Existens misst me ad vos ; I am hath fent me unto you ; herein did Plato (faith Inftine Martyr ) no otherwise differ than that Moses used the word (qui) and Plato the word quod: Moses enin, qui existit (inquit;) Plato, quod existit; for Moses saith, He who is Plato, That which is. Now, of Gods incomprehensible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or express the fame, he giveth this testimony : Genitorem In Timas. Universitais tam difficile est invenire, quam inventum impossibile digne profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Universal,

nature dignitate : & nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quam vir animo perfecto bonus : The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature : neither is there any thing more like, or more acceptable to God than a Man of a perfect heart. Thales affirmeth, that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: Quia nunquam esse conit because he never had any beginning. Zeno. that God beheld even the thoughts of men; Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where prefent, and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Moses story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds begin ning in Euripides, Scholar of Anaxagoras?

Calum terraque unius forma fuit : Sed cum fuillent abiuncta amplexu mutuo. Emerlit omnis in lucem res progenita; Arbores, aves. feræ qualque affert mare, Genusque mortalium.

Heaven and Earth one form did bear : But when dif-joyned once they were From mutual embraces, All things to light appeared then 5 Of trees, birds, beafts, fishes, and men' The still-remaining races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: fo we find the fame excellent understanding in Orpheus, who every where exprefled the infinite and fole power of one God; though he use the name of Jupiter, thereby to avoid the envie and danger of the time: but that he could attribute those things to the Sons of men, and mortal creature, which he doth to this Jupiter, there is no man, who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (faith Mirandula) quos Orpheus canit, non decipientium Damonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; fed naturalium virtutum divinarumque funt nomina; The names of those gods whom Orpheus doth fing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom

bonus, & quidem Deus causa bonorum: malo- that he reacheth higher, and speaketh of rum autem omnium non causa; God is absolute- God himself, this his instruction to Musaus, Ir good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that and the Hymn following, teach us: Respiciis good: but of any thing that is evil, he is no ens verd ad divinum hunc sermonem, ei dilicause at all. And again, Charitas Dei fuit genter animum adverte, intendens cordis raticausa factionis mundi. & originis omnium onis capax conceptaculum:rectam autem ascenrerum; The love of God was the cause of the de viam, & solum aspice mundi regem. Unus worlds creating, and the original of all things. eft ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse Apuleius the Platonist ; Summus Deus infi- verd in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intunitus eft, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam eri potest mortalium, sed ipse nibileminus omnes intuetur.

Then marking this my facred speech, but truly lend

Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend, And fee the worlds fole King. First, he is

fimply one, Begotten of himfelf, from whom is born

alone

All else; in which he's still: nor could it ere befall

A mortal eye to fee him once, yet he fees all.

And again the fame Authour,

Jupiter omnipotens, et primus, et ultimus idem: Jupiter est caput & mediu: Jovis omnia munus. Jupiter est fundamen humi & stellantisOlympi. Jupiter & mas est, & fæmina nescia mortis. spiritus est cunctis, validi vis Jupiter ignis. Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna eft Jupiter ipfe. Rex origo simul rerum est. o terminus idem. Nam priùs occuluit ; magno post numine sacrum Cor reserans, bonus in dulcë dedit omnia lucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last God is the head and midft, yea from him

all things be, God is the base of Earth and of the star-

red fkic. He is the Male and Female too, shall ne-

The Spirit of all is God, the Sun and Moon, and what is higher. The King th' original of all, of all the end.

For close in holy breaft he did all comprehend.

Whence all the bleffed light, his wondrous power did fend.

Now (befides these former testimonies) that all the learned men of antient times were not fo stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Grecians, and other Nations by them infected were. I will only repeat two or three other opinions, and leave the Readers to those large and learned Collections of Justine Martyr, Clemens, Lactantius, Eusebius, Euevil comes, and not goodness; but they are the gubinus, Pencer, Plessis, Danzus, and others. names of natural and divine Vertues. Yea, For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded these Attributes and properties: Bonus, ju- &c. And this is certain, that if we look influs, sanctus, seipsum possidens, utilis, speciosus, to the wisdom of all Ages, we shall find that optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, there never was man of folid understanding gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, just, boly, pos- or excellent judgment; never any man felfing himself, profitable, beautiful, best, severe, whose mind the Art of education hath not free, alwaies doing good, fafe without fear, glo-bended; whose eys a foolish supersition rious, and felf-charity. Epicharmus affirmed, hath not afterward blinded; whose apprethat God who beheld all things, and pierced henfions are fober, and by a penfive inspectievery Nature, was only and every where on advised; but that he hath found by an powerful: agreeing with Democritus: Rex unrefiftable necessity, one true God, and eomnium ipfe folus; He is the only King of verlasting Being, all for ever causing, and all kings: and with Pindarus the Poet, Deus for ever fustaining; which no man among unus, Pater, creator summus atque optimus ar- the Heathen hath with more reverence actifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum knowledged, or more learnedly express'd, merita prabet; One God, the Father, the most then that Egyptian Hermes, howsoever it saibigh Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to led afterward in his posterity: all being at every thing divers proceedings according to length by devilish policy of the Feyptian their deserts. This God (saith Antisthenes) Priests purposely obscured; who invented cannot be resembled to any thing, and therefore new gods, and those innumerable, best fortnot elsewhere known: Nisi in patria illa peren- ing (as the Devil perswaded them) with vulni, cuius imaginem nullam habes: Save only gar capacities, and fittest to keep in aw and in that everlasting Country, whose image thou order their common people. hast none at all. Hereof also Xenophanes Colophonius: Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore nec mente mortalibus fimilis; There is one God among gods and men most powerful, neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals: and Xenophon, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, maanus potensque, quod omnibus patet : qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nist ipst soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great deans worshipped for a god, is crept into eand mighty; as is manifest to all: but of what Form he is, it is manifest to none, save what Form he is, it is manifelt to none, fave larveth, Water quencheth, and want of only to himself, who illuminateth all things with his own light. Finally, Plato saith, Totius re- with June's Jealouses; Death hath perswarum natura causa, & ratio, & origo Deus; ded him to chastity, and her to patience; summus animi genitor, aternus animantiumso and that time which hath devoured it self, summus animi genitor, aternus animantium so-(bitator, alfiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor. neque loco, neque tempore ullo comprehensus, eoque paucis cogitabilis, nemini ples of Stone and dureful Marble. The houeffabilis; God is the cause, ground, and origi-nal of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the foul, the eternal preserver of living creatures, the continual framer of his secrated to Diana. There are none now in world, a begetter without any propagation, Phanicia that lament the death of Adonis; comprehended neither in any place, nor time; nor any in Lybia, Creta, Thessalia, or elsetherefore few can conceive him in thought, none where, that can ask counsel or help from Jucan express what he is. Therefore was it said piter. The great god Pan hath broken his by Saint Hierom, Si enim cuntos Philosopho-Pipes, Apollo's Priests are become speechless. rum revolvas libros, necesse est ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei : ut, apud Plato- Devils telling men's fortunes therein, is taken nem, Stoicorum Principem, inferos & immortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the books of the Philosophers, thou canft not but find these his over-throws and dishonours: for in them some part of the Vessels of God, as, in after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of

of what nature God was, described him by | Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortal Souls,

### 9. VIII.

That Heathenism and Judaism, after many mounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculoufly confounded.

DUt these are again vanished: for the ineventions of mortal men are no less mortal then themselves. The Fire, which the Chalvery mans chimny, which the lack of Fuel hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their stately Temfes and fumptuous buildings erected to Baal, can no where be found upon the Earth, nor any Monument of that glorious Temple conand the trade of riddles in Oracles, with the nem, fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud Zeno- up by counterfeit Egyptians, and couzening Aftrologers.

But it was long ere the Devil gave way to Plato, God the Creatour of the world: in Zeno, his chief mansions) was many times robbed,

affembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of rugged poverty and despited contempt of Jerusalem: for while they were busied to in the narrow passage leading to his divine lay the foundations, their buildings were o- presence. But as the mind of man hath two verthrown by an Earthquake, and many Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the enthousands of the Jews were overwhelmed trance of manifold vanities; the other deso-Lize I, with the ruines, and others flain and scatter- late and over-grown with grass, by which ed by Tempest and Thunder: though Am. enter our charitable thoughts and divine Marcellinus report it more favourably for contemplations: so hath that of Death a the Jews, ascribing this to the nature of double and twofold opening, worldly misethat Element. For, faith he, Allypius and the Ruler of the province of Judea, being by the other: at the entrance of the one we Julian bussed in the re-edifying of this Tem- | find our sufferings and patience to attend us: ple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neer the (all which have gone before us to prepare foundation, and oft confuming the Work- our joys) at the other our cruelties, covemen, made the Enterprize frustrate.

6. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devil to maintain his Kingdom.

Now the Devil, because he cannot play Tragedy and Time neer at an end. upon the open stage of this World, (as

burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence | in those daies) and being still as industrious the same was often enriched, repaired, and as ever, finds it more for his advantage to re-edified again, till by the hand of God creep into the minds of men; and inhabithimself it received the last and utter subver- ing in the Temples of their hearts, works fion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols them to a more effectual adoration of himself and Ornaments therein by the Enbean Py- then ever. For whereas he first taught them rates: Secondly, by the Phlegians utterly to facrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut ack'd: Thirdly, by Pyrhus the fon of A-into faces of Beafts, Birds, and other mixt chilles: Fourthly, by the Army of Xerxes: Natures; he now fets before them the high Fifthly, by the Captaines of the Phocenfes: and shining Idol of glory, the All-comman-Sixthly, by Nero: who carried thence five ding Image of bright Gold. He tells them hundred brazen Images: all which were that truth is the Goddess of dangers and opnew made, and therein again set up at the pressions, that chastity is the enemy of Nacommon charge. But whatfoever was ga- ture, and lastly, that as all virtue (in general) thered between the time of Nero and Con- is without tafte; fo pleasure satisfieth and flantine, the Christian Army made spoil of, delighteth every sense: for true wisdom defacing as much as the time permitted (faith he) is exercised in nothing else, then them: notwithstanding all this, it was again in the obtaining of power to oppress, and of glorioully re-built, and so remained till such riches to maintain plentifully our worldly time as Julian the Apostata sent thither to delights. And if this Arch-Polititian sind in know the fuccess of his Parthian enterprise, his Pupils any remorfe, any feeling or fear of at which time it was utterly burnt and confumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image that God hath fo great need of men's Souls, of Applo himself, and all the rest of the Idols that he will accept them at any time, and therein, molten down, and lost in the Earth. The like success had the Jews in the same gilant endeavours all offer of timeful return Julians time, when by his permission they towards God, by laying those great blocks tousness, licentiousness, injustice, and oppressions (the harbingers of most fearful and terrible forrow) staying for us. And as the Devil our most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: so is he now more laborious then ever; the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the Worlds

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Noah's Floud.

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane Testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noah's Floud.

gravit: He departed with his children, and dam simil in Arca devection in hujus vertice travailed into another region. And of these hassife, lignorumque reliquias multo tempore Giants from whom Noah withdrew himself, conservatas, qui fortasse is suit de quo etiam Berosus writeth in this manner; That they ex- Moses Judeorum legislator scribit: thus far ceeded in all forts of inhumanc and unnatural this Author. There is (faith he) above Minyada wickedness, and that they were contemptores (or the Country of Minya) an exceeding high & religionis & deorum; contemners of reli- Mountain in Armenia, called Baris: on which gion and of the gods: among which mighty it is reported, that many having fled thither, men (faith Berosus) unus erat qui deorum vene- were saved in the time of the Deluge; and that rantior, & prudentior cunetis, &c. huic no- one was carried in an Ark, and rested upon the men erat Noah: There was one more wife top of the Mountain, whereon there remained and reverencing the Gods then the reft, whose name was Noah: who with his three Sons, this might be the same of which Moses the Law-Sem, Japhetus, and Cham, and with their giver of the Jews makes mention. And of this Wives, and the wife of Noah, (namely, Titea opinion were the Talmudifts (faith Annius) the great, Pandora, Noela, and Noegla) pre-6m. 6.14. ferved themselves in the Arke. This Arke Said unto Noah, Make thee an Arke of Pinetrees: thou shalt make cabins in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. Substance of all agree with Mofes as touching For God made Noah to know, that an end of the general Floud, taking from thence the all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of beginning of his History in these words: Ante the rebellious and cruel Generations were aquarum cladem famosam, qua universus perialready fashioned in the Clouds, which soon it Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction and his family excepted.

general Deluge hath not been received by all: for divine testimonies do not perswade all natural men to those things to which their own reason cannot reach: Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet: Whilest the truth lieth wrapt in obscurity. Many there are who have disputed against the universality of this Overflowing, and have judged that this floud of Noah fell but in some particular who without all ground of certainty vaunt places and Kingdoms: moved to to think, their Antiquity, came the errour first of all: because in elder Ages there have been many who therein flattering themselves also,

F this distruction it pleased God Hereof Nicolas Damascenus writeth in this r this difficultion in please of the to give warning unto Noab: manner, as his words are cited by Josephus. Jos. and to give warning unto Noab: Eff super Minyadam excellus Mons in Armenia, i. i. c. who (saith Josephus) searing to Eff super Minyadam excellus Mons in Armenia, i. i. c. and the control of the perish among the rest, Decedens qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugien- prep. 1.9. cum suis in aliam regionem mi- tes sermo est diluvii tempore liberatos, & quen- c. 4. along time after certain pieces thereof; and that many Giants faved themselves upon Mount Sion.

But Berofus (who, after Moses, was one of the most antient, howsoever he hath been fince deformed and corrupted) doth in the after should swallow up and cover all living of Waters, by which the World universal perishcreatures which breathed in the Ayr, Noah ed: witneffing withall, that Noah with his Wife Titea, and his three Sons with their But this universal grave of Waters, and Wives(in all eight persons) were only saved.

§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not Noahs Floud.

Dut from the vanity of the Greeks, the Corrupters of all truth (faith Lactantius,) otherFlouds(as they suppose) of that nature. sought to perswade the World that there dixeris ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gave the name of Ogygia to things exceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.

But let Ogyges be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest that he lived Every 1. but in Jacobs time (though Enfebius makes him later, and in Moses time) and was born 67. years after him. There is also an opinion, that Ogyges was Cadmus (and then was he farr later ) as Rhodiginus in the ninth Book

of his Antiquities remembreth: Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnasse autumant hunc; unde sit Cadmus,qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit, à Bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are (faith he) who think that this Ogyges did reign in Egypt, whereby he should be Cadmus, who travelling into Greece, built Thebes, so named of a Beef slain: because in the Syrian Language, a Beef is called Thebe.

But this Floud of Ogyges fell in the year of the World, 3440. according to Eusebius. who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Floud of Noah in the year 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. between these Flouds, wanting but two, though herein Eusebius was much miftaken, and corrected this opinion in his Chronologie. Now, although the very year and there is a great difference among Writers; yet whosoever makes it most ancient, finds above 500. years difference between that

and the general Floud.

fell upon the Athenians, but 1040. years before Rome was built. Bucholzerus faith, it built in the Worlds year, 3280. Now, the the Floud of Ogyges, (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place Ogyges in his true age) the difference between these two Flouds must be 520. years, to which we (allowing 60. more) find fame of Noah (except we call Noah, Ogyges Priscus, as some do) it appears by this, that Manifestation. the Floud of Ogyges then King of Attica, or

Rho. L. 15. was no Floud preceded the Floud of Ogyges, then the banks of Archi-pelago, or the Age. Mill. 1, King of the Thebans in Bastia, or rather of an Sca. For, whereas Mela, Pliny, and Soli-Plint; Attica; and therefore (faith Rhodiginus) nus witness, that the City of Joppe in Judea 3d can Jopes in Jopes in Judea 3d can Jopes in Jopes in Judea 3d can Jopes in Jopes in Jopes in Judea 3d can Jop withstanding the height of waters) there quisimize remained on certain Altars of Stone, the often mentalist of the King, and of his Brother Phineus, immedia. with many of the grounds of their Religion rum only fure it is no where found among prophane rum. Sal. Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever ibid.

the Floud of Ogyges spred it self over any part of Syria, much less over all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica about Athens, and that of Achaia in Peloponnesus, it is very probable. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when Helice and Burawere swallowed up (Cities seated on the North part of Peloponnesus): of which

Si queras Helicen, & Buran, Achaidos urbes, Ovid. Ma. Invenies sub aquis.

Bura and Helice on Achaian ground, Are fought in vain, but under Sea are

Of this Floud of Ogyges, was invented the Nat. Com. Fable of Apollo and Diana. For Latona, the Li. c. 6. Daughter of Caus, the Son of Titan, being beloved, and forced by Jupiter, and by him gotten with child, Juno thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be delivered on and withall caused time of this overflowing in Achaia, or rather the monstrous Serpent Python, to follow and Attica, be not precifely fet down, but that affright her, wherefoever she travelled; till at length arriving at the Ille of Grtygia, the was there received; in which the was delivered, first of Diana, and then of Apollo, being Twins; whereof Barlaam makes this ex-For, Paulus Orosus, affirms that this tempest position: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in Ogyges his reign) ceafed. out of the abundant moisture of the Earth was 1043.elder than Rome; wich was found- (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) ed (according to the same Bucholzerus) in there were exhaled such thick mists and fogs, the worlds year, 3219, though after the actual that in Attica, and along the coasts of the Acount which I follow (and whereof I wil give gean Sea, neither the beams of the Sun by my reasons in the Story of Abraham) it was day, nor of the Moon by night, could pierce the ayr, or be perceived by the inhabitants: general Floud preceded the building of so as when at length (the Earth being dried, Rome (saith Bucholzerus) 1563. years: and and these vapours distipated) the ayr began to be clear, the people of Ortygia espied the Plin. 14. light of the Moon somewhat before day, and out. in the same morning the Sun also appeared: fabulously (because Diana represented the Moon, and Apollo the Sun ) they were report-580. And that this of Ogiges was not the ed to be born in the Ille of Origin, thereof afterwards called Delos; which fignifieth

And furely it is not improbable, that the Ogygia, did not extend it self any farther Floud of Ogyges, being so great, as Histories much alteration of the ayr, fenfibly difcerned in those parts, and some unusual face of Skies. Varro in his Books, de gente populi Romani (as he is cited by S. Augustine) reports out of Caftor, that so great a miracle hapned in the Star of Venus, as never was feen before,

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141.6.8. nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatness, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as Adrastus Cyzicenus, and Dion Neapolites, famous Mathematicians affirmed, in the time of Ogyges.

Now, concerning the course of that, or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any were read of fo good Aftrologers, flourishing among the Greeks, or elsewhere in those days, as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, to exact, that it should need no reformation: eth Cranous the successor of Cecrops governed Of the colour and magnitudes I see no reafon, why the difference found in the Star of rome fay) Cecrops yet living, that Floud (cal-Venue, frould be held miraculous; considering, that leffer mifts and foggs than those which covered Greece with fo long darkness, do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sun and Moon. That the figure should vary, questionless it was very strange: yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the fide of Venus which the Sun beholds, being enlightned by him, the opposite half should remain shadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appear to be horned, as the Moon doth feem; if diftance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Aftrologer now living, who by the help of perspective Glasses, hath found in the Stars many things unknown to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have been discovered in Venus, by his late observations. Whether some watry disposition of the aymight represent as much to them that lived with Ogyges, as Galileus hath feen through his instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discovery of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of errour. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of Ozyges, was (as appeareth by this of S. Augultine) accompanied with fuch unusual (and therefore the more dreadfull, though natural) figns, teltifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of Nout, which was general, and altogether miraculous, may

have reported it, was accompanied with were eating and drinking, when the Floud Lade 17.

#### 6. III.

of Deucalions Floud: and that this was not Noahs Floud: nor the Umbri in Italy, & remnant of any universal Floud.

Second Floud of great fame, and of A which the time is more certain, was that of Deucalion in Theffalia; of which S. Augustin out of Varro: His temporibus (ut Varro scribit) regnante Atheniensibus Cranao, successore Cecropis (ut autem nostri, Eusebius & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem Cecrope permanente, Diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Deucalionis: (that is) In these times, (as Varro reportthe Athenians, or, (as our Eusebius and Hie-

And in the beginning of the 11. Chapter of the faid 18. Book, he useth these words: Eduxit ergo Moses ex Ægypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Tripas: Moses led the people of God out of Egypt about the latter time of Cecrops, King of the Athenians, Ascatades reigning over the Assyrians, over the Sicvonians Marthus, and over the Argives Triopas. So as leaving the curiofity of a few years, more or less, it appeareth, that this Floud of Dencalion was either at the egression of the children of Israel out of Egypt, or near it: and then after Noah 753. years, according to Funding, who makes Cecrops to live in the year of the World, 2409. or if we follow Mercator, then 739. years after Noah, and in the year of the World 2395. But if Deucalion were born in the age of the World 2356. according to Codoman; then giving unto Deucation 40. years of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one year of Mercators account. But Dencalion, by all approved Historians, is faid to have been 82. years old at that time. Now, Clemens Alexandrinus dates the time of this Floud of Deucation, and the conflagration and burning in Pharton's time, by the Reign of Crotopus, King of the Argives; but Crotopus lived King of the Argives fix years after Freel departed Egypt, which makes twenty years difference, according to Functions, who will have this Flourd and Burning to have fallen 14. years before Moses lest Egypt: for he gave of the Worlds years to the Floud flewing, than the long preaching of Noah and Burning, the year 2440, and to Moles himself, which was not regarded: for they egression the year 2454. And yet Cedrems

thinks that Moles was more ancient, and Antiquities) findeth this floud of Deucalion cedren 1.1. lived with Inachus; but that cannot be true: to have hapned in the time of Cranaus, who for then had the Floud of Deucalion, and the succeeded Cecrops: Orofins thinks it somewhat Burning of Phaëton preceded the Floud of later, Amphitryon reigning in Athens, the Og 1985, which is denied by all: for that of third from Cecrops: Onely this of Deucalion The sialy (called Deucalions) followed that of was very great, and reached not onely over Attica (called Og geia) at least 250, years, or The fally it felf, and the Regions adjoyning thereabouts. Eusebius in his Chronologie, makes it 220. and fo doth P. Orolius : Eulebius about the 50, year of Moles life, and Cyrillus about the 67. and both after Nouts Floud faith Eusebius. And therefore did the Greeks clem. A. 770. years: for these be Clemens Alexandri-

lex. 1. Siro. nus his words: Fuit autem in Grecia tempore quidem Phornei, qui fuit past Inachum, inhappened in Greece, in the time of Phorneus. who lived after Inachus, the Floud of Ogyges. Now, if the Floud of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. or 1016. years before the first Olympiad, according to Eulebius and Orolius (as before;) then it is manifest, that taking 763 out of this number of 1020 it falls out that Ogvees Floud happened before the Hebrews left Egypt 250. years, or 260. years, according to the difference between the opinions of Eufebius and orofus. And for my felf (who rather follow these Chronologers, which give 60. years more to Abraham after the Floud. than the soft) I reckon the times which come between these Flouds in this fort. The general Floud was in the year of the World

1656. Jacob was born in the year of the World 2169. fo as from the beginning of the Floud to Jacobs birth, there were confumed 513. years. Ogyges Floud happened 100. years after Jacob was born; and therefore after the general Floud 613, years. Now, Deucalion was born in the year of the World 2356 and had lived 82 years, when his kingdom of Thessaly was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his floud was after Noahs Floud ended, 782. years. And hereto Annius his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700. years between the general Floud and Deucalions birth; to which adde 82. years of his Age (as before) and then the floud of Thessay followed the general 782. years. The words of that Xenophon are these: Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno Sphæri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginta Theffaliam vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalion, in the second year of Sphærus, are numbred 700. years, and when Deucalion was 82. years old, he faw Thestaly drowned. This Floud hapned in the Winter time about Parnajus: witness Aristotle, in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom S. Augustine so often ci-

teth for his excellent Learning, especially in

Westward, but it covered the greatest part of Italy: and either the same, or some other particular floud then hapning, opprest Egypt. either think it, or feign it to be universal; and Deucalion the King, faving himfelf, and fome others on the Mountain of Theffaly (of all undatio que fuit tempore Ogygis: There other the highest, saith solinus) was by reafon thereof (as Strabo witneffeth) faid to be Strab.19. the preserver of man-kind. That this floud Plin. 1.3. covered a great part of *Italy*, *Pliny*, and *Soli-* sol. 1.

nus make it probable, who affirm, that the *Plin* ilin. people then inhabiting Italy, were therefore called Opegon: quia ab imbribus diluvii superfuilent; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Book, and Trezenius in his fecond: which Umbri these Authours make the Parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines to be the Parents of the Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Brucii and all other inhabiting anciently the banks of the Mediterrane Sea. But that these Umbri were not the Inhabiters of Italy before the Floud of Noah, and fo took name by faving themselves upon the Appening Mountains, the Scriptures teach us; shewing who,&who only then were preferved, which is sufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the first people which after the general Floud inhabited Italy, were the Camefenes; (so named from Camefe, whom Cato in Originibus, another of Annius his Audipnosphe
thours, names for a confort of Janus) which 1. 15. out people lived altogether a favage life; till of Draco fuch time as Saturn arriving on those Coasts, faith the devised Laws to govern them by : the me- camefeet mory of whose Acts in that Region, Diodore the wife and Thalles among the Greeks; Nepos Calfins; of Jams and Merro among the Latines, have pre-Latil. ferved; and of whom Virgil:

Primus ab athereo venit Saturnus Olympo, As. 1.8. Arma Jovis fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis. 319. Is genus indocile. ac difterfum montibus altis Composit, legesque dedit ; Latiumque vocari Maluit.

Saturn descending from the heavens high Fearing the Arms of Jupiter his Son, His Kingdom loft, and banisht thence,

Rude people on the Mountain tops he won To live together, & by Laws: which done, He chose to call it Latium.

And

of the History of the World. CHAP. VII.

And afterwards in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones; and after them, of the Sicani: Nations, which again fought to dif-plant the antient Inhabiters:

viz I. 8. Tum manus Aufonia, & gentes venère Sicani.

Then came th' Ausoniam Bands, and the Sicanian Tribes.

down in Italy) Thuesdides and Pling give te- that of Oegges; and therefore (according to flimony: who were again expelled by the Rhodoginus, before remembred) were all Ligit, faith Thucydides. After all these Plan- things among the Greeks (which antiquity tations and re-plantations, came the Umbri, had worn out of knowledg) called Ogygia, descended of the Gauls (saith Annius) not of which we in English commonly call (wormthose Gauls of France, but of those of Scythia, cuten, or) of defaced date. But as all the who commanded a great part of Italy, even parts of the Earth were successively planted all Hetruria and Campania; as Herodotus, and peopled; and as all Nations had their Pliny, and Dionysius have assured us: and proper times, and not their beginning at therefore this Floud of Deucation, was long after that of Noab. For all those Nations which afterward became a great people, were planted in Italy, and disposies'd of Ita- with whom the knowledg of divine Letters If again, before the Umbri were ever heard was not received, find no Parent of more anof, or had being. So that Kingdom was first tiquity, then such as they had themselves, nor called Camasene, then Latium or Saturnia, allow of any before their own; and as the then Ausonia, then Sicania; before the Um- Grecians, so did others vaunt themselves to bri (in whose time Deucalions Floud happe- be Indigene, and growing out of the Earth, ned) possess d the same, about 306. years be- or invent some other prophane or ridiculous fore the War of Troy; Lycam then governing. But the Chaldeans had certain ing Arcadia: who being the Father of two knowledg of Noah's Floud, as Berofus witand twenty Sons, the youngest called Oenonaid twenty Sons, the youngest called *Opino*—neiten and *Mobilian Scalland Malay*, who gave it he name of particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) and the *Opinology*. This name it held until *Italus* of though he also affirm by hear-say, that from the model of the opinology of the opinolo the fame Nation changed it into Italy, after | Giants faved themselves upon the Mountain his own name, about 250. years before the fall of Troy. After these, came the Pelasgiof whom Pliny in his third Book and fifth Chapter, and Strabo in his fifth, Thucydides the Lydi, under Tyrrhenus their Captain, that gave name to the Tyrrheni; who castward Bononia) was one.

fore repeated. And stephanus thinks, that terms) of Noahs Floud. the name was derived from the Greek word Ombros; but that these Umbri of Italy were descended of the Nation of Scythians (call- Plato in Timeo produceth an Egyptian Priest, ed Galli) it shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IV.

Of some other Records testifying the universal Floud: and of two antient Deluges in Eeypt: and of some elsewhere.

Aint Augustine out of Varro affirmeth, that the Greeks and Latines made not any mention of the Universal Floud, because Of these sicani (which left spain, and fate they had nothing of Antiquity foregoing beginning. But the Chaldeans had certain nesseth; and Nicolaus Damascenus maketh Baris in Armenia, but speaketh not thereof as from any authority approved: using the word Sermo eft ; That fuch a speech there was. And Eusebius remembreth a place out of the East de in his fixth, freak at large: and after them artient Historian Abydems: who writesthe reads to the reads to t that sissithrus, to preserve himself from a c. 4. Floud, fore-told him by Saturnus, fled to the ing thence the Umbri, took from them three Hils of Armenia by ship, ad Armeniam navigio hundred Castles, and built therein twelve confineiebat: who the third day (after the Cities; to which (after they had poffefs'd waters were fallen) fent forth Birds, that and past over the Appenine Mountains) they finding no Land to rest on, returned again; added divers others, whereof Telfina (after- which he also did a second time; but at the ard *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not antiently fuch a with mud and flime. To this effect are *En-*Nation as these Umbri in those parts, I do not febius's words out of Abydenus, which may affirm; having respect to the testimonies be- seem a true description (though in other

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that Alex. Polyhistor maketh mention of this general Floud. And who re-counted to solon out of the holy Books of Egypt, the story of the Floud universal, which (saith he) happened long before the Grecian Inundations. Frier Annius his Xenophon remembreth a third Floud, which alfo Diodorus Siculus confirmeth, fowewhat pied Lie

more

For he named the general Floud for the first, which happened (faith he) under the old vers times and Ages, not inferiour to any of Ogger; Jub prifco Ogge, which was Noah. He these two last remembred, Niliaca and Phacalled the fecond, Niliaca; Hercules and Pro-ronica in Egipt: as in the year of our Remetheus then living, 44. years before that of demption 590. when in Ottober of the fame Attica, in the 34 year of Belochus King of year, Gregory then being Bishop of Rome, the Afgrians, though I do not believe him as there happened a marvellous Overflowing touching the time. But this Floud covered in Italy, and especially in the Venetian Terria great part of the nether Egypt, especially tory, and in Lightia; accompanied with a all the Region subject to Prometheus; and most fearful from of Thunder and Lighthereof came the fable of the Vulture on Prometheus his Liver, afterward flain by Hercules at Rome, by reason of the many dead Serof Egypt: which fiction Diod. Siculus deli- pents cast up and left upon the land after the verethinthese words: Fluvium propter cur- Waters decreased and returned. And in the sur little perished 10000, people, by quilam tune appellatum, Herculem, tum confilii the breaking in of the Sea at Dordroch in Holso far extended and over-spread, turning it into the old channel: Whence certain Greek Poets (converting this labour and work of flew the Eagle which fed on Prometheus liver; that forrow and torment, which for the loss of his people and Country (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered. A fourth Floud chanced about Pharus in

Egypt, where Alexander Macedon built Alexandria, as Annius conceiveth out of his Xenophon, who in this brief fort writeth of all Acons to the linundations: Inundationes plures fu- and many other places torn up and rent: comm. per ere: prima novimestris Inundatio terrarum coyn of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Aunium, sub prisco Ogyge: secunda Niliaca, &c. There mere many Inundations (faith the fame Keno- Plate and Veffels of other Mettal, supposed phon: ) the first, which was universal, of nine to be hidden at such time as the Goths inva-moneths; and this happened under the first O- ded that Province, in the year 1156. gyges: the second was Niliaca, and of one moneths continuance, in the time of Hercules and Prometheus, Egyptians: a third of two moneths, under Ogyges Atticus: the fourth of That the Floud of Noah was Supernatural; three moneths, in Theffalia under Deucalion : and a fifth of the like continuance, (called Pharonica) under Proteus of Egypt, about the time of Helen's rape. Diodorus, in his fifth Book and eleventh Chapter, taking the Samothraces for his Authors, remembreth a veral times, several Regions, not only in these Floud in Asia the less, & else where, of no less destruction then any of the other particular Inundations, faying, that the same happened among them) may be ascribed to natural before that of Deucalion; the Sea of Pontus causes and accidents; yet that universal

more antient then that of Oggges in Attica. and Hellespont breaking in over the Land. But there have been many Flouds in dimagnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vessigio land: of which kind I take that Floud to be Mansfin. compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem of Achaia or Attica. Before that, in the year curfum convertisse: Unde & Graci quidam 1238. Trithemius speaketh of an Earthquake, Edisto Poete, rem gestum in fabulam vertentes, Hercu-Poeta rem gestam in jabulam verienies, riercu-lem tradinit Aquilam Promethei jecur depas-ter that of a Floud in Friscland, in which centem occidific: This Floud (meaning of Ni- there perished 100000, perions. Strozius Si-minm centem occidific: This Fiona (meaning of Note that for the fooffness of kis course, as also for the depth, was in those dayes called the Eagle: undation in Italy, in the time of Pope Dama - Ensure undation in Italy. but Hercules by his great judgment and wirtue fits, in which allo many Cities of sicil were went did again compress and straighten this River, swallowed: another in the Papacie of Alex-failus ander the fixth: also in the year 1515. Max-pensal imilian being Emperour. He also remember-mere in etha perilous over-flowing in Polonia, about 1881 1881 Hercules into a fable) devised, that Hercules Likewise Viginier, a French Historian, speakmeaning that he delivered Prometheus of eth of a great Floud in the South part of Languedoc, which fell in Anno Domini 1557. with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgment-day; faying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountain, about Nismes, there were removed divers old heaps and mountures of ground,

#### §. V.

though some say it might have been foreseen by the Stars.

Ow, howfoever all these Flouds, and many other, which have covered at separts of the World, but in America also, (as I have learned of fome ancient Southfayers CHAP. VII. Floud (in the time of Noah) was poured over maters fuch as are the watry ligns of cancer, & c. the whole face of the Earth by a power more forcible than any ability of nature Fountains, commanding them to cast out the could effect, or any second causes by what whole treasure and heap of their waters; foever union, could perform, without re- taking retention from the clouds, and conceiving from the Fountain of all power, denling ayr into water by the ministery of strength and faculties supernatural. Henri- his Augels, or whosever else best pleased cus Mechliniensis, a Scholler of Albertus Mag- his All-powerfulness. nus, in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of Albn Mafar, observeth, that before the Floud of Noah, the like Conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn happened in the last degree of Cancer, against that constellation, since called the ship of Argos; by which the Floud of Noah might be fore-told, because Cancer is both a watry Sign, and the House of the Moon, which is the Lady of

the Sea, and of moisture, according to the rules of Astronomy, and common experience. Afroiag. Itales of Afroiage upon Genests confirmeth, affirming, that although The word Noah did well know this Floud by divine revelation, (yet this conjunction being notorious)he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not only signs, but also working causes, by strength receiv d from the first cause, which is God himself: and further that by \* Catarratte cali, Englished the Windows of Heaven) Moses meant, this great and watry Conjunction; the word Catarratte, fignifying flowing down, or coming down. Now (faith P. de Alraco) it pleased God to ordain by the course of the Heavens fuch a Constellation, by which all men might they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

the former Conjunction, or for those watry or that (of all other the highest) in Tennerif, figns, Cancer, Pifces, Pleiades Hyades, and Orion; and of the Planets, Mars. Venus, and the eft, firetcheth above thirty miles upright. word hath Moon: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His own words are (Windows) thefe: Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraorum Catarractas Cæli vocasse, nisi partes illas celi que generative sunt pluviarum & inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, ut Cancer, &c. as aforesaid. As yet (saith he)

I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrews meaneth by those words (Catarracta cali, or Windows of Heaven )unless he thereby understandeth those celestial powers, by whose influ- der what proportion the Earth beareth to ences are ingendred the rain and inundations of the extention of the Ayr over and above it,

But, in a word, as it might please God, that above Nature, and by the especial comin the course of his unsearchable wisdom mandment of God himfelf; who at that time this Conjunction should at such time be fo gave ftrength of influence to the Stars, and abundance to the Fountains of the deep: ty, and gave to every operation increase of whereby the irruption of Waters was made vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and

of the History of the World.

#### : 6. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of matter to make the universal Floud: And what are Catarracte Cali, Gen. 7. v. 11.

Ow, if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God rested the seventh day: (that is, he did not then after create any new (pecies) which granted. it may feem that then all the Earth and Ayr had not waters sufficient to cover the habitable World fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Of this proposition, whether God had so restrained himself, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to over-cover the highest mountains. I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish; for it is written, That the Fountains of the great deep were broken up, (that is) the waters for look the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatfoever was dispersed therein, pierced, and brake through the face thereof. Then let us consider, that the Earth had above one and twenty thousand miles, the Diameter of behold therin their destruction towards, and the Earth, according to that circle, seven thereby for fake those wicked ways wherein thousand mile, and then from the Superficies to the Center, some three thousand five hun-Of this judgment was Gul. Paristensits, who dred miles. Take then the highest mountain understood, that the words Catarratta Cali, of the World, Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or or Windows of Heaven, were to be taken for Atlas, the mountains of Armenia, or Scythia, and I do not find, that he that looketh high-It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deep, should not well help to cover the space of thirty miles in height; this thirty miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and fixteen times : for, the Fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the waters drawn out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we confi-

we shall find the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayr, as every where compasseth and imbraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ayr into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not feem strange to men of judgment, yea, but of ordinary understanding, that the with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly; For the opinions of Gulielmus Parithere was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word Catarracia Celi, or Windows of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needs no other answer than that observation of Ludovicus Vives, who affirmeth, That by the gravest Aftrologian it was observed, that in the year 1524. there should happen the like (faith he) there was never a more fair, dry, not be any fuch conjunction at that time.

formerly condensed into drops.

#### 6. VII.

of some remainder of the memory of Noah among the Heathen.

Oah, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Ark which he had built, with his own Wife, and Earth (God so pleasing) was covered over his Sons, and his Sons Wives, taking with them of every Creature which took life by generation, seven of the clean, and of the fenfis, and Aliacenfis, to which I may adde unclean, two. Noah, according to Philo, figni-Berofie, and others, That fuch a conjunction fieth Quietness: after others, and according to the Prophecie of his Father Lamech, Ceffation'; to whom aftertimes gave many Names, answering his Antiquity, Zeal, Virtue, and other qualities: as, The first Ogyges, because in the time of the Grecian Ogyges, there was also a great Floud of Achaia: Saturn they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name conjunction as at Noah's Floud; than which of Prometheus, who was faid to steal away Jupiters fire ; Fire in that place being taken and seasonable year: The like deftruction and understood for the knowledge of God was prophefied of the year 1588. But Picus and heavenly things. Others think, that he Earl of Mirandula proveth, that there could was fo called for his excellent wifdom and forefight. He had also the Name of Janus, To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the (id est) Vinosus, because Jain signifieth Wine word Catarratte Cali, than that the clouds in the Hebrew. And so Tertuliian finds him were meant thereby: Moses using the word written in libris Ritualibus, in the Books of Windows of Heaven (if that be the sense of Ceremonies, preceding both Saturn, Trans., the word) to express the violence of the and Jove: which three enjoyed an elder Rains, and pouring down of Waters. For time then all the other ancienteft feigned whosoever hath seen those fallings of Wa- gods. And this Name Jain is taken from the ter, which sometimes happen in the Indies, Hebrew and Syrian, and not from the Latine: which are called the Spouts, (where clouds for it was in use before there was any Latine do not break into drops, but fall with a Nation, or any Kingdom by that Name refiftles violence in one body may properly known. Of the antiquity of Janus, Fabius use that manner of speech which Moses did; Pidor giveth this testimony : Jani etate nul-That the Windows, or Floud-gates of Hea- la erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pelloriven opened: (which is) That Waters fell bus nondum beferat ulla regnandi capiditas, contrary to cultom, and that order which &c. Vimm & Far primus populos docuit Jawe call natural. God then loofened the nus ad facrificia: primus enim dras & Popower retentive in the uppermost ayr, and meria & Sarra docuit; In the time of Jathe Waters fell in abundance: Behold (lays nus (faith he) there was no Monarchy: for the Job he withholdeth the Waters, and they dry up described the Maters, and they dry and described the had not then folded it self about for better in Latine, Et omnia secondary, and the hearts of men. Janus first taught the people to all things are dried up) but when he sendeth sacrifice Wine and Meal : he first set up Altars, them not, they destroy the Earth . And in the instituted Gardens, and solitary Groves, where-26 Chapter: He bindeth the maters in the in they used to pray; with other holy Rites and clouds. But these Bonds God loosed at that Ceremonies. A greater testimony than this time of the general Floud, and called up there cannot be found among all the Heathe Waters which slept in the great Deep; then, which in all agree fo well with the Scriand these joyning together, covered the prures. For first, whilest Noab flourished, Earth, till they performed the work of his there was not any King, or Monarch; Nimwill: which done, he then commanded them | rod being the first that took on him foveto return into their dark and vaft Caves; and raign Authority. Secondly, Noah, after the the rest (by a Wind) rarified again into ayr, Floud, was the first that planted the Vine, and became an Husband-man; and therefore Gen.9. 10. offered the first-fruits of both (to wit) Wine

CHAP. VII. 600.8.300 raised an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God a thanksgiving for his merciful goodness towards him. Noah was also fignified in the Am. cont. Name of Bifrons (which was given to Janus) because he beheld the times both before and after the Floud. Quia praterita noverit, & futura prospexerit, laith Arnobius : Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of Janus shadowed by the Name of Chaos. and Semen Orbis, The feed of the World: because, as out of that confused Heap was drawn all the kinds of Beafts and Plants; fo from Noah came all Mankind. Whereof Ovid in the person of Janus:

MeChaos antiqui(nam sum res prisca)vocabant: Aspice quam longi temporis atta cano!
The Antient call'd me Chaos: my great

By those old times, of which I fing, ap-

He was also intituled Culum and Sol, Heaven and the Sun, for his excellent knowledg in Astronomy: Vertumnus, Bacchus, and Liber Pater; not that latter, which Diod. Siculus and Alex. Aphrodiseus so call, because he was the restorer of the Greeks to their former liberty, but in respect of the Floud. For the Greeks called Liber vii, and his Nurfes Hyades, of Rain, because Noah entred the Ark when the Sun joyned with the Stars Hyades, a constellation in the Brow or Neck of Taurus, and ever after a Monument of Noah's Floud. He was also by others surnamed Triton, a Marine god, the Son of Neptune; because he lived in safety on the Waters. So was he known by the name of Dionysus, quasi Slowosur, mentem pungens, Bite-brain, or Witfinger; though Diodorus conceive otherwife, and derive that name à Patre & Loco; of his Father and the place of his Birth, (to wit) of Jove, and Nifa, a Town of Arabia fælix, faith suidas, out of Orpheus. He had 618.9. 20. also the by-name of Taurus, or Taurophagus; because he first yoaked Oxen, and Tilled the ground: according to that of Moses; and Noah became an Husbandman. Now howfoever the Grecians vaunt of their Theban Bacchus, (otherwise Dionysus) it is certain, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention ftolen from Noah. But this name of Bacchus, more antiently Boncus, was taken (faith Gul. Stuckius, and out of him Daneus) Obment and it is the more probable, because it canther Ships) and therefore did the Ark no oplanter of the Vine after the Floud: and of Ship doth in a calm Sea. Also, because it is Noah (the first and antient Bacelus) were all not probable, that during these continual

and Meal. Thirdly, he was the first that | those fables devised, of which Diodorns complaineth in his fourth Book and fifth Chapter. This first Bacchus (to wit) Noah, was surnamed Nysius, of the Mountain Nysain India; where the Grecian Bacchus never came, whatloever themselves seign of his enterprises: and these Mountains of Nysa joyn with those of Paropanisus, and those other Eastern Mountains, on which the Ark of Noah rested after the Floud.

Furthermore, to the end that the memory of this fecond Parent of Mankind might the better be preserved, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bear his Name, with many Rivers and Mountains which oftentimes forgat that it was done in which oftentimes torgat that it was done in his regard, because the many Names given suph. 6. him, brought the fame confusion to places as year. 10 himself. Notwithstanding all which, we strate. 1. find the City of Noab upon the banks of the strate. 1. 7. red Sea, and elsewhere: the River of Noas in Thrace, which Strabo calleth Noarus; Ptolemy, Danus; dividing Illyria from Panonia. Thus much for the Name.

## 6. VIII.

Of fundry particulars touching the Ark: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

Now in what part of the World Noah built the Ark, it doth not appear in the Scriptures, neither do I find any approved Author that hath written thereof; only Goropius Becanus in his Indo-Scythia conceiveth, that Noah built his Ark neer the Mountains of Caucasus, because on those hills are found the goodliest Cedars: for when Alex. Macedon made the war among the people, called Nysei, inhabiting the other fide of Cancasus, he found all their Burials and Sepulchres wrought over with Cedar. To this place (faith Becamus) Noah repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God and Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the Ark; to which also he addeth the conveniency of Rivers, to transport the Timber which he used, without troubling any other Carriages.

Only this we are fure of, that the Ark was built in some part of the Eastern World; and to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Floud. For Noah did not use any Mast or Sayle (as in onot be doubted but that Noah was the first therwise move, than the Hulk or body of a

Waters ceased. And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storm or forcible wind at the Waves for the better speed.

This kind of Vericl the Hebrews call Thebet, and the Greeks Larnax, for fo they terrived, was first called Larnasus, and by the chang of (L) into (P) Parnassus; but Pausa-Nymph Cleodora, called Parnaffus, the Inventor of Auguration.

Pencerus finds the word (Parnasius) to Programs, have no affinitie with the Greek, but thinks it derived from the Hebrew word Nahas, which fignifieth Auguration and Divination; or from Har or Parai, as in his Chapter of Oracles, in the Leaf before cited.

Josephus calls the Ark, Machina, by the ge-Fpiph.in neral name of a huge Frame; and Epiphanius out of the Hebrew, Aron: but herein lieth the difference between Aron and Thebet. That Aron fignifieth properly the Ark of the Sanduary, but Thebet such a Vessel, as swimmeth, and beareth it felf upon the Waters. Lastly, this Ark of Noah differed from the

fashion of a Ship, in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the fides declining like the Roof of an House; to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder Noah himself and his children might shelter, and Gen. 6. 4. separate themselves from the noysomness of the many Beafts, which filled the other rooms

and parts of the Ark.

Of what Wood the Ark was built, it is uncertain. The Hebrew word Gopher once. and in this place only used, is diverfly undertrood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneva Translation calls it Pine-tree; the Rabbine, Cedar; the Seventy, square Timber; the Latine, smooth Timber. Others will have it Cypress Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypress is worn at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word Gopher fignifie any special kind of Timber, Noah obeyed

and down-right Rains, there were any the voice of God therein; If not, he was Winds at all, therefore was the Ark little not then curious as touching the kind or namoved from the place where it was fashiot ture of the wood, having the promise of ned and fet together: for it is written, God God, and his Grace and mercy for his dened and let together: 10 it is written, one made a Wind to pdf spon the Earth, and the fence: For with Nah Cod promifed to gla-P. 18.
Withers cedeld. And therefore it may be ga
killy bis covenant. Plinie affirmeth, that in 4.8%. Egypt it was the use to build Ships of Cedar, which the worms eat not; and he avoweth. all, which could drive the Ark any great diflance from the place where it was first by Cedar beams, laid in the time of the foundathe Waters lifted us. This is also the more tion of the City, and that they were still probable, if that antient opinion be true, as found in his time, which was about 1188. it is very likely, that the Ark had fundum years after: proving thereby, that this kind planum, A flat bottom, and not rayfed in form of wood was not subject to putrifying or of a Ship, with a sharpness forward, to cut mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carry, and of a sweet favour, lafting also better then any other wood, and because neer the place where the med Demailions Ship: and some say, that the Ark rested, there are sound great store of Hill Parnafius, to which in eight days he arthese Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountains of the East, besides those of Libanus; it is probable enough that the Ark might be nias thinks that it took name of a Son of the of that wood : which hath, befide the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build Ships withal. Pererius conceiveth, that the Ark had divers forts of Timber, and that the bottom had of one fort, the deck and partition of another; all which may be true or falle, if Gopher may be taken for Timber in general. True it is, that Cedar will ferve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the Body, as for Masts and Yards. But Noah had most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the Ark; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabins; thereby to fever the clean Beafts from the unclean, and to preserve their several forts of Food; and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when Noah had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the help of a Compass or the North star. The Pitch which Noah uled, is by some supposed to have been a kind of Bitumen, whereof there is great quantity about the Vally of Sodom and Gomorrah, Pererist. now the dead Sea, or Asphaltes, and in the Region of Babylon, and in the West India: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sun, but by the Fire only, after the manner of hard Wax. §. IX.

That the Ark was of sufficient capacity.

He Ark, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred

CHAP. VII. Cubits, fifty of breadth, and thirty deep or it was not needfull to take any kinds of high: by which proportion, it had fix parts Filhes into the Ark, because they were kept night to one of breadth, and ten times living (faith S. Anguffine) in their own Eleor length to one of depth; of which S. Au- ment. Non fuit necessie conservare in Arca que in length to one on action, of which of an incine was just needle conference in articular, guffine: Proculdubio figure est percerinan- possent in again vivere, non solum mersa sent gupine: Procucanomo jesara eja percerinan-pojens in aqua orocre, non jotum merja ficul tis in boc feculo Croitalis Dei. (boc eft) Eccle-Pifees, ocrum super-natanita, sicut multæ aliin in our jeems cromain inc. (our cy) receive inject, our am juper-natanita, neut muite air-fie que st su'on per lignum, in quo pependit tes: It was not needfull to conserve those creane que us peros per uguam, in quo pepenant tes. It was not necajan to conferve toge crea-Mediator Dei & commun, homo Jelus Chri- ture in the Ark, which could live in the Waarea and so menura ipla longitudinis, altiters; and not onely Fiftes which can live unjins: nam & menma upa congrinamis, aut. vers, and not oner i specific can toe int-tudinis, latitudinifque ejus significat corpus ku- der trater, but also those Forels which sit and tuanns, quanamyque ejus ngmineat corpus tu-que mater, one aque moje r onus wanto ju and manum, in cujus veritate ad komines pranun- swim on them. And again, Terra, non aqua, manum, in cujus vertiate aa comines pranum juim on tuem. Alla again, Letra, non aqua, ciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without maledista; quia Adam non kujus, sed illius crains ep venturas, contain, contains maneuroa, quia esculin non supus, jeu tuins doubt (faith h:) it is a Figure of the City of fruillum vetilum comedit. It was the Earth, God travelling in this world as a stranger, and not the Waters which God cursed; for of God travelling in this world as a stranger, and not the rates, while God the Earth and not of the Earth and not of the forbidden fruit of the Earth and not of the de (that is soft the Church, Javeau by the tree-sphere-the Jornauan Jente of the Casto and not by Ang, de upon the Mediator between God and Man, the the Sea, did Adam cat. So, as S. Angustine ga-civillei,

Man Jesus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, heighth and breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the coming of Christ was forc-told and performed. By what kind of Cubit the Ark was meafured, it hath been a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the diffences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (caned the common) contament one adoubtedly true, that many of the aperts, foot and a half, measured from the sharp of which now feem differing, and of feveral The second (the Palm-Cubit) which taketh those Beasts which are of mixt natures, eione handfull more than the common. The ther they were not in that age, or elfe it was third is called Regius Cubitus, or the Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three inches. The fourth is the facred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cupart.Laftly, there is a fifth Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth fix common Cumetrical, which community common cubits. But of all these forts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the thern parts; it may be supposed by a superalteration and diminution of mens statures red and pied skins, or feathers, are differing hath made the difference. For as there is now from those that are less painted, and wear a less proportion of bodies, so is the complain russet or black; they are much milthe point of the middle finger, of less length taken that so think. And for mine own opithan it was in elder times. Saint Augustine, considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Ark held, with their food and water, was sometime of opi-

nion, that the Ark had proportion after the Geometrical Cubit, which containeth almost fix of the common: For, measuring the Ark by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacity of that Veffel built by Hiero of Syracufe, or the Ship of Ptolemy Philo-pater. But S. Angufine (who at the first was led by Origen) changed his judgment as touching the dipnofp. ter confideration that there needed not fo Virginia. The Dog-fish of England is the huge a Body to preserve all forts of Creatures, by God appointed to be referved. For

a Frame needed not. And if we look with the eyes of judgment hereunto, we shall find nothing monstroughtherein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more of mischief and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities in this work of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the Species, kinds, were not then in rerum natura. For might be generated again by others: as the Mules, the *Hyena's*, and the like; the one begotten by Alies and Mares, and the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by dif-

> nitude, between the Cat of Europe, and the Ounce of India; and even those Dogs which are become wild in Hispaniola, with which the Spaniards used to devour the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattel, and do also oftentimes tear asunder their own India Children. The common Crow and Rook of India is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Islands of Caribana; and the Blackbird and Thrush harh his feathers mixt with black and carnation in the North parts of

magnitude made a difference of species,

then were the Nigro's, which we call the was not the Geometrical, but the ordinary Black-Moors, non animalia rationalia, not Cubit of one foot and a half, according to Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and the measure of Giantly stature; which meafo the Giants of the South America should sure (doubtles) might give much the more be of another kind, than the people of capacity to the Ark 3 although it be also prothis part of the World. We also see it daily, bable, that as the Men were, so were the horses that the natures of Fruits are changed by whereon they rode, and all other Creatures transplantation, some to better, some to of a correspondent size. And yet, (as I take worfe, especially with the change of Cli- it) though by this means there were not any mate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by whit the more room in the Ark, it were not often grafting; and the best Melons will hard to conceive, how all the distinct species change in a year or two to common Cow- of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved cumers, by being fet in a barren foyl. Therefore, taking the kinds precifely of all Creafent quantities be contained in a Veffel of
tures, as they were by God created, or out
those dimensions which the Ark had; allowof the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the ing to the Cubit one foot and a half of our Ark after the measure of the common Cubit, now usual measure: whence it followeth of was sufficiently capacious to contain of all, necessity, that those large bodies which were according to the number by God appointed: in the days of Noah, might have room suffici-For if we adde but half a foot of measure ent in the Ark, which was measured by a Cuto the common Cubit, which had a foot and bit of length proportionable. a half of Giantly stature (and less allowance we cannot give to the difference between to be faved. (that is, seven of the clean, two them and us) then did the Ark contain 600. Of the unclean, with necessary food) might foot in length, and 100. foot in breadth, have place in the Ark, Butao hath very and 60. foot in depth.

the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, which Dem. 3.11. Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein multiplied by the breadth, namely fifty Cubits, named may suffice. For if the Bed of og, King and the product by the height of thirty Cubits, of Bafan, had been nine Geometrical Cubits sheeth the whole Concavity to have been long, it had taken 54. Cubits of the common, 450000. Now, whereas the posts, walls, and which make 80. foot : and Goliah, who had other partitions of Lodgings may feem to the length of fix Cubits and an handfull, have taken up a great part of the hollow: which makes nine foot and a handfull (a pro-portion credible) if these Cubits had been Geometrical, then had been 54, foot in pical Cubes was a sufficient recompence: If height, and upwards, which were monstrous therefore in a Ship of such greatness we seek and most incredible: for (according to this room for 89. distinct species of Beasts, or proportion) had the head of Goliah been (left any should be omitted) for 100, sevenine foot long, and farr weightier and big- ral kinds, we shall easily find place both for ger then all David's body, who carried it them, and for the Birds, which in bigness are

Again, if the Geometrical Cubit had been used for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters have observed, then had the Altar (appointed to contain five Cubits of to which the rest may be reduced, by saylength, five of breadth and three of height) ing, (according to Ariffolle) that one Elereached the length of 27. foot upright, and so must their Priests have ascended by fteps or Ladders to have performed their Beafts, fome feed on vegetables, others on Sacrifices thereon, which was contrary to flesh. There are one and thirty kinds of the Gods Commandment, given in these words: greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which Thou shalt not go up with steps unto mine Altar, number onely three are clean, according to that the shame be not discovered thereon; and the Law of Moser, whereof seven of a kind therefore was the Altar but three common entred into the Ark, namely, three couples Cubits high, which make four foot, that for breed, and one odde one for facrifice: their Priests standing thereby might execute the other eight and twenty kinds were their Office. Wherefore I may conclude, taken by two of each kind, fo that in all

How the appointed number of Creatures learnedly declared: the brief summ of whose But first of all, to make it manifest that discourse to that purpose, is this. The length no way answerable to them; and for meat to fustain them all. For there are three forts of Beafts, whose bodies are of a quantity best known; the Beef, the Sheep, and the Wolf: phant is answerable to four Beeves, one Lion to two Wolves, and fo of the reft. Of that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures there were in the Ark one and twenty great

Beafts clean, and fix and fifty unclean, effi-Floud; and all Story, as well general as parmable for largnels as ninety one Beeves; yet ticular, thereby may be the better underfor a supplement (lest perhaps any species stood. be omitted) let them be valued as an hundred and twenty Beeves. Of the leffer fort feeding on vegetables, were in the Ark six and twenty kinds, estimable, with good allowance for supply, as fourscore Sheep. Of those which devour flesh were two and thirtv kinds, answerable to threescore and four Wolves. All these two hundred and eighty Beafts might be kept in one flory or room of the Ark, in their feveral Cabins; their meat in a fecond: the Birds and their provifion in a third, with place to spare for Noah and his Family, and all their necessaries.

#### 5. X.

That the Ark rested upon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucasus) between the East-Indics, and Scythia.

#### ||. I.

A Praterition of some Questions less material: with a Note of the use of this Question to find out the Metropolis of Nations.

7 Hat time Noah took to build the Ark, received the Commandment from God an hundred years before the Waters fell; and had therefore choice of time, and leifure fufficient. As for the number of Decks and Partitions, which Origen divides into four, Saint Angustine into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controversie: or, whether those Creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called Alegartos) the Sea-Cows, or Sea-Horses, were kept in the Ark, or no, I think it a needless curiofity; and yet to this faith Pererius, and others before him, that a Fish-pool might be made as well with- bo remembreth a Promontory in Arabia fixin the Ark, as in Hiero his Ship of Syracuse. lix of that name; and Pliny finds a Mart-Lastly, to consider or labour to disprove town so called in the same, which Ptolemy the foolery of the Hebrews, who suppose calls Ocilis, Pinetus Acyla, and Niger Zidon. that the Ark was lightened by a Carbuncle, But this Ocila of Damascenus, or rather of Anor had Windows of Crystal to receive in nins, seemeth to be one and a part of the Ar-Light, and keep out Water, were but to re- menian Mountains. Berofus calleth those But that which I feek most to satisfie my self Cordai: Ptolemy Gordai and Gordiai: of History. and others in, is, In what part of the World which the Countrey next adjoyning is, by 27, (as the feat of the terrestrial Paradise, and da, or rather Minni: which word is used for the resting of the Ark) do onely and truly Armenia Minor. And the very word of Arteach the Worlds Plantation, and the be- menia feems to be compounded of this word

#### ||. II.

A Proposal of the common opinion, that the Ark refted upon some of the Hills of Ar-

Nd first, for the true place where the Ark rested after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of Noah travelled to their first settlement and plantation, I am refolved (without any prefumption) that therein the most Writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to think out of any Humour, or newness of opinion or fingularity; but do herein ground my felf on the original and first truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reafon, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is writ-ten, That the Ark stayed upon one of the mountains of Ararat, which the Chaldean Paraphrast hath converted Kardu, meaning the hills Gordai, or Cordiai, in Armenia the greater (as the words Gordai, and Kardu. feem to be one and the fame) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are: I I leave to others to dispute: but he find neither Scripture nor Reason which teacheth any fuch thing (towit) that it refted on that part of Ararat, which is in the greater Armenia. Nicolaus Damascenus calls this Mountain of Ararat, Baris; being the same Gen. 8.4. which the Chaldean nameth Kardu, to which Mountain the Frier Annius (citing this place out of Tosephus) makes him find another adjoyning, called Ocila, and to say that the Ark (of which Moses the Law-giver of the Hebrews wrote) did first take ground on this Ocila. But I do not find any fuch Mountain in being, as this Ocila, neither is there any mention of it in the place of Josephus, Stravive the buried vanities of former times. Mountains of Armenia Gordiai, and Curtius the Ark rested after the Floud : because the this Nicolaus Damascenus, called Nymada, true understanding of some of these places perhaps (as Becamis conjectures) for Milyaginning of Nations, before and after the Minni, and Aram: as if we should say Minni

CHAP. VII.

Na. nift. of Syria; for that Armenia also was a part of | Land in Armenia, it is very unprobable, that 1.5. c. 12. Syria, Pliny witnesseth. Fpiphanius placeth the children of Noah, which came into that. the great, near the Lake Thoffitis: whence longitude, and 41. & 52. degrees of latitude. One of the Mountains, Gordiai (that which name (faith Junius) was of the event, because of Noahs coming down with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event: feeing any Hill from whence on every fide we must descend, may thus be cal-

to be derived; and Ads 6. 9. they that be- first known City of the World, founded aflonged to the Synagogue of the Egyptians are ter the Floud, about 131. years, or (as others called Libertini, for Lubra tenu. Yet this suppose) ten years later: though (for my opinion hath been embraced from Age to felf) I rather think that they undertook that Age, receiving a habit of strength by time, work in two respects; first, to make themand allowance without any further exami- selves famous, To get us a name (saith the nation; although the name of Lubar might Text:) Secondly, thereby to usurp dominion Gentle Beredle otherwise rightly be given, especially to that over the rest. Mountain, by reason that the passage was more fair, up and down unto it, than to any

#### il. III.

of the rest adjoyning.

The first Arcument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come fooner, had they come from fo near a place as Armenia.

OUt there are many Arguments to per-I fwade me, that the Ark of Noah did not one of the Gordiaan Mountains.

Ecrof.1.1. low Ecrofus, that it was in the year 130. or certainty of this report, that the East-Indians in the year 131. after the Floud, when Nim- (time out of mind) have had Guis and Ord-

the Cardyes about these Mountains, whom Valley, could have spent so many years in so others call Gordieni or Gordeni. The Moun- | short a passage : seeing the Region of Mesotains are scated apart from all other to the potamia was onely interjacent, which might North of that Ledge of the Mountains called by easie journeys have been past over in Taurus, or Niphates, in the Plains of Armenia twenty days; and to haften and help which pailage, the navigable River of Tygris offerthe River of Tygris floweth in 75. degrees of ed it felf, which is every where transpassable by Boats of great burthen: fo as where the Defart on the one fide refifted their expedifurmounteth the reft) Fpiphanius calls Lubar, tion, the River on the contrary fide ferved which in the Armenian fignificth a place of to advance it; the River rifing out of the descent: but this out of Josephus. Which same Ledge of Mountains, or at the foot of them, where the Ark of Noah was first suppoled to fettle it felf: Then, if the Nations which followed Nimred still doubted the furprise of a second Floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrews) it foundeth Josp de léd: as Jupius corrects the place in Josephus ill to the ear of reason, that they would have Ania L. Aniessis (Kilvaris.) That the place is thus to be specified many years in that low and overflown read, he conjectureth, because Joseph. l.t. c.4. Valley of Mesopotamia, so called, of the mafays, the place is called 'Amadamigoov (asit were ny Rivers which imbroider or compass it: the descent or coming down) and Epiphanius for the effects witnessed their affections, and lib. 1. contr. Heref. calls it 1: 429, which word the works which they undertook, their unin the Armeuian and Egyptian Tongue figni- belief; being no fooner arrived in Shinar, fieth Descent of Lubar, which is to descend; but they began to provide themselves of a whence also Lubra is a Synagogue, because it defence (by erecting Babel) against any was commonly built on some high place: future or feared Inundation. Now, at Babel whereof also the Latine Delubrum may seem it was, that Nimrod began his Kingdom; the

#### I. IV.

The second Argument; That the Eastern People were most ancient in populosity, and in all humane glory.

Or a second Argument: The civility, magnificence, and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the World first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath been, or can be faid for Armenia. and for Noah's taking Land there. And that rest it self in any part of Armenia, and that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillery the Mountain Ararat was not Baris, nor any (among many other things which the East had) may eafily perfwade us that those Sun-For the first: It is agreed by all who fol- rising Nations were the most ancient. The rod came into the Valley of Shinar, which nance of battery, confirmed by the Portugals Valley was afterward call'd Babylonia, Chufb, and others, make us now to understand, and Chaldea. If then the Ark had first found That the place of Philostratus in vita Apollonii Tianei, l. 2. c. 14. is no fable, though | pingari ) Venetus maketh this report: Incole expressed in fabulous words: when he faith, religioni, literis & sapientia sunt addictissimi. that the wife men, which dwell between & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nibil illis golden Shield. For the invention of Let- their Churches, after the manner of Christians: written on Pillars of Stone(as before remembred) long before the Floud. But from the Eastern world it was that John Guthenberg a Germane, brought the device of Printing: by whom Conradus being instructed, brought the practice thereof to Rome: and after that Nicolaus Gerson a Frenchman, bettered both the Letters and Invention. And notwith standing that this Mystery was then supposed to be but newly born, the Chinois had Letters long before either the Egyptians or Phanicians; and also the Art of Printing, knowledg, or any Letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the Portugals and Spaniards have witnefled, who about an hundred years fince discovered those Kingdoms, and do now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the Chinois account all other nations but falvages in respect of them-

And to add ffrength to this argument, the conquest and story of Alex. Macedon may justly be called to witness, who found more Cities and fumptuofity in that little Kingdom of Porus, which lay fide by fide to the East India, then in all his other travails and undertakings. For in Alexander's time.

Hyphalis and Ganges, use not themselves to go frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) saforthinto Battel: but that they drive away cris in delubris exercent: unum cognoscunt their Enemies with Thunder and Lightning Principem, unum Deum adorant : The Islanfent from Jupiter. By which means there it ders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letis faid, that Hercules Ægyptius and Bacchus, ters, and philosophy, and most diligent searchjoyning their forces, were defeated there; ers out of truth: there is nothing among them and that this Hercules there cast away his more frequent then prayer, which they use in ters was ignorantly ascribed to Cadmus, be- They acknowledg one King, and worship one God. cause he brought them first into Greece: of The antiquity, magnificence, civility, riches, which the people (then rude and favage) sumptuous buildings, and policie in governhad reason to give him the honour, from ment, is reported to be such by those who whom they received the benefit. But it is have been imployed in those parts, as it true, that Letters are no less antient then seth seemeth to exceed (in those formerly named, or Henoch were: for they are faid to have and divers other particulars) all other Kingdoms of the World.

#### II. V.

The third Argument, from the wonderful reaffance which Semiramis found in the East Indies.

I)Ut for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invafion of Semiramis before the indifferent and advised Reader: who may consider in what when as the Greeks had neither any civil Age she lived, and how soon after the Worlds new birth the gathered her Army (as Diodorus Siculus out of Ctesias reporteth) of more then three millions to invade India, to which he adjoyned also 500000. Horse; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we believe but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that *India* was the first planted and peopled Country after the Floud. Now as touching the time wherein she lived: All Historians consent that she was the Wife of Ninus, and the most approved Writers agree, that Ninus was the Son of Belus, and Belus of Nimrod, that Nimrod was the Son of Chush, Cush of Cham, and Cham of Noah: And at fuch time as Nimrod came to Shinaar, he was then a learning and greatness had not travailed so great Nation, as by the building of the City far to the West as Rome. Alexander esteem- and Tower of Babel may appear; and being ing of Italy but as a barbarous Country, and then so multiplied and increased, the two of Rome as of a Village. But it was Babylon | descents cast between Nimrod and Semirathat stood in his eye, and the fame of the mis, brought forth in that time those multi-East pierced his ears. And if we look as far tudes, whereof her Army was composed. as the Sun-rifing, and hear Paulus Venetus Let us then fee with whom she encountred what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle in that War with this her powerful Army: and Island thereof, we shall find that those even with a multitude, rather exceeding, Nations have fent out, and not received; then equalling her own, conducted by staulent knowledg, and not borrowed it from robates King of India beyond Indus; of the West. For the farther East (to this day) | whose multitudes this is the witness of Diod. the more civil; the farther West, the more siculus; Staurobates coactis majoribus, quam Salvage. And of the Isle of Japan (now Zi- qua erant Semiramidis, copiis: Staurobates

Semiramis. If then these numbers of Indians had been increased but by a Colonie fent out from shinaar (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt took fome time in the performance) this increase in the East, and this Army of Staurobates must have been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which Semiramis gathered might easily grow up in that time, from fo great a Troop as Nimrod brought with him into Babylonia (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Story of Israel) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the Indian Army victorious over Semiramis, if the Colonies fent thirher had been so late as Babel overturned. and the confusion of Languages. For if we allow 65, years time after the Floud, before Nimrod was born: of which, thirty years to cush ere he begat seba, after whom he had Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtecha: and then thirty years to Raamah, ere he begat Gen. 10.7. Sheba and Dedan, both which were born before Nimrod: and five years to his five elder Brothers, which make fixty five. and then twice thirty years for two Generations more, as for Nimrod, Sheba, and Dedan with others, to beget their Sons; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five years; there will then remain fix years to have been spent in travailing from the East, ere they arrived in Shinaar, in the year after the Floud 121. make him to have arrived at Shinaar in the they beget whole Nations without the help grounds (which require found foundations) be no confusion in that year 101. or at Pelegs birth. And therefore it is far more probable, that Nimrod usurped Regal authority in the 131. year after the Floud (according to Berofus) and that the Work of Babel lasted fourty years (according to Glycas) Homini-Gen. & de Turris ex- bus in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum Struttione laborantibus; Men labouring in vain 40. years to finish it. By which account it falls out that | that in those years were grown up. it was 170. years after the Floud, ere a Colonie was sent into East India; which granted, (the one being the main Body, and the other but a Troop taken thence) it can hard-

gathering together greater Troops then those of exceeded Semiramis in numbers: who being then Empress of all that part of the world gathered the most of Nations into one body.

#### ||. VI.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of Noah.

Ourthly, it is no way probable, that Noab, who knew the world before the Floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600, years, was all that space 130, years after the Floud without any certain habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that Nimrod was but the conductor of those people, by Noah destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Western World; (which Travails Noah put over to young and able bodies) and that Noah himfelf, then covered with many years, planted himfelf in the same place which God had affigned him; which was, where he first came down out of the Ark from the waters: for it is written, that after Noah came down out of the Ark, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman, whose business was to dress and manure the Earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from Armenia into Arabia fælix, where he should (if the Tradition be found) have left certain Colonies: thence into Africa towards Triton: then into Spain where they fay he And so the followers of Nimrod might be of settled other companies, and built Cities affufficient multitude. But as for those which ter the names of Noela and Noegla his Sons Wives: from thence into Italy, where they year 101. and the Confusion to have been at | say he found his Son Cham the Saturn of E-Pelegs birth, these men do all by miracle: gypt, who had corrupted the people and subjects of Gomer in his absence: with whom of time; and build Nimrods Tower in the Noah (as they make the ftory) had patience Ayr; and not on those low and marish for three years; but then finding no amendment, they fay he banish'd him out of Halv. in the Plains of Shinaar. For except that | Thefe be but the fancies of Berofus Annianus. huge Tower were built in a day, there could | a plain imitation of the Grecian fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travail far in such a Forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the Earth by the Floud, the same lay wast and over-grown for 130. or 140. years, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creep for Woods, Bushes, and Bryers,

And there are so many reasons, proving that Noah never came into the Valley of shinaar, as we need not fuspect his passage into Italy or Spain: For Noah who was Father ly be believed that staurobates could have | of all those Nations, a man reverenced both unbelieving prefumptuos work of Babel. Ra- a-part with his best Beloved, giving himself ther by his prefence and prevalent perfiva-from he would have bound their hands from and heavenly things, after he had directed fo vain labours, and by the authority which his children to their deftined portions. For he received even from God himfelf, he would he landed in a warm and fertile foil, where have held them in that awfull fubjection, as, he planted his Vineyard, and dreft the Earth; whatfoever they had vainly conceived or after which, and his thankigiving to God whatoever they had valley controlled the by facrifice, he is not remembred in the Scriferred, yet they durft not have disobeyed the personal commandment of him, who in the personal commandment of him, who in the beginning had a kind of Regal authority those Nations of which Moses wrote: which over his children and people. Certainly, were the Hebrews chiefly, and their enemies Noah knew right well, that the former deftruction of man-kind was by themselves purchased through cruelty and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay upon them the same, if not a more sharp affliction. Wherefore, there is no probability, that ever he came so far West as Babylonia; but rather, that he fent those numbers which came into shinaar (being the greatest troop, because they had the greatest part of the World to plant) under Ninnod, guments and Authorities of Frier Annius, or those upon whom he ulurped. Nauclerus, who in his Commentaries upon Eerosus and and Coleffinus, take the tellimony of Metho- others, laboureth marvelloully to prove that

work as the Worlds Plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction. Of the Sons of Sem: Jottan, Havilah, and Ophir, are especially noted to have dwelt in the East-India. The rest of Sem's issues had also the Regions of Persia, and the other adjoyning to Indus, and held also a part of Mercators sets these Hills five degrees (which Chaldea for a time: for Abraham inhabited makes three hundred English miles) asunder. Ur, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sons of Jotan, or of all the rest a certain number (Cham and his iffue onely excepted) that Noah kept Plantation I shall speak at large in the Chap-

increase (to wit) Nimrod, suphene, and Jo-tan, of which Nimrod commanded the if-

Japhet. This opinion I cannot judge of, al-

though I will not doubt, but that so great a

ter following.

Now, another reason which moves me to believe that Noah stayed in the East far away from all those that came into shinaar, is, that Moses doth not in any word make mention of Noah in all the Story of the Hebrews, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And Noah being the Father of all man-kind, and the chosen servant that the Ark of Noah stood on the Mountains of God, was too principal a Person, to be ei- of Armenia, he beginneth with the antiquity

for his Authority, Knowledg, Experience | ther forgotten or neglected, had he not (in and Piety, would never have permitted his respect of his age and wearifome experience children and iffues to have undertaken that of the World) withdrawn himfelf, and refted

#### I. VII.

Of the senses opinion of Annius the Commentor upon Berosus: who finds divers places where the Ark refted; as the Caspian and Gordiaan Hills, which are three bundred miles asunder; and also some places of Scythia. T remaineth now that we examine the Ar-

dins Bishop of Tyre for currant, that there the Ark of Noah rested upon the Armenian were three Leaders of the people after their Mountains called Cassii; which Mountains separate Armenia from the upper Media, and do equally belong to both. And because all fues of Cham, Jostan of Sem, and Suppene of his Authors speak of the Mountains of Gorfues of Cham, Jostan of Sem, and Suppene of diei, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting those far-distant Mountains together. To effect which, he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with errour, which have carefully over-seen, Printed, and Published Ass. 3. Ptolemies Geography, in which they are altogether differered. For that last Edition of And certainly, if we look into those more ancient Copies of Villanovanus, and others, we shall find nothing in them to help Annius withall: for in those the Mountains Caspii with himself, it cannot be known. Of which stand seven degrees to the East of the Gordiei, which makes 420. miles. And for those Authors by whose authority Annius strengthneth himself, Diodorus whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them Diod.l.c.3. in the like dispute. Aberrarunt vero omnes. non negligentià, sed regnorum situs ignorantià; They have all erred (faith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the lituation of Kingdoms. But for an induction, to prove

Cato de faith, that lanus came with Dyrim, and with again, Equidem principatus originis semper Scythis tribuitur; Certainly, the prime Antiquity of Off-|pring is alway given to the Scythians. And herein truly I agree with Annius,

which Annius laboureth, is to prove that precifely fet down. these ancient Scythians (meaning the Ne- But, to come to those latter Authours,

or Eabylonia. read that the Scythians were originally Ar-

of the Scythians: and to prove the same he | a most approved and diligent Authour, beciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth ginneth in that place with these words: Fathat 250. years before Ninus, the Earth was bulantur Scytha, The Scythians Fable: and overflown with Waters, Et in Scythia Saga his Interpreter in the table of that work, renatum mortale genus; And that in Scythia giveth this Title to that very Chapter; Serthe flock of mortal men was renewed. The same tharum origo & successive, fabula; The original Author also teacheth, that the Umbri before and success of the Scythians a Fable. And (inremembred (who were so called, because sa- deed) there needs no great disproof hereof, ved from Deucalions Floud) were the Sons of fince Ptolemy doth directly delineate Scythia the Galli.a Nation of the Scythians. Ex his ve- Saga. or Saca, and lets them in 130. degrees nille Janum cum Dyrim, & Gallis progenito- of longitude: and the Persians (faith Herodoribus Umbrorum; From these Scythians, he lus) call all the Scythians, Sace; which Pliny confirms: for in respect that these Sace (faith the Gallithe progenitours of the Umbri: And Pliny) are the Scythians next to the Persians, therefore they gave all the rest that name. L. 6.66. Now, that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the Persians, there is no man believeth. But this supposed Scythia Araxea in Armenia that those Regions called Scythia, and now lieth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. Tartaria, and by some Writers Sarmatia Asi- degrees distant from the Saca; and the atica, were among the first peopled: and Countrey about Araxes Ptolemy calleth Colthey held the greatest part of Asia under thene, and soducene, and sacapene, without Tribute till Ninus Time. Also Pliny called any mention of Scythia at all: and yet all the Umbri which long fince inhabited Italy, those which are, or were reputed Soythians Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation, who either within Imaus, or without, to the numdescended of these scythians. Now, that ber of 100. several Nations, are by Ptolemy Tab. Size \$

phews of Noah) did first inhabit that Region whereof some have written, others have seen of the Mountains, on which the Ark refted; a great part of those North-East Regions, and confessing that this great Ship was and searched their Antiquities with great digrounded in Armenia, he feigneth a Nation ligence: First, Marius Niger boundeth Seyof Seythians called Araxea, taking name of thia within Imaus, in this manner: (for Seythe Mountain Ararat, near the River of A- thia without these Mountains, is also beyond raxes. And because his Author Cato helpeth our purpose) Scythia inter Imaum montem ea him in part (to wit, That in Scythia man- eft, qua proprio vocabulo Gaffaria hoc tempore kind was restored after the great Floud 250. dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Orienyears before Ninus) and in part utterly de- | telmao Monte: à Septentrione terra cognita: à stroyeth his conceit of Armenia, by adding Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque the word Saga; as, In Scythia Saga rena- oftia Oxa amnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis: 6 tum mortale genus ; In Scythia Saga, mankind Parte ipsius maris hinc usq; ad Rhasluminis ostia was restored : he therefore in the Prowne of terminatur: Scythia within the Mountain Imahis Commentary upon Berosus, leaveth out us is that part of the World which in their own Tiol. After the addition of Saga altogether in the repe- speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the tition of Cato his words, and writes, homines Jame is bounded on the West-side by Sarmatia Ain Scythia salvatos. For Scythia Saga, or Sa- Statica, (or of Asia:) on the East, by the Imaan ca, is undoubtedly under the Mountains of Mountains: on the North, by unknown Lands: Parapinifus; on which, or near which it on the south, by the Sacca (which are the Sais most probable that the Ark first took | ce) the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the ground : and from those East parts (accord- month of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, ing to Moses ) came all those companies and by a part of the same Sea as farr as the Rha. Now Gen. 1. 2. which erected the Tower of Babel in Shinaar mouth of Rha.

Now, if Niger fets all Sarmatia Aliatica But now, the best authority which Annius to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (que com. s. hath, is out of Diodorus: where he hath magna fand Regio eft, & que innumeras natio-472. nes complectitur Which is a great Region, commenians, taking name à Scytha Rege eo- prehending innumerable nations, faith Niger) rum, from Scytha their King. But (in a word) much of it being between Scythia and Arwe may fee his vanity, or rather (indeed) his menia, doth sufficiently warrant us, that Arfalshood in citing this place. For Diodorus, menia can be no part of Scythia; and to

admir make it more plain, he differenth Sarmatia | being part of that Septhia which Ptolemy cal-

he leaveth on the right hand of Sarmatia, infact in and yet makes Sarmatia but the West bound of Scythia. And for Paulus Venetus, he hath not a word

and pane of Armenia among the Tartarian or Scythian terra col. Nation; neither doth his fellow Frier John Assilfer Plancarpio (cited by Vincentius in his de-

fifth) in the year 1307. published. non of Cracovia in Polonia) a Sarmatian born, at Augusta in the year 1506. as Bucholand that travailed a great part of Sarmatia zerus in his Chronologie witnefieth. Now Afatica, find Armenia any way within the these Scythians (faith he) came from the Easts compals of Tartaria, Scythia, or Sarmatia; for in the East it was, that the Ark of Noah and yet no man (whose Travails are extant) rested, and the Seythe Sacre were those peohath observed so much of those Regions as ple which lived at the North soot of those he hath don: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he burieth that antient and rethe great Imans. And were there no other ceived opinion, That out of the Mountains, Riphei, and Hyperborei in Septhia, fpring the Earth now extant, and the witness of Ptolemy, Rivers of Tanais or Don; Volga or Edel; proof Mulcovia known to every Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddy, and marish grounds. The River of Tanais or Don, ariseth to the South of the City Tulla, some twenty English miles, out of a Lake called Imanomesero, in the great Wood Okenitzkilies or Jepiphanolies. Volga, which Ptolemy calls Rha, and the Tartars call Edel, rifeth out of a Lake called Fronow, in the great Wood Vodkonzki: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of Bory-Sthenes (now Neyper) and Dsuina or Dividna. Signete And this learned Polonian doth in this fort bound the European Sarmatia. In Sarmatia

of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscovians, and those adjoyning, bounded on the West by the River of Vije, the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally the Wire Viftula, a River which parts Germania and of the Arke was supposed: for if the Vine Sarmatia: and for the East-Dorder ne name in was a strange in the Countries thither, it is brought Tanais, or Don. Sarmatia Affatica he cutteth brought from other Countries thither, it is Pennida from Europe by the same River of Tanais, not probable that it grew naturally in Arme-

it self from any part of Armenia, by the Re- leth Stylkia intra Imaum montem: Seythia gran gions of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, which within the Mountain Imans. And the same Southians (which Frier Annius would make Armenians) came not into Sarmatia Aliatica it felf above three hundred and a few odd years before his own time: these be his words: Conftat cam effe gentem novam, & adventitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) feription of Scythia) make any mention of paulo plus abbine trecentis annis Alfa Sarma-Armenia; neither doth Hayloms, an Armeni- tiam imgressam: It is manifest (shith he,speakan born of the bloud of those Kings (though ing of the Seythian Nation) that this is a late afterwards a Monk ) ever acknowledg planted Nation, come from the coafts of the himself for a Tartarian, or of the Scythian East: from whence they entred into Asia, egat Races descended: though he writ that story new seats a little more then 300. years since: at large, gathered by Nicolaus Salcuni, and For (indeed) before that time the Goths or (by the commandement of Pope Clement the Poulves inhabited Sarmatia Affatica. And this Matthias lived in the year 1511. and Neither doth Matthias a Michon (a Ca- this his Elicourse of sarmatia was Printed

Mountains, of Taurus or Ararat, where they encounter or begin to mix themselves with testimony then the general description of the it is plain, that between all parts of Armenia, ving by unanswerable experience, that there and scythia, there are not only those three are no such Mountains in rerum natura; Regions of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, but and (indeed) the Heads and Fountains of the Calpian Sea: on the East shore of which those famous Rivers are now by the Trade Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth Armenia, there are (indeed)aNation of scythians (called Ariaca) between Jaxartus and Jactus; but what are thefe Scythians to any Ariaca, or Scythia Araxea, which Annius placeth in Armenia, more then the Scythians of Europe?

#### ||. VIII.

The fifth Argument, The Vine must grow naturally neer the place where the Arke

O this if we add the confideration of this part of the Text, That Noah plan- Gen 9 :0. ted a Vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of the Name perchance mil-printed Vissa for in that part of Armenia, where this refting Sarmatia: and for the East-border he nameth | was a stranger in Italy and France, and Plate and the Castian Sea, to with hold it from nia, being a far colder Country. For 197ftretching farther East: this Afian Sarmatia rhenns first brought Vines into France, and

Brennus and the Gauls invaded Italy, there out, to make it true or probable, that the were few or no Vines in France. For (faith Ark of Noah was forfaken by the waters on Plutarch in the life of Camillus) the Gaules re- the Mountains of Armenia. For the Text mained between the Pyrenai and the Alpes, hath only these words: The Ark rested on (or neer unto the Senones, where they conti- upon) the Mountains of Ararat, or Armenia. inhabite that Country, which brought forth piphanius. Now this Ararat (which the senfuch pleasant Fruit: so as it appeareth, that tuagint do not convert at all, but keep the the Plant of the Vine was not natural in same word) is taken to be a Mountain of Ar-France, but from Italy brought thither; as menia; because Armenia it self had antienrby Saturn from elfe-where into Italy.

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not far to seek out the Vine. For the Planta- suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion tion thereof is remembred, before there was taken, That the Ark first fate thereon. any counsel how to dispose of the World athat he was a Husband-man, and not a wan-

derer.

#### II. IX.

the Text: The Lord Cattered them from

Nd that all the children of Noah came A together into Shinaar, it doth not appear, faving that it may be inferred out of these words (from thence) because it is written: So that the Lord scattered them [from thence | upon all the Earth; which hath no other fense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they be converted) it feemeth that all came not together into Shinaar; for they have this limitation: Quidam corum turrem ædificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam Cælum effent ascensuri: Certain of them built a most high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.

#### | X.

An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the heighth of the Hills there.

Saturnus into Latium: yea at fuch times as Scripture, and what reason may be found neer unto the Senones, where they could have a long time, until they drunk Wine, faith the Marginal Note of the Geneva: the Geneva: the senones a long time, until they drunk Wine, faith the Marginal Note of the Geneva: the senones are the senones as the senones are the senones as the senones are the senones as the senones are the senones as the senones are the sen which was first brought them out of Italy; Chaldean Paraphrass calls it Kardu; of which, 1-ton, and after they tasted thereof, they hasted to the highest hath the name of Inbar, saith E-uani. ly that name: fo as first out of the name. Now it is manifest, that Noah travailed and secondly out of the heighth (which they

But these suppositions have no foundatimong his children: and the first thing he on: for neither is Ararat of Armenia alone, did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a neither is any part, or any of those Moun-Vine-yard, after the Sacrifice and Thanks tains of equal stature to many other Moungiving to God; and wherefoever the Arke tains of the World; and yet it doth not folrested, there did the Vine grow naturally. low, that the Ark found the highest Moun-From whence it doth no where appear, that tain of all other to rest on: for the Plains he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, were also uncovered before Noah came out of the Ark. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Books of the Sybils it is written, that the An answer to an objection out of the words of Mountains of Ararat are in Phrygia, upon which it was supposed that the Ark stayed thence upon the face of the whole earth. after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and feat of thefe Mountains, and to prove them in Phrygia and not Armenia; they are placed where the City of Cælenes was afterward built. Likewise in the same description she maketh mention of Marfyas, a River which runneth through part of Phrygia and afterward joynethit felf with the River Meander, which is far from the Gordiean Mountain in Armenia. We may also find a great mistaking in Josephus (though out of Berosus, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that Josephus sets Ararat between Armenia and Parthia, toward Adiabene, and affirmeth withall, that in the Province of Caron (by others Kairos and Arnos, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those days reserved some pieces of Noahs Ark. But Parthia toucheth no where upon Armenia; for Armenia bordereth Adiabene, a Province of Asyria: so that all Media and a part of Asyria is between Parthia and Armenia. Now whereas the discovery of the Mountains Cordiei was first borrowed out of Berosus by 70-DUt before I conclude this part, it is neces- sephus; yet the Text which Josephus citeth out fary to see and consider what part of of Berosus differs far from the words of that

Berofus, which wandereth up and down in ther suppositions, that the Mountains of Gortheir days let out by Annius. For Berofus cited diei, otherwife Baris, Kardu or Lubar (which by Josephus, hath these words: Fertur & navi- Ptolemy calleth Torgodiaion) are the highest gii bujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordia- of the World, the same is absolutely falle. orum superesse. & quosdam Bitumen inde abra-

#### ||. XI.

Of Caucasus, and divers far higher hills than the Armenian. Or the best Cosmographers, with other,

vers other Mountains even in that part of the World, and else where: as the Mountain Athos between Macedon and Thrace, which Ptolemy calls Olympus, now called Lacas, (faith Castaldus) is far surmounting any Mountain that ever hath been feen in Armemia: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is feven and thirty miles and Plut Munt. upwards: of which Plutarch; Athos adum- com. brat latera Lemnia bovis: Athos shadoweth the Com of Lemnos. Also the Mount of Olympus in Thessalie, is said to be of that height, as neither the Winds, Clouds, or Rain overtop it. Again, the Mountain of Antandrus in knowledg, nor from any approved Author: ny in Armenia, and may be feen from Conan Historian, as wise men neither report af- possint : Opon this Coast there is a Mountain ter it, nor give credit to any thing they re- called Atlas, whose heighth is said to be such, as the eye of no mortal man can discern the top Furthermore, these Mountains which Pto- thereof. And if we may believe Aristotle, lemy cals Gordiei, are not those Mountaines then are all these inseriour to Cancasus, which which himself giveth to Armenia, but he he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height : Caucasus Mons, omnium maximus, qui aftivum ad ortum sunt acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur ufq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu: Coucasus (saith Aristotle) is the great- Ais, Mu.
est. Mountain both for breadth and height of all cor. 1. 1. which are called Moschici, firetched along to those in the North-east, whose tops are lightned a 13. the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians : by the Sun-beams (ufq; ad conticinium) which alfo the Hill which is called Paryardes: which is, faith Macrobius, between the first crowing Pla. 1. 6. Mountains Pling calleth Pariedri, and both after mid-night and the break of day : Others affirm, that the top of this Mountain holds the Sun-beams when it is dark in the Valley; but I cannot believe either, for the highest Mountain of the World known, is that of Tenerife in the Canaria: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea,

sum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti solent: (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordican Mountains; and that divers do scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it

CHAP. VII.

in flead of an amulet. But Annius his Edition that have feen the Mountains of Armenia of the Fragment of Berofus uleth these words: find them far inferiour, and under-set to di-Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordia montis vertice quievit, cujus adbuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maxime

utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the Gordiaan Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remain, and that men

do carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: fo as in these two Texts (besides the difference of words) the name is diverly written. The antient Berosus

writes Cordiai with a (C) ; and the Fragment Gordiei with a (G): the one that the Bitumen is used for apreservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the other, in Sacrifice. And Mysia, not far from Ida, whence the River if it be faid that they agree in the general, scamandrus floweth, which runneth through yet it is reported by neither from any certain Troy, is also of a far more admiration than a-

for one of them, uleth the word (fertur) the fantinople. There are also in Mauritania other (dicitur); the one, that fo it is reported, neer the Sea, the famous Mountains of Atlas, the other, that fo it is faid; and both but of which Herodotus: Extat in hoc mari Mons by hear-fay, and therefore of no authority cui nomen Atlas, it a sublimis esse dicitur ut ad nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non

ceive from it.

calleth the Mountains of Armenia, Moschici. These be his jown words: Montes Armenia nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur, qui nd. Asia protenduntur usque ad superjacentem partem ub. Ponti Cappadocum; & Mons qui Paryardes

dicitur: The Mountains of Armenia are they

which ly to the North of Gordini or Baris, in 43. and 44. and a half; and the Gordican Mountains in 39. and a halfe. from the Northermost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians, and

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then Georgians, who amidft all the firength of the greatest Infidels of Persia and Turkie, do still remain Christians. Concerning the o- yet doth it not enjoy the Sun's company at any fuch late hours. Befides these Mountains which Ariftotle calleth Cancasi, are those which separate Colchis from Iberia; though (indeed) Caucajus doth divide both Colchis, Iberia, and Albania from Sarmatia: for he acknowledgeth that the River of Phalis rifeth in the same Mountain, which himself calleth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those Hills which funder Colchis from Iberia, falling afterward into Euxinus: which River (it is manifest ) yieldeth it felf to the lihall wound the Truth it felf with the wea-Sea, two degrees to the North of Trapezus (now Trabefunda) howfoever Mercator bring it from Paryardes.

#### ||. XII.

Of divers incongruities if in this Story we Should take Ararat for Armenia.

O as it doth first appear, that there is no Certainty what Mountain Ararat was: for Berofus in Armenia: and as for Berofus authat borrow from thence.

Secondly, that Baris was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the affertion and suppofition have equal credit: for there are many Hills which exceed all those of Armenia;

on the highest. Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any fuch Hill in Armenia, or in rerum natura, as Baris: for Baris (faith Hierom) fignifieth high Towers; and so may all high Hills be called indifferently: and therefore we may Caucasus (out of which Indus riseth) then to of Alia.

Fourthly, the Authors themselves do not agree in what Region the Mountains Gordiei frand: for Ptolemy diftinguisheth the Mountains of Armenia from the Gordiaan. and calleth those of Armenia, Moschici and Paryardes, as aforesaid. Now Paryardes is out of the East-side, Araxis: and the Mountains Moschici are those Hills which disjoyn Colchis, Iberia, and Albania (now the Country of the Georgians) from Armenia.

## | XIII.

is no marvail that the sameLedg of Hills running from Armenia to India, Should keep the same name all along : and even in India be called Ararat.

Aftly, we must blow up this Mountain Ararat it felf, or else we must dig it down, and carry it out of Armenia, or find it elsewhere, and in a warmer Country, and (withal) set it East from shinaar; or else we pons of our own vain imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that Ararat (named by Mofes) is not any one Hill, so called, no more then any one Hill among those Mountains which divide Italy from France, is called the Alps: or any one among those which part France from Spain is the Pyrenian: But as these, being continuations of many Hills, keep one name in divers Countries, so the Books of the Sybils fet it in Phrygia, and all that long Ledg of Mountains, which Pliny calleth by one name Taurus, and Ptolemy both hisdited thority, those men have great want of proofs Taurus, Niphates, Coatras, Coronus, Sariphi, tood until they encounter and cross the Mountains Lycia. of the great Imaus, are of one general name, and are called the Mountains of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabout they feem to arife. So all these Mountains of Hyrcania, Armenia, Coraxis, Caspii, Moschici, Amazonici, Heniochi, Scythici, (thus diverfly and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the Ark should sit called by Pliny and others) Prolemy calls by one name Caucafus, lying between the Seas Caspium and Euxinus: as all those Mountains which cut afunder America, even from the new Kingdom of Granado, to the streight of Magellan, are by one name called Andes. And as these Mountains of Ararat run East better give the name of Baris to the Hills of and West, so do those marvailous Mountains of Imans stretch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neer, fus in the East, are undoubtedly the highest are called by the name of Imans, even as Pliny called these former Hills Taurus, and Mofes the Hills of Ararat. The reason of feveral names given by Ptolemie, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdoms, which these great Mountains bound and differer; as Armenia, Mesopotamia, Asyria, Media, Susiana, feated near the middle of Armenia, out of Persia, Parthia, Caramania, Aria, Margiwhich on the West-fide rifeth Euphrates, and ana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Paropanifus: having all these Kingdoms, either on the North or South fide of them. For all the Mountains of Asia (both the less and the greater) have three general names, (to wit) Taurus, Imaus, and Cancasus: and they receive other titles, as they sever and divide particular Places and Regions. For these Mountains which of the contrary situation of Armenia, to funder Cilicia from the rest of Asia the less, on the place noted in the Text: and that it the North-fide, are called Taurus; and those

CHAP. VII.

Mountains called Tanrus, running East and highest Mountains of that part of the World West, as Imaus doth North and South. Through Taurus, the River of Euphrates forceth her passage, leaving the name of Amanus to the Mountains on her West-bank, and on her East-side the Mountains are sometimes known by the name of Taurus, (as in Ptolemie's three Tables of Asia) and sometimes Niphates (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertain appellation fo long as they bound Armenia from Mesopotamia : and after the River of Tygris cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of Niphates altogether, untill they separate Asyria and Media; but then they call themselves Coatras, though between the upper and nether Media, they do not appear, but altogether discontinue. For at Mazada in Media they are not found, but run through the Eastern Media by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call part Coronus; out of the Southern part whereof the River of Bagradus rifeth, which | bigness at Escol. divideth the ancient Persian from Caramania: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of Coronus, they give to the Parthians and Hyrcanians their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the Mountains of Sariphi, out of which riseth the River Margus, afterward yielding her self to Oxus (now Abia:) and drawing now near their ways end, they first make themselves the South border of Bactria, and are then honoured with the Title of Paropanifus; and lastly, of Caucasia, even where the famous River of Indus, with his principal companions, Hydasiis and Zaradrus, spring forth and take beginning. And here do these Mountains build themselves exceeding menia it self sometime is known by the name high, to equal the strong Hills called Imaus of Scythia, which encounter each other in 35, 36, and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called Delanguer, and the rest Nagracot; and these Mountains in this place onely are properly called Cancasi (saith Ptolemie) that is, between Paropanisus and Imaw: and improperly, between the two Seas of Caspium and Pontus.

### N. XIV.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South fide of the Mountain Caucafi, and toward the East-Indies: and of other excellencies of the foil.

JOw, in this part of the World it is, where the Mountain and River Janus,

Mountains which part it from Comsgens (a | and the Mountain Nyfeus, (fo called of bac-Province of Spria) are called Amanus: the chus Nyfeus, or Noah) are found: and on these did Goropius Becanus conceive that the Ark of Noah grounded after the Floud; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his Indo-scytkia he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same Becanus also noteth, that as in this part of the World are found the best Vines: foit is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34, 35, and 36. degrees of Septentrional Latitude are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in Judea, Candia, and other parts of Greece: and likewise in this Region of Margiana: and under these Mountains Strabo affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: and it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of themselves Orontes, and towards the East Palestina, where the fearchers of the Land, by Moses direction, found bunches of equal

of the History of the World.

The fruitfulness of this place (to wit) on the South bottom of these Hills, Curtius witnesseth. For in Margiana, near the Mountains of Meros, did Alexander feast himself and his Army ten days together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

||. X V. The Conclusion, with a brief repeating of divers chief points.

Nd therefore to conclude this opinion of Ararat. But as Pliny giveth to this Ledge of high Hills, even from Cilicia to Paraponifus and Cancasus, the name of Taurus: and as the Hills of France and Germany are called the Alps: and all between France and Spain the Pyrenes: and in America the continuation of Hills for 3000 miles together, the Andes: fo was Ararat the general name which Moses gave them; the diversity of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions, and divers Countreys. For in the like case do we call the Sea, which entreth by Gibraltar, the Mediterrane and in-land Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of Carthage, and over against it, it is called Tyrrhenum: between Haly and Greece, Ionium: from Venice to Durazzo, Adriaticum: between Athens and Asia, Ageum: between sestus and Aby-

CHAP. VIII.

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with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrariety) we ought to be wary, how we fancie to our felves any new or strange exposition; And (withall) to refolve our selves, that every word (as aforefaid) hath his weight in Gods Book. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in fuch fort as Saint Augustine hath taught us, touching the Gospel of Christ Jesus (which is) Nequis aliter accipiat ( quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Evangelio legerit, quam si psam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit; That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Gospel (the Disciples of Christ having written it)than if he had feen the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his own body, setting it down.

out controversie, that Nimrod, and all with therefore the Ark of Noah rested and took where he teacheth the plantation of Jostan, he nameth Sephar, a Mountain in the East: where he remembreth Cains departure from the presence of God, he addeth; And Cain dwelt in the Land of Nod towards the East-side

dus, Hellesfont: and afterward Pontus, Pro- went forth journeying towards the South: also pontis, and Bolphorus. And as in these, so is when Ezekiel prophecieth of Gog and Ma-Exekiel the Ocean to the North-east part of Scotland gog, he sheweth that these Nations of Togorcalled Deucaledonycum: and on this side, the ma were of the North-quarters: and of the Brittain Sea: to the East, the Germane and Queen of Saba it is written, that she came Ballick, and then the Frezen.

For a final end of this Question, we must appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even from the South to wift Solomon: And the Mandal, appeal to that Judge which cannot erre, even fer preferns unto Christ. And that all Regions, to the Word of Truth, which in this place is and these travels were precisely set down to be taken and followed according to the upon the points of the Compaß and Quarplain sence: seeing it can admit neither diplain sence: seeing it can admit neither diplain sence: seeing it can admit neither diplain sence is seen admit neither diplain sence is sentenced by the sence is sentenced by the sence is sentenced by the sentence is sentenced by the senten stinction, nor other construction than the Eden was due East from Judea; Saba South words bear literally, because they are used from Hierusalem: the way from Bethel to Eto the very same plain purpose of a descripti- grpt directly South; and the Calocyrians, the on, and the making of a true and precise dif- Tubalines, and Magogians inhabited the Regiference of places. Surely, where the fence is ons directly North from Palestina, and fo of plain (and being so understood, it bringeth the rest. But Armenia answereth not to this description of Shinaar by Moles. For to come out of Armenia, and to arrive in that Valley of Babylonia, is not a journeying from the East, nor so near unto the East as the North: for Armenia is to the West of the North it it felf; and we must not say of Moses (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred toto celo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of Armenia standeth in fourty three degrees Septentrional, and the North part thereof in fourty five; and those Gordiaan Mountains, whereon it was suppofed that the Ark rested. Stand in fourty one. But Babylonia, and the Valley of Shinaar are fituated in thirty five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference between East and West) the Gordinan Mountains stand in 75. degrees, and the Valley of shinaar in 79. The words then of Moses, which end this and 80. And therefore Armenia lieth from Dispute, are these: And as they went from the Shinaar North-west, 95, degrees from the East, they sound a Playn in the Land of Shinaar, East; and if Armenia had been but North, and there they abode: which proveth with- yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compais. But Gregory, and him, came from the East into Shinaar; and Hierome warn us, In Scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet : nam singuli sermones. land to the East-ward thereof. For we must fillaba, apices, & punta in divina Scriptura remember, that in all places wheresoever plena funt sensibus; In the Scriptures the leaft Moses maketh a difference of Countreys, he difference may not be omitted: for every speech. always precisely nameth toward what quar- sillable, note, or accent, and point in divine ter of the World the same were seated : as Scriptures are replenished with their meanings. And therefore feeing Mofes teacheth us that the children of Noali came from the East, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who also speak by hear-fay, and by report, Ut fertur, & ut dicitur, as Berofus and Nicoof Eden: And when he describeth the Tents laus Damascenus, determining herein withand Habitations of Abraham, after he de- out any examination of the Text, at all adparted from sechem, he useth these words; venture. But this is infaflibly true, that shi-Gen. 4. 16. Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountain maar lyeth West from the place where the East-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: Ark of Noah refted, after the Floud; and Gen.12. 8. having Bethel on the West-fide, and Har on the therefore it first found ground in the East, East and afterward in the ninth Verse of the from whence came the first knowledges all fame Chapter, it is written; and Abraham things. The East parts were first civil,

and directly East from Shinaar in the same ground and lived thereon. Placuit vero Nodegree of 35, are the greatest Grapes, and acho agricultura studium, in qua tractanda the best Wine. The great Armies also ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur : ob eamwhich overtopped in number those Millions que rem sua insua is lingua Ish-Adamath (boc est) of Semiramis, prove, that those parts were telluris vir appellatur celebratusque est, The stinof semiranis, proces that the pattern of the Planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficions that the learned man Arias Montanis' in the on hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my felf I build on his words, who knowledg and order of which it is faid that in plain terms hath told us, That the Sons of Noah excelled all men: and therefore was he Noab came out of the East into Shinaar, and called in his own language, a man exercised in there they abode. And therefore did the the earth. Which also sheweth, that he was Ark rest on those Eastern Mountains, called by one general name Taurus, and by Moses self with the contentions beginning again in the Mountains of Ararat, and not on those the World, and among men, but stayed in his Mountains of the North-welt, as Berofus first destined places, and in that part of the World feigned, whom most part of the Writers have where he was first delivered out of the Prifollowed therein. It was, I fay, in the plen- fon of the Ark, whereinto God had committiful warm East where Noah rested, where ted him, to preserve him and mankind.

which had Noah himself for an instructor: the planted the Vine, where he tilled the no wanderer; and that he troubled not him-

# CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Flould; and of the Sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, by whom the Earth was re-peopled.

# 5. I. Whether Shem and Ham were elder then Japhet.

Ang. de Civa. Dei. 1. 16. c. 3. youngest: and herein the opinions of Writeriare divers. But this we find every where in the Scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was never any respect given to the eldestinyears, but in virtue; as by the exam- the first of his three Sons, shem, Ham, and ples of Henoch, Abraham, Jacob, and David, Japhet : and in the fix hundreth year (to wit) 6th, 111 is made manifest. In a few words, this is the the hundreth year following, came the geground of the controverse; The Latine neral Floud; two years after which, Shein Translation, and so the Genera, hath converbegat Arphaxad, which was in the year 602. ted this Scripture of Genefis the 10. v. 21. in of Noah's life, and in the year of shem this these words: Unto Shem also the Father of all one hundred : so as shem was but an hunthe Sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born. But Junius, agreeing with the septuagint, placeth the same words in years old; and therefore were shem the elthis manner: To Shem also the Father of all der, he had then been an hundred years old the sons of Heber, and brother of Japhet the at, the Floud, and in the fix hundreth year eldest son, were children born : So the transpolition of the word (elder) made this dif- Which feeing the Scriptures before remem- 600.9. ference. For if the word (elder) had follow- | bred hath denied him, and that it is also 34 ed after Japhet, as it is in the vulgar Trallation placed before it, then had it been as plain for Japhet, as it is by these Translations him (to mit) Ham; of necessity the first place for shem. Now (the matter being otherwise doth belong to Japhet. This journey son, the indifferent) feeing Gods bleffings are not converted by the Vulgar and Geneva, Juni-

F these Sons of Noah, Which was tyed to first and last in bloud, but to the elthe eldest, there is a question dest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger made. St. Augufine efteemed for Jupher then for shem. And where the shem for the eldest, Ham for the Scriptures are plainly understood without dred years old, two years after the Floud: and Noah begat his first born being 500. of Noah's life, and not two years after. written: Then Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto but St. Chrysoftom takes it otherwise, and finds Cham to be the middle or fecond brother, and Japket the youngest son of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakedness he derided) was dif-inherited, and lost the preeminency of his birth, as Esau and Ruben did. Pererius conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of shem the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that shem himself was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of Genesis. Shem is accounted before Japhet, in the fecond Verse Moses leaveth to begin with the iffue by shem, and reciteth the children of Japhet first. So the first place was given to for this weighty respect, that the Hebrew Nation, Abraham, the Prophets, David, and Christ our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar Pagninus, and the Geneva, who agree in this conversion, Shem Frater Japher major; riss, Shem Frater Japhet ille magnus: inferring that shem was the great and famous brother of Japhet, let the Reader judg. But for ought that I have feen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that Japhet was the eldest. For where Pererius qualifieth the ftrength of the former argument, That Shem's age at the time of the Floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures took no account of smaller numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any fuch neglect at all: for it is written, that Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Argat Ebar, four bundred and three years, &c. so as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterward of two years, were always precifely accounted.

The first Book of the first Part

#### 6. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be pre-sumed, touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to Moles: that the World was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages mere of the iffue of Ham.

But let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly un-

us turns it filius minimus, His joungest son; derstood, we shall find that many Nations Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the sons and issues of Noah were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the story of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquity of the Books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledg of men, Shem for his election and benediction, and the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth Eusebius in the Prowme of his Chronology; Mofes is found more antient than all those whom the Grecians make most antient, as Homer, Hefiod, and the Trojan War; and or with the Septuagint, Junius and Tremelius, far before Hercules, Museus, Linus, Chiron, Shem Fratris Japhet majoris; or with Perechus, Mercurius, and Apollo, and the reft of the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinity.

For of the three Jupiters remembred by Cicero, the antientest was the son of Æther ciewie whole three fons begotten on Proferpina, were ram. 1.1. born at Athens, of which Cecrops was the first King: and in the end of Cecrops time did Moses bring the children of Israel out of Egypt: Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Egypto novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis Regis; Moses phaxad two years after the floud; and again brought the children of Igrael out of Egypt in in the 12. Verle: so Shela lived after be be- the last days of Cecrops King of the Athenians, faith S. Angustine: and yet was not Ge period crops the Founder of that City it self, but The Dil L. I. few long after him. But because the truth . 13. hereof is diverfly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut afunder the purpose in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The Sons of Riphath,
Gomer were, Togorma. Gomer. Magog, Madai. Javan, of 7a- Tubal, phet The Sons of ) Tarfhis. Meshach (Javan were, ) Kittim, and and (Dodonim. Tirm. Firft, nation, neither had the Children of Noah at Ur; and from thence (called by God) wings to fly from shinaar to the uttermost he rested at Charran in Mesopotamia: from border of Europe, Africa, and Asia, in haste, but that these Children were directed by a wife Father, who knew those parts of the World before the Floud, to which he difposed his children after it, and sent them not as discoverers, or at all-adventure, but affigned and allotted to every Son and their issues, fabulous Authours, who have no other end into Affria, and founded Ninevels. Indeed, in the fiction of *Eneas*) or else to glorifie know) were in that Age in the issues of *Hams*; their own nations 3 Let us build herein upon the bleffing of God given by Noah to Shem the Scriptures themselves, and after them, upon Reason and Nature. First therefore we of face the Earth every where had in the appointed. For of Chas, Mizraim, and Cana-130. year after the great Inundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our Egypt for many Descents together. felves thereby, what wonderful Defarts, what impassable fastness of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten grass; what lakes and standing pools, and what marishes, sens, & bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was pestered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresieth all vegetative 'and" growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, these our grounds cording to the nature thereof) either with among whom the files of the Gentiles were

of the History of the World.

controlement. This being confidered, it will appear, that all these people which came into shinaar, and over whom Nimrod, either by order or ftrength, took the Dominion, did, after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselves into the Regions adjoyning to the faid Valley of Shinaar, which contained the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Challea; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, some of them towards the South others towards the West lotted to shem many Regions, both East tick Sea, with that of Glaciale, to the North, and North. And although there were aland Welt from shinaar, with the Dominion North-east, and North-west. Besides, it of Paleffina, which the Canaanites first pos- hath about it all the Cyclades, or Isles lying left; yet could be not enjoy the Lot of his between Greece and the lefter Afia, and the Inheritance on the sudden, but by time and Isles of Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, or Candia, Si-

First, we are to consider, that the World | degrees. For we find that Abraham, the after the Floud was not planted by imagi-true fuccessour of shem, dwelt in Chaldea, led to Sichem in Palestina: and yet there had palled between Shem and Abraham (reckoning neither of themselves) seven Dcicents, before Abraham moved out of Chaldea; where, and in Babylonia, all those people, by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence Nimrod went out years were confumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was the great Kingdoms of Babylonia, Syria, and

#### 6. III.

of the Isles of the Gentiles in Japhets Portion : of Berofus his too speedy seating Gomer the son of Japhet in Italy; and another of Japhets Sons, Tubal in Spain: and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.

O begin therefore (where Moses beginneth) with the Sons of Japheth, woods, or with other offensive thickets and divided: which division, as well to Japhets bulluments:much more did all forts of platts, Sons, as to the rest which came into Shinaar, reeds, and trees, prosper in the most truitfull was (if the division were made at Phalegs Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and birth) in the year of the World 1757. or warm Summer, and having withall, the start 1758, and (by that account) in the years of 130 years to raise themselves without after the Floud one hundred and one; of

The habitations proper to the Sons of Jahet were the Isles of the Gentiles, which include all Europe, with all the Isles adjoyning, and compaffing it about: Europe being also taken for an Island, both in respect that the Sea Hellespont and Egeum, Bosphorus, and Euxinus cut it off from the great Continent of Alia, as also because Europe it self is (in effect) furrounded with water, faving that it is fastned to Afia by the North; for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the Mediterrane to the South and South-west, the Ocean to the West, and Brittish, Germane, and Balfinds Cham to be the middle or second brother, and Japket the youngest son of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakedness he derided) was dif-inherited, and lost the preeminency of his birth, as Esau and Ruben did. Pererius conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of shem the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that shem himself was always for this weighty respect, that the Hebrew Nation. Abraham, the Prophets, David, and Christ our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulit appeareth tome that Japhet was the eld- in the top and highest Turret of their Divinity. est. For where Pererius qualifieth the strength of the former argument, That Shem's were always precisely accounted.

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6. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the World; as that all Histories must yield to Moses: that the World was not planted all The at once, nor without great direction: and that known great Lords of the first Ages mere of the iffue of Ham.

DUt let us go unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly un-

us turns it filius minimus, His youngest son; derstood, we shall find that many Nations but St. Chrysoftom takes it otherwise, and have supposed or seigned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never saw or approched the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the Scriptures how the fons and iffues of Noah were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so far as the story of Nanamed in the first place; yet whereas in the tions is therein handled, we must know. first Verse of the tenth Chapter of Genesis, that both the truth and antiquity of the shem is accounted before Japhes, in the fe- Books of God find no companions equal, eicond Verse Moses leaveth to begin with the ther in age or authority. All record, memoiffue by Shem, and reciteth the children of ry, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever. Japhet first. So the first place was given to which hath come to the knowledg of men, Shem for his election and benediction, and the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which, thus writeth Eusebius in the Prowne of his Chronology: Moses is found more antient than all gar Pagninus, and the Geneva, who agree in those whom the Grecians make most antient, as this conversion, Shem Frater Japher major; Homer, Hesiod, and the Trojan War; and or with the septuagint, Junius and Tremelius, far before Hercules, Museus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bactius, Shem Frater Japhet ille magnus: inferring that shem was the great and famous the Gods of the Nations, their Ceremonies, or brother of Japhet, let the Reader judg. But holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the for ought that I have feen to the contrary, deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have feated

For of the three Jupiters remembred by Cicero, the antientest was the son of Ether circula. Itrength of the former argument, a nat snems street, the ancenter was the reference whose three sons begotten on Prosepina, were with name of the Floud did not agree whose three sons begotten on Prosepina, were name, is with the eldership (with a supposition that born at Athens, of which Cecrops was the first the Scriptures took no account of smaller King: and in the end of Cecrops time did numbers) I do not find in the Scriptures any Moses bring the children of Israel out of Egypt: fuch neglect at all : for it is written, that Eduxit Moles populum Dei ex Egypto novilli-Shem was an hundred years old, and begat Ar- mo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis Regis: Moses phaxad two years after the floud; and again brought the children of Ifrael out of Egypt in in the 12. Verle: So Shela lived after he be- the last days of Cecrops King of the Athenigat Ebar, four hundred and three years, &c. ans, faith S. Augustine: and yet was not Co petitile To as the number of two years, of three years, crops the Founder of that City it felf, but The Dallit. of five years, and afterward of two years, Jews long after him. But because the truth . 13. hereof is diverfly proved, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut afunder the purpose in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The Sons of Riphath, Gomer, Gomer were, Togorma. Madai. Sons Tavan. of 7a-Tubal, Mefhach, The Sons of Tarfhis. phet (Javan were, ) Kittim, and and (Dodonim. First. CHAP. VIII. nation, neither had the Children of Noah at Ur; and from thence (called by God) wings to fly from Shinaar to the uttermost he rested at Charran in Melopotamia: from wings to my nome annual to the different in territory and a contrain in responsibility to the border of Europe, Africa, and Africa, in hafte, whence after the death of Thare he travelbut that these Children were directed by a led to Sichem in Palestina: and yet there wife Father, who knew those parts of the had passed between shem and Abraham posed his children after it, and sent them not seems, before Abraham moved out of Chalas discoverers, or at all-adventure, but affigned and allotted to every Son and their iffues, ple, by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authours, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as Virgil did Augustus in the fiction of Eneas) or else to glorifie their own nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themselves, and after them, upon Reason and Nature. First therefore we must call to mind, and consider, what manner of face the Earth every where had in the 130. year after the great Inundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest Valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform our felves thereby, what wonderful Defarts, what impassiable fastness of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten grass; what lakes and standing pools, and what marishes, sens, & bogs, all the face of the Earth (excepting the Mountains) was pestered withall. For, if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresent all vegetative and growing Nature, for one half of the year in effect) yet in twenty or thirty years, these our grounds would all over-grow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with woods, or with other offensive thickets and bushments:much more did all forts of plants, reeds, and trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Valleys, and in the Climate of a long and warm Summer, and having withall, the start of 130. years to raise themselves without

controlement. This being confidered, it will appear, that all these people which came into shinaar, and over whom Nimrod, either by order or firength, took the Dominion, did, after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselves into the Regions adjoyning to the faid Valley of Shinaar, which contained the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and chaldea; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, some of them and North. And although there were all to the West, and British, Germane, and Baltowards the South others towards the West lotted to shem many Regions; both East tick Sea, with that of Glaciale to the North, and West from shimair, with the Dominion North-east, and North-west. Besides, it left; yet could he not enjoy the Lot of his between Greece and the lefter Afia, and the line in the fudden, but by time and lifes of Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, or Candia, Siof Palestina, which the Canaanites first pof-

First, we are to consider, that the World | degrees. For we find that Abraham, the after the Floud was not planted by imagiinto Afyria, and founded Nineveh. Indeed, the great Masters of Nations (as far as we can know) were in that Age in the issues of Ham; the bleffing of God given by Noah to Shem and Japhet taking less effect, untill divers years were confumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wisdom of God was appointed. For of Chas, Mizraim, and Canaan, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdoms of Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt for many Descents together.

#### s. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in Japhets Portion: of Berofus his too speedy seating Gomer the son of Japhet in Italy; and another of Japhets Sons, Tubal in Spain: and of the Antiquity of Longinque Navigation.

O begin therefore (where Moses beginneth) with the Sons of Japheth, among whom the Isles of the Gentiles were divided: which division, as well to Japhets Sons, as to the rest which came into Shinaar, was (if the division were made at Phalegs birth) in the year of the World 1757. or 1758 and (by that account) in the years after the Floud one hundred and one; of which question else-where.

The habitations proper to the Sons of Japhet were the Isles of the Gentiles, which include all Europe, with all the Isles adjoyning, and compatting it about: Europe being also taken for an Island, both in respect that the Sea Hellespont and Ageum, Bosphorus, and Euxinus cut it offfrom the great Continent of Asa, as also because Europe it self is (in effect) furrounded with water, faving that it is fastned to Afia by the North; for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the Mediterrane to the South and South-west, the Ocean hath about it all the Cyclades, or Isles lying

the part which he held in Asia, and the North, work. They also began this building upon a which was also very great, answereth to ground, the most oppressed with waters of Gen 9. 17. that bleffing of God by Noah Dilatet Deus Ja- all the world: as by the great ruine which photh; Let God spread abroad (or increase the these waters forcibly over-bearing and over-Posterity of ) Tapheth, and let him dwell in the flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Tents of Shem. For though Junius here useth Emperours, is made manifest; approved also the word alliciat, and not dilatet: and the by the Prophet Icremic, speaking of Babylon Geneva, persuadeat; yet the Septuagint have in these words: Thou that dwellest upon many dilatet, or amplificet; and such was the blef- maters. It cannot be doubted but that there fing given to our Fathers, which God pro-needed a substantial foundation for so high miled to Abraham and his feed for ever. And a raised building on a marish ground: and to the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of which Glycas upon Genesis giveth fourty Shem was a bleffing by God to the Posterity years. For it seemeth that the Tower was of Tapheth: noting not onely an enlargement | near finished when God overthrew it: it beof Territories, but that thereby they should ing afterward written; So the Lord scattered be made participant of Gods Church. But to them from thence upon all the Earth, and they come to Taphets Sons, of whom Gomer is the left to build the city. Out of which place it cldest. This Gomer (if we may believe Bero- | may be gathered (because the Tower is not fus and Annius, whose authority the greatest then named) that they very near had pernumber of all our late Writers have followed) did in the tenth year of Nimrods Reign. depart from Babylonia, Explanted Italy: which they went on with the City adjoyning, also Functius confirmeth in these words. An-

and in the twelfth year of the same Nimrods selves: for from thence the Lord scattered 140. and in the 142. years after the Floud, according to Berofus. But this opinion is very World, (wanting all instruments and materidiculous: For before the confusion of rials) could be performed in ten years; and Tongues, the Children of Noah did not feparate themselves, at least so many of them as came with Nimrod into Shinaar. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the light believers, that neither tye themselves building of fuch a City and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor for I do not. And if the Ark of Noah was any ready means to perform such a work as 100. years in building, or but near such a Nimrod had erected (and as Functions himself time, (and then) when the World had stood out of his Authour Berofus witnesseth) ad altitudinem & magnitudinem Montium; To the and madness it self, to think that such a work height and magnitude of the Mountains. Sure as this could be performed in ten; when the that both this City and Tower was almost World (from the Floud to the arrival at builded, the Scriptures witness: but the Lord Babel, and beginning of this building there) came down to fee the City and Tower which the had but 131. years, and whereof they had Sons of men had builded. Let us then but frent fome part in travelling from the East. Brick to fuch a Work, of the greatest heighth in the building of the Temple of Diana, and (and therefore of circuit and foundation an- vet they confumed in that Work 400; years fwerable) that ever was. For where the uni- (or be it but half that time) and in figh an verfal Floud covered the highest Mountains Age as when the World flourished, in all fifteen Cubits; Let us build us a City and Tomer forts of Artificers, and with abundant plenty (faith Nimrod) whose top may reach unto the of materials and carriages: This Work of Heaven: meaning, that they would raise the Tower of Babel could hardly (with all their work above lifteen Cubits higher than the former wants supposed) be erected in

cilia, Corsica, Sardinia, Malta, the Isles of the highest Mountain, otherwise they could Brittanie, and Zeland, with their young ones not assure themselves from the fear of a sedjacent.

Cond Inundation: a great part whereof was finispartition and portion of Japheth, with

inspect of the partition and before they left the formed the work of their supposed defence. which was the Tower: and that afterward wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted. no decimo Nimrodi, &c. In the tenth year of that till fuch time as this confusion seized Nimrods Reign, Gomerus Gallus planted a them (whereupon the Tower was thrown Colony in that Land afterward called Italy: down) these Nations did not disperse them-Reign, Tubal scated himself in Austuria in them upon all the Earth, (that was) when they Spain (now called Biscay) which was in the perceived not one anothers speech. Now, to ea. 11. think that this work, in the newness of the that Tubal and Gomerin the same year could creep through 2000 miles of Defart, with Women, Children, and Cattel: Let those to the Scripture, nor to reason, approve it. 1556. years; it were more than foolishness, allot a time fufficient for the making of Again, if all Asia set to their helping hands pliny.

themselves how impossible it was for a Na- and their own Shepherds and Herdsmen. tion or Family of men, with their Wives, and Now, if Tubal had palt by Sea from any part-Children, and Cattel, totravel 3000. miles of Palastina, Syria, or Silicia, he might have through Woods, Bogs, and Defarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a work of 100. years than of 100. days. For in the West Indies, of which the spaniards have the experience, in those la and Portugal, with all those goodly Ports places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten years. And if Nimrods people fpent many years by the account before remembred in passing from the East India, or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. degrees of Longitude, untill they came into Shinaar, which lieth in 79. degrees (the distance between those places containing 36. degrees, which makes 720. leagues, which is 2160 miles) and did all the way keep the Mountains and hard ground; then the difference between Babylon and Biscay is much more: for the body of Biscay lyeth in ten degrees, and Babylon, or Shivaar, (as aforefaid) in 79. fo the length of way from shinaar to Austuria, or Biscay, is 69. degrees, which make 1380. leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if Nimrod took divers years to find shimaar, which was but 2160 miles: or (fuppofing that the Ark refted in Armenia) little above 400 miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many years to Gomer and Tubal to travel 3000, miles, to Countries less known unto them by far, than the Land of Shinaar was to Nimrod. For Paradife was known to Noah before the Floud and so was the Region of Eden by Moses afterward remembred; but what he underftood of most part of the world else it is unknown. And therefore did Annius ill advise the Carthaginians afterwards to have himself to plant Gomer in Italy, and Tubal in brought them to four Banks: the Quinque Spain, in the tenth and twelfth of Nimrods Remi first to have been used by Nesichthon Reign: shall the Earth be brought forth in one the Salaminian, with which Veffels, in those day, or (hall a Nation be born at once? But it may be objected, that the Sons of Japheth might come by Sea, and so save this great travel through Defarts by Land. But we never read of any Navigation in those days, nor frantly cast the devising of these Gallies on long after. Surely, he that knoweth what it sefofrie, though Semiramis used them in the is to imbarque so great a People, as we may justly suppose those Conductors carried with time. So it is said, that Danaus was the first eap, 56. them, will not eafily believe that there were any Veffels in those days to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattel, by whose milk they lived, and fed their children: For milk and fruit were the banquetting diffies the Corinthians. And fo ignorant were the of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldeft times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations va-

those few years remembred. And for con- of their Cattel: who had Flocks of Sheep, clusion, let all men of judgment weigh with and great Droves and Herds of their own, made good choice within the Streights, and not have overgone Granado, Valentia, and other Provinces in that Tract; past the Streights of Gibralter; disdained all Andahiand Countreys; and have fought out the Iron, Woody, and barren Countrey of the

World (called Biscay) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the Argonauta, there were scarce any Veffels that durst cross the Seas in that part of the World: and yet that which Jason had (if the tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poor one (God knows) and perchance, fuch as they use this day in Ireland: which although it carried but four and fifty paffengers, yet it was far greater than any of the former times: Erat enim antea parvarum na- Diod. Sivicularumuss: For in former times they used cul. 1.4 c very friall veffels. I deny not but that the 4 folis. Tyrians gave themselves of old to far-off Na-

vigations, whence Tiballus ascribed the invention of Ships to them: Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros. Tyrus knew first how Ships might; use leg. 7. the Wind.

And for those Boats called Longe naves. or Gallies, Pliny faith, that Egefias alcribeth nied Sithe device to Paralus: and Philostephanus to cut. 1. 1. Jason: Ctessas, to Samyras; and Saphanus, to Plin. L. . Semiramis: Archimachus, to Ageon: to which invention the Erythrai are faid to have added certain numbers of Oars: and then Ami- Thurid. nocles the Corinthian to have increased them: parts of the World, the Romans ferved themselves in the Punick War. But these be, perhaps, but the partialities of Writers, or

their ignorance. For there are that as conpassage of her Army over Indus in Abrahams Plin. 1. 7. brought a Ship into Greece; and yet the Sa- prap. Emothracians challenge the invention: and vang. c. 1; yet Tertullian (on the contrary) gives it to Tert.de Co-Minerva: others, to Neptune; Thucydides, to ron mil. people of those Ages, as the Egyptians used to coast the shores of the Red-Sea upon rass, lued themselves by the Herds and numbers devised by King Erythrus and in the time of

(with which they crost the Seas) made of which also hath been and is received; yet I small twigs, and covered over with leather: hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether of which kind I have seen at the Dingle in from them in many particulars. Certainly, of which Lucan the Poet:

Primum cana salix, madefacta vimine parvam Texitur in puppim, casoque induta juvenco, Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem. Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus Navigat Oceano.

The moistned Ofver of the hoary Willow Is woven first into a little Boat: (billow Then cloath'd in Bullocks hide, upon the Of a proud River, lightly doth it float Under the Waterman: So on the Lakes of over-fwelling Poe Sails the Venetian : and the Britain fo On th'out-spread Ocean.

And although it cannot be denied, when Noah, by Gods inspiration, was instructed in fo many particulars concerning the Ark, that then many things concerning Navigation were first revealed; yet it appears that there was much difference between the Ark of Noah, and fuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst preperfection, such Voyages are very troubleiome and dangerous. So as it doth appear, that there was not in that Age of Nimrod any Ship, or use of Ships, fit for any long navigation. For, if Gomer and Tubal had passed themfelves and their people by Sea; the exercise of Navigation would not have been dead for fo many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast bability, nor possibility.

6. IV.

Of Gog and Magog, Tubal, and Meshech, seated first about Asia the Less; out of Ezechiel,

rend men have formed (I know not the Magogians, or Calofyrians, next border-

the Romans, the Britans had a kind of Boat | whereby led) a Plantation of the World, Ireland, and else-where. Naves ex corio cir- that great Learned man of this latter Age, cumsuta in Oceano Britannico (saith Textor:) Arias Montanus, was also in some things much mistaken: and for Josephus, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; so was he in the Plantation of the World very groß and fabulous; whereby both Eufebius, Hierosolymitamus, Epiphanius, and others, that have taken his testimonies for currant, have been by him far mis-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World Gomer the Son of Japheth possest, as also Tubal, it is needfull to begin with Magog: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of Gog and Magog: which two names have troubled many Commentators, faith Matth. Beroaldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this Plantation. He takes authority from the Prophet Ezechiel chiefly, who in the 28, and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, together with the Magogians: of which Gog was Prince, or chief Conductor in their Attempts against Israel. For besides the portions of Europe, and the North-east parts of fume upon any long voyages to Sea, at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattelas also common reason can tell us, that even now, when this Art is come to her (whom Executed Fresh of Sea, which Japheth Illues posterior and Cattelas also common reason can tell us, and that those of the lilue of Japheth that even now, when this Art is come to her (whom Executed Fresh of Sea, Were feated hereabout, it may best appear, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependency upon the former Prophecie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter Exe, the 15. chief prophelieth of the uniting of the two v. 19. Kingdoms of Ifrael and Juda, after their delivery from Captivity.

By which Prophecie of Ezechiel, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to Nations into Countrys far off, I know not rule them by one Prince. For to that purhow, I will follow herein the Relation of pole it is written; and David my Servant Moses and the Prophets: to which Truth shall be King over them, and they shall have one there is joyned both Nature, Reason, Policie, sheepherd, (that is) they shall be united as and Necessity: and to the rest, neither pro-38. Chapter; Exechiel prophelieth against those Nations, which should leek to impeach this Union, and diffurb the people of Ifrael, whom God purpoled to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the Ifraelites after their return, and fought to fubject them: all which TOw, although many learned and reverence the Subjects or Allies of Geg, Prince of rend men have formed (1 beau and 1 beau

lefs, which lay North from Judea. The name of a Man: others, of a Region: others; leis, which lay Forth from Junual Inc. In anneol a Mation inhabiting a Region, as Junus; thy face against Gog, and against the Land of who sayes that Gog is the name of a Nation; Magog, the chief Princes of Methech (or Mo-denominated from him whom the Greeks (och) and Tubal: and afterward; Behold, I Stories call Giges: who informer time havcome against the chief Prince of Methech and ing slain Candantes the Lydian gave his own Tubal: and in the fixth Verle; Gomer and name to that Nation, thence after called all his Bands, and the House of Togorma of Gygades: and thereof also the Gygean Lake; the North quarters. Herein Ezechiel having which Lake Strabo also findeth in Lydia (of 13. first delivered the purpose of his Prophecie, which Gyges was King) fortie Furlongs from teacheth what Nations they were that should Sardis. Plinie calleth it Green fragrum in vanity affayl Masl. He joyneth them Herodotus and Nicahder fet it about the Ritogether under their Prince Gog, and Theweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of Juda, and how feated and joyned together. Gog fignifieth in the Hebrew (faith Saint Hierom ) tellum or covering of a (laith Saint Hierom) tectum or covering of a laiver thousand which runned into the treatbouse: and Fintus upon Excelvie affirmeth, flowth, called the Promotivery Trapse after his own name Gigon: These Opinions do also own name Gigon: These Opinions do also own name Gigon: These Opinions do also own name Gigon: These Opinions of all own of the original beath of Junior. For soil cell the part of Asia the less, which Hisbarrer obtained, and after him his covering of the Devil under humane from. to addeth, that Magog is as much to layars Son Creffic Who (as Jurish) further notes) Exch. 18: Gog: the Letter (M) being an Hebrem Prepolition, and importeth as much as of, or, from: fo he taketh Magog for those people ty Gigaria or Gogkarta (which in the Sirian which follow Antichrift. So far Pintus Fat fignifieth the City of Gog ) feated in Calofyria least in this not amily, that he expoundeth whose People were the ancient Enemies of Magog not for any one person; but for a Nat the Temperal The whom a still make the tion: with which agreeth this observation of Beroaldus, Magog (faith he) in Hebrew is written Ham-Magog, which sheweth Magog to be a Region or Nation : for the Letter (He) which is used but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrews call Heliajedia) is never added to polis; but of the Syrians Magog. He further proper names of men; but often to place, telleth us that the montrous ldo! Hergalis, So as Gog was Prince of that Nation (called called by the Greek Derceto; was here woreither Magog, or, according to others the thipped. Lucian makes mention hereof, faypeople of Gog) also Prince of Mellich (or Moloch) and of Tubal: as by the first Verle of the 29. Chapter is made manifest : Behold, I come against thee Gog the chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal. This must needs be meant by the Successors of selencus Nicanor; who

did not (as other conquering Nations) feek

to make the Jews their Tributaries only, but

indeavoured by all means, and by all kind

of violence, to extinguish the Religion it

ing Palastina, or the holy Land, followed the Turks from the Scythians, esteemed Maalso by the rest of the Nations of Asia the gogians of Gog. Many take Gog for the proper vers of Hillus, and Menunder ; but the difference is not great: Marins Niger maketh mention of this Gyger King of Lydia: who, after he had filbdued the Country about the Rever Rhodin which runneth into the Hellehaving maftered all thole Regions as farr South as Libann, in that Border built the Ci-Now that Magoe is found in Caloffria,

Pliny affirmeth faying ; Coelofyria habet Bambycen, que alio nomme Hierapolis vocatur: spris vert, Magog; Cololyria hath thir Bams byce, which in another name is called Hieroing, That the City had anciently another name, which he yet expresent not storbearing perhaps, the word Magog, as founding nothing elegantly in the Greek. But if we may believe Strabo, then was Edeffa in Mejopora- Suab Lie. mia, the fame Bambyce or Hierapolis, where the fame Idol was worshipped. Orteliar is doubtfull whether one of these Authors did not miltake the place of this Bambyce or Hierapolis. It may well enough be that the fame felf (which the Hebrews profess d) and the name and Religion was common to them both. Certain it is that both of them lay due acknowledging of one true God: and to North from Palastina, and were both subject force them to worship and serve the mortal unto the Kings of the Race of selencus Now, and rotten gods of the Heathen of which nothing remained but the very name; and I do nor condemn the Opinion of Hermolaus dead Images. S. Ambrofe and Infore take Gog Barbarus following Joephur, but grant that, for the Nation of the Gathy: belike, because perhaps. Magog might also be the Father of they invaded Europe; and lacked Rome, and the southland; notwithstanding that in this many other places and cities thereabour place, where Gog is made Prince of Magog; Hermolaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela derives the Nations of Calofyria, and the North parts

CHAP. VIII.

adjoyning be meant by Magog: for by a lat- | ing, that they were antiently called Thobelos. better part of Asia the less, and possest Calo-(gria, where they built both Scythopolis and that to this Magog Ezechiel had reference, it is very plain : for this City Hierapolis or Magog standeth due North from Judaa, according to the words of Ezechiel, that from the North-quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infelted

the Ifraelites were the Ptolemies. Kings of Egypt: so those of the North were the Kings of Alia and Syria, the Successors of seleucus, the Successors of Alexander Macedon, Gulielmus Tyrius thinks that this Hierapolis is that Rages, mentioned in the Story of Tobias. Pling takes it not onely to have been called Bambyce, as we have faid, but also Edesia: not that by Euphrates; but another of the same name: now, the known name is Aleppo : for fo Bellonius expounds this Hierapolis, or Magog. This City had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred City, (for fo the word Hierapelis fignifieth) yet was it a place of most detested idolatry, and wherein was worthipped the Idol of the to Pliny, which the Greeks call Derceto,

the third Verse of the thirty eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together Gog, Meshech and Tubal; and withal remember that Hierapolis was the City of Magog, which also is his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) fafely conclude, that thefe Followers and Vaffals of Gog (which were Northern Nations in respect of Judga) were not the Gomerians of France, nor the Tubalines of Spain, but a people of the leffer Afia, and Cologria: and therefore that the opinions of Berofus, Josephus, and whosoever else hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if Josephus refer himself to latter times, and think that fome Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia pass into Spain (to wit) from that piece of Land between Colchis (or Mengrelia) and Albania, is his judgment of better allowance. For from thence in after-Ages into Spain.

ter Plantation from these parts they might as of Tubal; from whence (faith Justine) they be propagated into scrthia. Yet it is not to passed into Spain to search out the mines of that be denied, that the Scythians in old times Region: having belike understood that it coming out of the North-east, wasted the was a Southerly Country, and Mountainous, For it seemeth that the Tubalines called Chalybes, lived altogether by the exchange of Hierapolis, which the Syrians call Magog. And Iron, and other Metals, as Apollonius witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the Argonautes did visit them:

Hac gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro. Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis: Mercibus hac mutat, que vita alimenta ministrant.

The Calpber plough not their barren foil, But underwine high Hills for Iron Veins: Changing the diffichase of their endless

For Merchandize, which their poor lives fuftains.

But it is more probable, that Spain was first peopled by the Africans, who had ever fince an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the Carthaginians of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the streights into that Countrey: and after by the Moors who held Granado, Mermaid Atergates, or Atergitie, according and the South parts, eight hundred years, till the time of Ferdinand and IJabel. And either If then we confer the words of Ezechiel in of these opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfth year of Nimrods Reign. Inbal past into Spain, and therein built Saint Vual: a poor Town and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find Mofeated directly North from Judea: with Book or Meshech, and Tubal Neighbours, and whom also Exechtel coupleth Gomer, and all Gomer and Togarma not farr off, or else we shall wrong Execbiel: for he called Gog the Leader or Prince of Meshech and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togarma their affiftants. And that Melhech inhabited Afia; Functions (though he followed Berefus) confesieth for these be his words: Mesacus, qui d Mose Mesech, priscos Mesios ab Adula vionte usque ad Ponticam regionem positio beoregio posteà Cappadocia ditta eft, in qua wibs Mazica, &c. bac eft terra Magog principalis; Melacus, whom Moses calleth Mesech, placed the ancient Mehans from the Mount Adulas, unto the Coafis of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Town Ma-(most part possessed by the Georgians) then zica, &c. this is the principal Countrey of Magog. And this doth Annius also avow, and without any repugnancy of opinions, it may vet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mebe granted, that in process of time these peo | sech and Tubal; and therefore that the one ple might from their first habitation, pass in- was a Nation of spaniards, the other of Capto the Countries neer the Euxine Sea, and padecians is very ridiculous; spain lying directly West, and not North from Judea. Al-Josephus makes mention of the Iberi, fay- to Ezechiel in the 27. Chapter, where he proMesech and Tubal jointly. And for a final proof, that these Nations were of a Northern Neighbour Land (how far soever stretched) Exechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsmen. Thou, and much people with thee all hall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude, and a mighty. Then, if any man believe that leated, in Asia, because in late Ages they these troups came out of spain over the Pyrenes, and first passed over a part of France; Italy, Hungary, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued again about the Helleftont, or else compassed all Pontus, and Engines, to come into the leffer Affa, which is half the length or compals of the then known World; he may be called a ftrong Believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary, it is known that Selenck was a Province heighbouring Palastina or Judea, and that Hierapolit (or Magog) joyned unto it whose Princes commanded all syria, and Afia the less. (namely the seleucida) and heldit, til scipio Afations overthrew Antiochus the Great: after which yet they possest spring till the time of Tigranes: and whether Melbech be in Cappadocia, or under Iberia, yet is it of the Tu-

balines, and one and the same Dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be faid. First, he feated himself with Togarma, not, fart from Magog and Tabal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward he proceeded further into Alia the less; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all Germany, rested long in France and Brittany, and possessed the utmost borders of the Earth, accomplishing (as Melantihon well notes) the fignification of on which Annius hath of Noah himself; an their Parents name, which is Otmost bardering. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded upon the Nations occupying the Countreys, through which they had formerly passed oppreiling first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy Restorer of our Antiquities, M. William Cambden hath noted) that they were called Cimbri, which in their old Language doth fignifie Robbers; necessity inforcing them to spoil their Neighbours, to whom in their original, they were as near joyned, as afterwards in the feats which they possessed. For that the Warlike Nations of Germany were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the Caules, the authority of Camer have fo demonstratively proved that far affirming it is proof sufficient. But in Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, prifes not here to be spoken of ) they were | cated to Annochus the Successor of selencus !

phecieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth | drawn at length into Afa the less, and occupied those parts, which had formerly been held by their Progenitours. I say not that they claimed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own Pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old returned thither; unless he will think, that all those Nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the Land of shinaar, may by that Argument be proved not to have illued from thence at the first.

Now, concerning Samothes, for his excellent wifdoin, firnamed Dis, whom Annius makes the Brother of Gomer and Tubal (which Brother, Moles never heard of, who spake his knowledge of Japheths Sons) they mult find him in fome old Poet: For Fundins, a great Berosian, confesseth: Quis hic Sa- In Chron. mothes fuerit incertum eft; Who this Samothes was, it is uncertain; neither is there any color. prioof that he was that fame Dis, whom Cafar comment. fairh the Gaules Suppose to be their Ancestor; i. chron. yea, and Vignier confesseth with Functius: May hon ne scayt qui il estoit; No man knows who he was.

#### š. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus his Fiction, That the Italian Janus was Noah.

Dile before I go on with Noah his Sons. I Think it is necessary to disprove the Fictiinvention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as he hath wrested) by those Authors of whom himself hath Commented: as the Fragment of Berofus, Fabius, Pictor, in by the great Ocean, then did they return Cato, Lavinius and others. For Annius feeks Ann. de to periwaded us that Nouh (furnamed Janus) Beruf, was the fame which founded Genoa, with Pill, de Other Cities in Haly, wherein he lived 92. Cao de years. This to disprove, by Moses filence, is a origin. fufficient argument to me, if there were no- luft de thing elfe to disprove it. For, if he youch- salt. fafed to remember the building of Babel, Bree, Achad, Chalne and Nineve, by Nimred, Noah was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the authority of that Berofus, on whom Annius groundeth, feeing fo many learned times following, they purfued richer Con- Tatianus the Affirian, in his Oration against quelts, and more easie, though further di- the Greeks, avoweth, that the ancient and frant, by which (to omit their other enter- true Berofus wrote onely three Books dediNicanor: but Annius hath devised five Books, wherewith he honoureth Berofus. And whereas Berofus handled onely the estate of the Chaldeans and Afgrians, Annius hath filled this Fragment with the bufiness of all the World. And if we may believe Eusebins better than Annius, then all the Kings of the and positibility. And if this be not sufficient Latines (before Eneas) confumed but 150. to disprove this vanity, I may out of themyears: whereas no man hath doubted, but felves add thus much: That whereas some that from Noah to Aneas arrival into Italy, of them make Vesta (others Canasana) the there past 1126. (after the least rate of the wife of this Janus; who instituted the holy Hebrew account) and (after Codoman) 1291. Fire of the Veftal Vingins in Rome (the La-For Janus (who was the first of their Kings) tines and Remans taking from Janus all their lived at once with Ruth, who married Booz Idolatrous, and Heathenith Ceremonies.) in the Worlds year (as some reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and Noah died 250. years after the Floud : and fo there paft between Janus of Italy, and Noah furnamed Janus 704 years. For saturnus succeeded ifamus, Picus after Saturnus, Fannus after Picus, or so wicked and unprateful to ser up or deand Latinus followed Fannus: which Latin nus lived at once with Tantanes the 27. King of Afgria; with Pelagus of Pelopounefus; with Demophoon of Athens; and Sampson Judge of Ifrael. Now, all these five Kings of the Latines having confumed but one hundred and fifty years, and the last of them in the time of sampson: then reckoning upwards for one hundred and fifty years, and it reacheth Ruth, with whom Janus lived. True it is, that the Greeks had their Janus;

but this was not Noah: fo had they Ion the Son of Xuthus, the Son of Deucalion, from whom they draw the Iones, who were indeed the children of Javan, the fourth Son of Jaand so the pheth. For the vulgar Translation (where the Hebrem word is Javan) writes Greece, and the Septuagint, Hellas; which is the same. So had they Medus the Son of Medea, whom they make the Parent of the Aledes, though they and (for the plural were descended of a farr more ancient Father (to wit) Madai the third Son of Japheth.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the British Language hath remained among us above 2000. years, and the English Speech ever fince the invalion of the Angles, and the same continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is ftrange, if either Noak (by them called Janus) on: those also, which were of the Race of had left in Italy his Grand-child Gomer after Shem; inhabiting at Ur, or Orchoa, near the him, or Tubal in Spain, that no plain refemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian, (which no time could have quite extinguished ) should have been found in the Languages of those Countreys. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal Planta-Dominion and Empire was then in the hands tions of Janus, Gomer, Tubal, 8cc. In Halp, of Nimrod a Chushite, by whom the children Spain, or France, are meerly fabulous. Let of shem (which came into that Valley and the Italians therefore content themselves stayed not in the East) were for a while op-

with the Grecian Janus which commanded them, and planted them, and who preceded the fall of Troy but 150. years (faith Eufebius) which was in the time of Latinus, the fifth King : which also Saint Augustine and Justine confirm: and this agreeth with reason, time, there is no man fo impious, as to believe that Noah himself (who is said by Moses to hove malked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of ) could be either ignorant of the true and only God. vise any Heathen Salvage or Idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any Ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himfelf.

Capasiere en en ier novemente de la careta antibour, es candivino est en inventiale e

That Gomer allo and his son Togorma of the Posterity of Japlieth, were first seated about Asia the Less: and that from thence they fred Westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.

O turn now to the Sons of Noah, and the Worlds Plantation after the Flond: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them; for when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themfelves into the next Countreys bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colories elsewhere; it was in such manner, as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by River: because the Land was yet Defart, and overprest with Woods; Reeds, Boggs; and rotton Marifies. As when Nimred Ceated in Babylonia, Chish took the South part of Chalden down the River of Gehon, by which he might pass to and fro from Babylon to his own Plantati-Lakes of Chaldaa, might by the same River get up to Babilon, and receive fuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon Gehon Southward, Mofes, in the description of Paradife calleth the Land of abuft . because the CHAP. VIII. prest, till God afterward by the seed of! Abraham made them his own Nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimrod. and fon of Chush, took both Banks of Tygris, especially on the East side of the River: by which River his people might also pass to

and fro to Babel. The Imperial feat of which Region of Havilah or Sufian, was antiently called Chufian or Chufan, afterward sufa, Chufb himfelf took the Banks of Gehon, and planted those Countries West-ward, and Southwest-ward torul. Aje wards Arabia the Stony, and the Defart,

first Chusia.

banks of Arabia felix on the East side: so also at first did inhabit amongs his Parents as those sons of Cush might take Land down and Kindred: The Togornians were also the River as they pleafed. Also the City of called Giblei, a people neighbouring the sy-Ninive was by Nimrod founded on the faid River of Tygris, and from thence a Colonie pass'd to Charran, standing also upon a navigable branch of Emphrates. In like manner did Japheths fons settle themselves together, and took their feats in Alia the less from whence they might indifferently firetch themselves Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the liles of the Gentiles. And it feemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal; from thence Gomer, or his children pass d on men, and hader; which could not well be into Afa the less, as those of Magog and The driven over the whole length of the Medibal did; from whence the Tubalines Spred derrain Sea, but from the neighbout Countries themselves into Iberia: and the Magogians by land. But Josephus takes them for the more Northerly into Sarmatian. The first parents of the Phizgians 3, which I do not de-Gomerians, and first Planters in Afta the less, ny, but they might be, in the entiting ages: held the Country of the commercans (wit- and so might the Inbalines be of the Spanines Herodotus) the same Region which was ands; but it was from Iberia; and many hug-

The children of Inbal ranged as far as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were Neighbours which others write Meshech. The Prophet Ezechiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the Prince of Meschech and Tubal; For these Meschi (which Ptolemy calleth Moschi) inhabit Syracenaa Province of Armenia, dis rectly South from the Mountains Moschier, in the Valley between the Mountains Moschiei, and the Mountains Pariardes: out of whose North part springeth the River Phasis; from the East part Araxis; and from the West Emphrates: and of this highlighted are descended also the Moscovians (faith Melanthon); and it may be, that in process of time forme seba, and Sheba, with the rest that planted of them inhabited those Regions also r. For Meftech (faith Melanthon) liquificth existers into the Person guif, which washeeth the dent, enlarging of fretching forth. Togorna donians in Gabala, a Tetrarchy of Phanicia, the fame which Pliny calleth Gaben: from whence solomon had his most excellent Mafons, which hewed frones for the Temple of I King ?: Jernfalem. Thence the Togormian firetens ed into the lefs Armenia, whose Kings were Jan in hence called Tigranes, and their Cities Vagrat Gen. 10. nakante: of which Cities Tigranes, subdued by Luculius the Roman, built one. Hierofor ignitarns hath planted the Tagormians in Banbary; forgetting the prophecy of Exerbiel fate down first of all in that part of Syria, against the Tyrians: They of the bonge of To Judg. 17 to the North of Palefting and Phonicia: and gorma; brought to thy Fairer, Horfer; and horfes

afterward by the Gallo-Greek called Gala- dred years after the twelfth of Nimrod's tia, to whom Saint Paul wrote his Epiftle fo reigh. The Jews conceive that the Turke intituled. This Nation of the Cymmerians came of those Togormians, because their Esti-(whom the invincible scythians afterwards peror is called Toger.) The Chaldrans make difperfed, and forced from their first Planthem the Fathers of the Germanes. But Intations) gave names to divers places, asto onicus affirms; that the Tarks descended of the Mountains about Albania (called 63m the Crim Tartar, which borders Missouda. merini) and to the City of Cymmeris in Phry- But for these subderivations it were infinit to gia : alfo Boffborus Cymmerius took appella- examine them. Only of the first and second tion from this Nation, in the out-let where- Plantation, and of the first Nations after the of was also a City of that name, called Cym-Floud, is the matter which Habour to difcover; and therein to open the ignorance of merian: which Pliny faith ( mistaking the fome, and the corruption of other fabulous place) had fometime the name of Cerberion; Writers. And this we must Note, that those but Cerberion was a Town in Campania, fo called of the unhealthful waters favouring grand-children of Noah which were of a of Brimftone, which Augustus caused to be more quiet, or (perchance) of less undercleanfed by letting in the water of the Lake standing, and had not therefore the leading of Colonies lent out, their proper habitations

could be hardly known: only reason hath | Iones of Greece transporting certain compaminion over the rest.

II2

the Medes. The Grecians bring them (as before) from Medus the fon of Medea.

#### 6. VII.

Of Javan the fourth fon of Japheth: and of Mesech of Aram, and Meshech of Japheth.

F Javan the fourth fon of Japheth came many years preceded Xuthus, Ion or Deucali- with Moles. on. Paufanias tels us that Xuthus stole out of The faly with all his Fathers treasure, and his whom the Septuagint call Mosech (a part of Brothers portions, and arriving at Athens, those Nations commanded by Gog the chief he was graciously received by Eriotheus, who Prince of Meshech and Tubal.) But this we gave him his Daughter in marriage; of must remember, that between Mesech the son whom he received two fons, Ion and Achaus, of Aram, and Meshech (or Mosech) the son of the supposed Ancestors of the Athenians: Japheth, there is little difference in name, and (For Attica was called Ionia, faith Plutarch both by divers Interpreters diversly written. in the life of Thefens; ) who, when he had Montanus, with the Vulgar, writeth Mefech, joyned Megarato Attica, erected a Pillar in the son of Aram, Mess, the Geneva, Mass, that Ishmos or Strait, which sasmeth Pelo-Junius, Mess. But it may be gathered out pouncies to the other part of Greece: wri- of the 120 Psalm, that either Messech the ting on that part which looketh towards fon of Japheth, was the parent of those peothe East, these words: Hee non funt Pelopon- ple, or gave the name to that Province nefus, aft Ionia; Thefe Countries are not Pelo- wherein David hid himfelf: or elfe (which ponness, but of Ionia: and on the other side may rather seem ) that it took name from which looketh towards the South, and into Mesch the son of Aram. For David bewayl-Peloponnesus, this: These parts are Pelopon- ing his exile (while he lived among a barbanesus, and not Ionia.

taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, nies into Asia the less, the name of Iones was and were covered with the fame of others, thereby therein retained. And though strawho took on them the Conduction and Do- bo knew no more thereof than he learned of the Greeks themselves, yet I find this conje-From Madai the third fon of Tapheth, were cture of Hacateus reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknown, yet fure I am that Alia the less had people before Greece had any: and that Javan did not flie from Babylonia into Greece, but took Alia the less in his passage; and from thence past over the necreft way, leaving his own name to some maritimate Province on that side, as he did to that part of Greece fo called. But ver Strabo himself believed, that Ionia took the the Iones, which were afterwards call- name from Ion the son of Kuthus; for so ed the Greeks: and so the Latine and Greek much he had learned from themselves: Interpreters for Javan write Greece, as in which was also the opinion of Paulanias. Esay: Et mittam ex in qui salvati fuerint ad True it is, that the Greeks in after-times cast gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Graciam: themselves into that part of Asa the Les, opAnd I will send those that scape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. The

years. And howsoever the Greeks vaunt Geneva here useth the word (Tarshish) for Tar- themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the fus, a City in Cilicia, though Tarfis in many most antient; yet all approved Historians places be taken for the Sea. The Tigurine (not their own) deride and disprove their and the Geneva use the names Tubal and Ja- pride and vanity therein. For this dispute van, and not Italy and Greece: keeping the of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) fame Hebrew words. Of the Iones were the rested between the Scythians and the Egypti-Athenians, though themselves dream that ans, as Justine out of Trogus, in the Warbethey were Aborigines, or men without An- tween Vexorus of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, ceftors, and growing (as it were) out of the witneffeth: which preceded far the reign foile it felf . who abounding in people, fent of Ninus, and was long before the name of Colonies into Asia the less, of whom came Greece was ever heard of. And it is also mathe Iones of those parts. Others derive the nifest, that in Cecrops time the Greeks were Athenians from Ion the fon of Xuthus, the fon all Salvages, without Law or Religion, cliof Deucalion; but the antiquity of Javan ving like brute Beafts in all respects: and marrs the fashion of that supposition, who so Georges (faith Saint Augustine) lived together Lib. 184

The fixth fon of Japheth was Mefbech; 6,10, rous and irreligious People ) uleth these Strabo out of Hecataus affirmeth that the words: Wo is me that I remain in Mefech, and Iones came out of Asia into Greece, which is dwell in the Tents of Kedar: which Junius contrary to the former opinion: That the converteth thus; Hei mihi quia peregrinor

CHAP. VIII. tam diu: habito tanquam Scenita Kedareni: band against him. Now Arabia the Desart

Fill 110. because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, on the East, and the Cedrai Southward, both who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar: which joyn together upon the Nabathai, So with which this of the Latine agreeth; Hen it appeareth (as before) that Mefech, Inbal. mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, ba- Gomer, Togorma, and Mageg, neighboured hitavi cum habitantibus Kedar: The Chalde- Canaan and Ifrael, and that Kedar also did an otherwise, and in these words: O memi- joyn to Mesech: all which were Regions of Grum, quia peregrinatus sum Asanis, habitavi Syria, or of Asia the Less, commanded by the cum taburnaculis Arabum; O wretch, that I successors of Selenens, enemies of the re-estaam, for I have travailed among those of Asia: blishment of Israel and Inda. But (as I have I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabi- already faid) it might well be, that long after ans. But howfoever or which foever con- the first Plantation the issue of Mesech (or version be taken for the best, yet all make Mosoch) might pass into Cappadocia, and mention of Kedar: which is a Province of thence into Hyrcania, and give names both Arabia Petraa; and the Chaldean putteth to Mazega in the one, and to the Mountains Asia in stead of Mesech, but the Hebrew it self Moschier in the other, and from thence might hath Melech. And if it be to be taken for a fiend people more Northerly into Mulcovia. Nation, (as it is most likely, because it an- and so all opinions saved. But all salvage Nafwers to Kedar, the name of a Nation) sceing tions over-grown and uncultivated, do (for Mesch the son of Aram, I Chron. 17. is called the most part) shew a late Plantation, even Messeb, it is indifferent whether this Nation as civility, letters, and magnificent building. took name from Meshech or Mesch both bor- witness antiquity. dering Judea, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince ; for fo Ezechiel makes Mesech and Tubal. But as for those that take Melech out of the word Moloch (given by the thors (worthy the examination) affirm. Hole-Septuagint) to be the Muscovian: sure they phus was the first that determined hereof: presume much upon the affinity of names, as and because the Scriptures are altogether aforesaid. Sure I am that David never tra- filent, what part of the World Tyras peopled, velled fo far North (for to him Muscovia the conjectures are indifferent, and give no was utterly unknown) but about the border ground at all of dispute. It followeth now of Kedar (it may be) he was often in all the to speak of the Sons of Gomer, which were time of his perfecution: the same being a three, City on the Mountains of Sanir or Galaad. And yet Arias Montanus makes Moloch the Father of the Muscovians: and herein also Melanchton runs with the tide of common opinion, and fets Mefech in Mufcovia, though with some better advice of judgment; as. first seated in Cappadocia, and from thence travailing Northward: expounding the places of the 120. Pfalm, (Hei mihi quòd exulo in Mesech) to fignifie, Gentis ejus feritatem inlignem effe; That the ferity of that Nation exceeded: which fierceness or brutality Goths. The Jews in their Tharenm make him of the Muscovians, David never proved, or the root of the Germane Nation; but their (perchance) never heard of. But the same expositions are commonly very idle. Pling ferity or cruelty which those Northern Mus- findeth Ascania in Phrygia, neer the Rivers of covians had, may aswell be ascribed to the Hilas and Cios: Melanchton being of the Arabians and Kedarens. For this Country fame opinion, that the Tuiscones were descen- Melsnel, in took name of Kedar the second son of Ismael, ded of the Ascanez: (for Tuiscones, faith he, car. lib. 1. of whom a people of equal fierceness to any is as much to say, as of the Ascanez, praposito of the world were begotten, both in those articulo die Ascanes) and that the word sigtimes and long after, even to this day (if the | nifieth, a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an Arabians, Ismaelites, and Saracens, may be antient superstition to pray at the fire of Saaccounted one people:) the same being fore- crifices, as afterwards at the Tombs of Marshewed by the speech of the Angel to Hagar, Gen. 16. v. 12. And he shall be a wilde man: his Ascania, known by that name in the Romans hand shall be against every man, ar. every mans time. And among the Kings which came to

The Septuagint gives it this sence: Wo is me (faith Pliny) confronteth the Arabians Cockies

Tyras, the feventh fon of Japheth, which Mont. in Montanus reckons among the fons of Gomer, was the Father of the Thracians, as all Au-

Ascanez, Riphath, and Togorma.

#### S. VIII.

of Ascanez and Riphath, the two elder sons of Gomer.

A Scanez was the Father of those which the Greeks call Regim, (saith Josephus) but he gives no reason why. Eusebius makes Ascanez the Father of the

tyrs. Not far from Phrygia was the Lake

the

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manner doth Virgil grace Aneas, Os humerosque Deo similis; In face and body like one of therefore Mesopotamia being in elder times the gods: Virgil also remembreth such a Ri- but a Province of Syria, the Scriptures dif-Pros. 600. ver. together with the Hills Gargara: as, Illas ference it in the Story of Jacob and Efan, and ducit amor trans Gargara, transque sonantem call it Aram-Padan. Then if these two Nati-Aicanium; Appetite leads them both over the ons were of the Armenians, and Ascanez mountains Gargara, and the roaring Ascanius. joyned with them (who altogether united But this Pliny maketh more plain in the dc- under Cyrus and Darius, came to the spoil of fcription of Phrygia. For he placeth the City the Babylonian Empire) we shall erre much of Brillion upon the River Ascanius, which is adjoyning to Mylia, and is near the border of the Trojan Empire: and the Lake Ascanez the Askenez were of those Nations which he directs us to find by the description of Prusia, founded by Hannibal at the foot of Olympus, which lyeth farr within the Countrics of Bithynia: and then from Prusia to Nicea are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lieth, even between Prusia and Nicea. And so Junius (as I conceive him) takes them of Ascanez, to be the Inhabitants of Pontus and Bithynia, and those North parts of Alia. Stephanus de Urbibus makes it a City of Troas, built by Ascanius the Son of Æneas: faying, that there was another of that name in Mysia. Of Ascania a Lake of Bithynia, Ptolemy witnesseth: and Strabo giveth

before Troy, Ascanes. Now, whether these places took name of Son of Aneas, it might be questioned : sure it is, that Ascanius which brought succour to the Trojans, could not take his name from young, or rather unborn: and it feemeth that the Countreys whence those succours therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet Hieremy we shall learn of what Nation the Ascanez were, whose words are these: Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations against her call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez, against her, &c. meaning, against the Babylonians. Ararat was Armenia the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountains of Ararat which run through it: Minni, the leffer Armenia; Armenia being compounded of Aram and

in Mysia, near unto Cio; which also agreeth

with Pliny. For Pliny findeth Prusia (before

fpoken of ) near Cio, and calleth the Islands

Hom. lind, the fuccour of Troy, was Ascanius (Deo simi- | (faith junius and others before him:) and lis, faith Homer) like unto God: because he Aram anciently taken for Syria, which conwas beautifull and ftrong: for in the same tained all that Tract from Emphrates to the Sea-coasts of Phanicia, and Palastina; and to call Askenez Germany, or Almain: for we hear of no fwart Ruttiers at that fiege. But were either subject or allied to the Medes: of which if any of them came afterward into Phrygia, I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in after-times without acount. But for the opinion of Eusebius, who makes them to be Goths; or that of Josephus, who calls them Rhegini; or of the Jews, who will have them to be Almains; when they confirm it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will think as they do.

Of Riphath, the second Son of Gomer, there is mention in the first of Chronicles. Beroaldus and Pererius think that he wandered farr off from the rest of his Brothers, and Ascania both a Lake, a River, and a Town therefore no memory of his Plantation. But I fee nothing to the contrary, but that he might feat himself with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no room or foil in those days for all the Sons and Grand-children of Noah. Therefore I take it to be well under-Ascanez the Son of Gomer, or of Ascanius the Stood', that the Riphei were of Riphath, which the Greeks afterwards (according to Josephus) called the Paphlagones : and Riphei (faith Melancthon) fignifieth Giants. These Eneas Son, who was then either exceeding people were very famous in the North parts, and in Sarmatia: the most of number and power among them, Sarmataru gens maxima came, were not out of any part of Phrysia, or Heneti, The greatest number of the Sarmatians Affa, but farther off, and from the North mere the Heneti; who spake the ancient Poparts of all Asia the less, which by Hieremy is lac: which being first called Riphei (for the called Ascanez, by the figure synechdoche, as love of some of their Leaders or Kings) Junius thinketh. Out of those testimonies changed their names, and became Heneti (a custom exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in Paphlagonia, as Homer witneffeth, and so doth Apollonius in his Argonauticks: Now, when these Riphei (afterward Heneti ) fought new Regions, they came along the shores of Euxinus, and filled the North-part of Europe, containing Ruffia, Lituania, and Polonia. From thence thy crost thwart the Land, and peopled Illyria, defirous (faith Melanthon) of a warmer foil of Fruit and Wine. These Heneti, or Veneti, Melanti.is whom Melandhon taketh to be one people, carien. Minni. For Minni was the ancient name filled all the Land between the Baltick and

Adviatick Sea; and to this day the name of 1 to Tharfis, and brought thence Gold, Silver, the Gulf Venedicus is found in Russia. This Elephants teeth &c. the Chaldwan Paraphrast Nation, after they were possest of Lituania translates Tharsis (Africa.) But Solomons Ships and Polonia, disturbed the Plantation of the Boil and Hermondurii. Therefore it feemeth to me, that of Riphath, came the Riphei, afterward Heneti; and so thinketh Arias Montanus, first seated in Paphlagonia, but in course of time, Lords of Sarmatia, and those other higher part of the East-India. For it had parts before remembred, chiefly between the Rivers of Vistula and Albis. The name (faith Melancthon) fignifieth wandering, or wanderers, or Nomades: a people which lived by White-meats and Fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third Son of Gomer, Togorma, I have spoken already; now therefore of Javans children, which were four: Elifa, Tharfis, Cethim, Dodonim.

#### 6. IX.

Of the four sons of Javan: and of the double fignification of Tharlis, either for a proper Name, or for the Sea.

OF Elisa, or Elipha, came the Eoles: and of this Elisa, all the Greeks were called Hellenes, faith Montanus. Melancthon makes Elifa the Father of the Boles in Alia fide: others of Elis in Peloponnesus; or of that Pontus was a word used for the Sea in both. And feeing the Greeks were descended in general of Javan, it is probable that micrans knew no other Sea than that of the Eeles and the Eles, took name of Elifa his Mediterrane in the beginning; and that the eldest Son. Ezechiel in the 27. Chap. speaking of Tyre, nameth the Isles of Elifa, Hyacinthus & purpura de insulis Elisæ facta sunt operimentum tuum : Blue Silk and purple, brought from the Isles of Elifa, was their covering. The Chaldrans for Elifa, write Italia: but the Vulgar, the Tigurine, the Geneva, and Junius, keep the word Elisa: and so I think they might do with reason. For there was not found any fuch Purple-Die in Italy in those days, nor fince, that I can read of : but those Isles of Elifa, were by a better conjecture the Isles of Greece; and the best Purple was found afterward at Tyre it felf: and before that, among the Cyclades, and on the Coast of Getulia.

Tharfis the fecond Son of Javan, inhabited Cilicia, of which Tharfis is the Metropolis. Montanus, for Tharfis in Cilicia, understands Carthage in Africa; but (referving the re-fpect due to to learned a man) he was much therein, So likewife, where it is written that ture of a Plantation. For (Gomer and his the Ships of Solomon went every three years other Sons inhabiting Afta the left, and that

were prepared in the Red-Sea at Esion-Gaber, in the Bay of Elana, hear unto Madian, where Jethro ( Moles Father-in-law ) inhabited; a Province of Arabia Petrea, Idumaa; or of the Chustes; and they sailed to the been a strange Navigation to have spent three years in the pallage between Judea and Carthage, or any other part of Africa; which might have been failed in fix or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the Mediterrane Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would foon have entertained that Trade alfo. But this enterprise of solomon is in this fort written of in the first of Kings: Also King Solomon made a Navie of Ships in Esion-Gaber, which is beside Elath, and the brink of the Red-Sea in the Land of Edom: and Hyram fent with the Navie his servants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of Solomon: and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. Talents of gold, &c. But as the Nations about Pontus thought no Sea in the World like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely (whereof it came, people of Tharfis had the greatest Ships, and were the first Navigators in those parts with fuch Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word Tharsis used often for the Sea. And whereas it is faid that the Ships of Solomon went every three years to Tharfis; that phrase is not strange at all; for we use it ordinarily wheresoever we navi-gate (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are fet out every year, or every three years to the Sea, and therefore Tharfis was not therein named, either for Carthage, Africa, or India, but used for the Sea it felf. But in this place, Tharfis is truly taken for Tharfis, the chief City in Cilicia, foundedby Tharlis the second Son of Javan, or by his Successors in memory of their first Parent. To this City arrived Alexander Macedon, before he gave the first overthrow to Darius, and casting himself into the River to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an miltaken in that conjecture. The Childiain extreme Fever, and great danger of death:

Paraphraft puts Carthage for Tharfit, but it and in this City of Tharfit was S. Paul born. extreme Fever, and great danger of death: hath no authority nor warrant of reason Now, this agreeth with the reason and na-

116 part of Syria adjoyning) Javan, who was to | youngest brether (by the mest opinions) sare pass over the Sea into Greece, took the edge

City took name.

whom were the Romans and Italians, faith in the Province of Moloffia. And as Cethim. Beroaldus, but I allow better of Melantibons when he wanted foil in Cyprus: fo Dodonim opinion, who makes Cethim the Father of the (feated in a farr less Island) did of necessity Macedonians. Cethim is a voice plural (faith fend his people farther off; and keeping ahe) and fignifies percussores, though in that longst the Coast, and finding Peloponnesus in respect it may be meant by either. But it the possession of Elisa, he passed a little surfeemeth more probable, that the place of ther on the Westward, and planted in Eps-Ifai. 23. (according to Melanthon) had re- rus. And though the City of Dodona was not lation to Alexander and the Macedonians: then built (or perchance not so ancient as Hac calamitas ab Esai prædicta est, qui capite Dodonim himself yet his posterity might give vicessimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eversores it that name in the memory of their first Pa-Tyriex terra Cittim; This calamity (Jaith Me- rent, as it happened all the World over. For lancthon) was foreshewed by Esai the Prophet, names were given to Cities, Mountains, Riwho in the three and twentieth Chapter pro- vers, and Provinces, after the names of Noahs nounced that the destroyers of Tyre were come children, and grand-children; not in all out of Cittim. And although the children of places by themselves, but by their successors Ifrael esteemed all men Islanders, which came taly, faith Beoraldus) yet we must take the first selves were taken and grafted else where. entred that proud City, and cut in pieces feflavery. Now, that Macedon was taken for Cethim, it doth appear plainly in the first of the Macchabees, in thele words: After that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and flew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Tolephus fets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (faith he) there remaineth the City Citium, the Country of Zeno the Philosopher (witness Laertius;) which City Pintus upon Exechiel affirmeth, that it stood in S. Hieroms time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrews were called the Islands of Cethim; and in that sence might Cyprus be so called also; and yet, because Tharlis was the very next Port to Gyprus, and directly over against it, it is also very probable that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharfis: and finding that Island too straight for his people, after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both in Asia and Greece, were inhabited by his Father and brothers, he fent Colonies over the Agean Sea, and inhabited Macedonia.

Dodonim the fourth Son of Javan, and the

down at Rhodes, as near Cethim, Tharfis, and of the same Coast, and first planted the Iones | Elisa, as he could, For Dodonim and Rhodaon that shore: gave the Islands betwen Asia nim are used indifferently by many Translathe less and Greece to Elisa, and lest Tharsis tors: the Hebrew (D) and the Hebrew (R) upon the Sea-side in Cilicia; of whom that are so alike, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirm. There The third Son of Javan was Cethim, of is also found in Epirus the City of Dodona. many years after: every of their Families to them by Sea, and separate from the Conti- being desirous to retain among them, by nent (and so also Cittim might be taken for I- those memories, out of what branch themperformance of the former Prophecie which | And because great Kingdoms were often by took effect by the destruction of the Tyrians new Conquerers newly named, and the by Alexander, who, after seven Moneths siege, greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpeven thousand principal Citizens; strangled tuate their memories, gave their own names, two thousand, and changed the freedom of or the names of their Ancestors; to Mounthirteen thousand others into bondage and tains and Rivers, as to things (after their judgments) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did Javan lettle himself and his children in the edge and frontier of Alia the less, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as Japheth their Father had done in the body of the leffer Afia, together with Javans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Melech, and the reft, round about him. And in like fort did Fhul (the Son of Cham) people Rabylonia, Chaldea, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the Sons of Chill (all but Nimred, who held Babylonia it felf) travelled Southward in Arabia felix, and South-westward into Arabia Petrag : the reft of his children holding the Regions adjoying to Nimred. Miscaur, the brother of child in like manner took the way of Egypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palasting adjoyning. The Sons of Cangan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all thole Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the Sons of Shem, which spread themselves towards the West, and the borders of the Me- vainly led by his own invention. For Josediterrane Sea: of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the Sons of Cham or Ham : which were four:

Chush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan.

#### §. X.

That the feat of Chush the eldeft son of Ham, was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scriptures, grounded on the mistaking of this

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of Josephus his Tale of an Æthiopess. Wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the feat of Chush.

Hat Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Pfalm, verf. 51. Then Tharbis, &c. which Tale hath this fence in Ifrael came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the Land of Ham: and in the 78. Pfalm, He flew all the first-born in Egypt, even the not fally and come to handy-strokes, there bapbeginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles | pened this accident in the mean while: The Aof Ham. There is also found a great City in thiopian King bad a Daughter called Tharbis, Thebaidai, called Cheramis (as it were the wholat fome affaults given, beheld the person of City of Ham) of which name Heradotus also discovers an Island in the same Region. But because Chush is the elder Son of Ham, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now, though I have already in the descripti- the very brink of subversion : the estimas workon of Paradife handled this question, and (I ing in her thoughts, together with her own afon of raraasje nanoted this question, and (1) ingui ner thoughts, together with oper own afhope) proved that chust could not be Athiofeditor, which daily increased, see mander means to send unto him by one, of her trustitest for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For, the manifestation his Wife; which Moses on this condition employed the second trustition of the second trust hereof fets many things streight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and fenceless interpretations. Surely, howfoever the Septuagint and Josephus have herein failed, that Chulh could not be Æthiopia, but Arabia (to wit) both that Arabia called Petrad, and a part of Arabia the Happy and the Defart: which Regions Chush and the Chustes presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrad, wherein they first sate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleareth the Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. therein alfor utterly militaken himself, in verf. 1. where Mofes his Wife is called a Chufile; together with some places which speak of Nebnehadonozor's Conquells For whereas Josephus and the Septuagint in the place Numb. 12. verf. i. as also else-where, underfrand chush for Æthiopia, we must give creappear that Josephus was grofly mistaken, or aus, and not Ashiopians; except Josephus

phus preluming that Chush was Æthiopia, and therefore that the Wife of Mofes (which in Scripture, Numb. 12. vers. 1. is called a Woman of chulb) was a Woman of the Land of Æthiopia, feigneth that Tharbis the Daughter of the King of Æthiopia, fell in love with the person and same of Moses, while he befieged Saba her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtain Moses for her Husband, she practifed to betray both her Parents, Countrey, and Friends, with the City it felf, and to deliver it into Moles hands: The Tale (if

it be worth the reciting) lieth thus in Jose- Aniq 1.22 phus. And after he hath described the cap. 5. ftrength of the Ethiopian City Meroe, which he faith at length Chambyses called so from the name of his Sifter (the old name being Saba ) he goeth on in these words: Hic cum Moses residere exercitum otiosum ægrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regifilia nomine English: When Moles was grieved that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged durst Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not onely up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but bad also brought the conquering Athiopians to tertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession, whereupon she condescending, and Moses having taken outh to persorm this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

#### II.

A Dispute against the Fale of Josephus.

His Tale (whereof Anger hath nor a word) hath Jefephie fashioned, and naming a City of Arabia for a City of Æthiopia : as he names Æthiopia it felf to have been the Countrey of Maler his Wife, when (indeed) it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Æthiopia; but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and modern, dit to Moles himself herein; and then it will teach us, saying, that the Sabaans are Arabi-

118 can perswade us, that the Queen of saba, | but of sippora, or Zippora: neither was she a which came from the South to hear the Wif- Negro, but a Madianites. And as God workis likely that when Sishac King of Egypt in-vaded Roboam, and sackt Hierusalem, his Brother (the Son of Saba and Solomon) who joyned upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aid and succour to Roboam against Jeroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing against our Opinion of Moses his Wife to have been an Arabian that the Scritures teach us, that Moses married the Daughter of Jethro, Priest of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North-coast of the Red-Sea, over against the body of Egypt, and near Eston-Gaber, where Solomon provided his Fleet for India, in the Region of But the passing of Moses through Arabia Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Petraa (which joyneth to Madian) proveth Arabia, as the Red-Sea is called Sinus Arabi- that Moses was well acquainted in those cus. For Idumaa joyneth to the Tribe of Juda by the North; to Arabia Petraa, by the East; to the Mediterrane, by the West; and to the Red-Sea, by the South-east. And if we dren of Israel in the knowledge of one true mark the way which Muser took when he left Egypt, and conducted Ifrael thence, it of plenty and rest. For he found them will appear that he was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia and obstinate in the Religion of the Heats it self, he had formerly lived fourty years; then, and finding that those stiff Plants where it feemeth, that besides his carefull bringing up in Egypt, he was instructed by Jethro in the Egyptians learning. For Josephus confesseth, and S. Stephen consistent, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptithose those he might receive fruit, agreeable ans. But on the other fide, this Text makes to his own defire, and Gods Commandmuch against Josephus, where it is written in Exodus the second, Therefore Moses fled from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the Land of Madian or Midian, and not in Ethiopia. And in the also he reprehendeth Apollinaris, who athird Chapter, it is as plain as words can express, in what Region Madian was, where it is written, When Moses kept the Sheep of Jethro his Father-in-law, Priest of Madian, and drave the Flock to the Defart, and came to the mountain of God in Horeb. Now, that Mount Horeb is not in Æthiopia, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe Moses himself, then was not the Wife of Moses purchased in that manner which Josephus reporteth

dom of Solomon, were a Negro, or Black-Moor. eth the greatest things by the simplest End. And though Damianus à Goes speak of certain means: so it pleased him from a Shepherd Letters to the King of Portugal from Prefter to call Moses, and after him David, and by John, of the Abillines: wherein that Æthio- them to deliver his People first and last. For pian King would perswade the Portugals, that Moses sitting by a Well (as disconsolate, and he was descended of the Queen of Saba, and a stranger) desended the Daughters of Reof solomon; yet it doth no where appear in guel from the other Shepherds, and drew the Scriptures, that solomon had any Son by them Water to water their Sheep: upon that great Princess: which had it been true, it which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by 'Jethro, whose Daughter he married, and not for any betraying of Towns

or Countreys. From hence also came Jethro to Moses at Rephidim, not far from Idumea, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Family. And if Jethro had been an Æthiopian, it had been a farr progress for him to have passed through all Egypt with the Wife and Children of Moses, and to have found Moses in the border of Idumea: the Egyptians hating Moses, and all that favoured him. parts, in which the fecond time he wandered fourty years, and did by these late travels of his, feek to instruct the Chilnourished up with the milk of Idolatry, could not be bowed or declined, either by perfwafion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Defarts, as God directed, and

Laftly, this Opinion of Josephus is condemned by Augustinus Chrysamensis, where vowed that Mofes had married both Tharbis Sixt, Si and sephora: His own words have this beginning: Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores habuisse Mosen, &c. Apollinaris also lyeth, in affirming that Moses had two Wives: and who doth not perceive these things feigned by them? for it is manifest, that the Wife of Mofes was Zephora, Daughter to the Prieft or Prefident of Madian: and that Madian cannot be taken for Æthiopia beyond Egypt ; be-(which was for betraying her Countrey and ing the same that joyneth to Arabia: 80 farr friends) neither had she the name of Tharbis, Chrysamensis. II. III.

II. III.

Chush ill expounded for Æthiopia, Ezechiel 29. 10.

7 Ow, as chush is by the Septuagint converted Ethiopia, and the Wife of Mofes therefore called #thiopifia: fo in the conquest of Nebuchodonolor is Æthiopia written for Arabia. For by the words of Ezechiel, it Bire: Æthiopia being the conterminate Reis manifest that Nebuchodonosor was never in Ethiopia. Behold (faith Exechiel, speaking of the person of this great Asyrian) I come upon thee and upon thy Rivers, and I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the Tower of Seveneh even to the borders of the Black-Moors: which last words should have been thus converted: From the Tower Seveneh, to the borders of the Chusites.or Arabians, between which two is fituated all Egipt. For to fay, from the borders of Seveneh to the Æthiopians, hath no sence at all, Se-wench it self being the border of Egypt, confronting and joyning to Æthiopia, or the and firm Land with Egypt, and no otherwise Land of the Black Moors. So as if Nebuchodonosors conquest had been but between 8ewench and the border of Ethiopia, it were as have rowed up the River but for pleasure, much to fay, and did express no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying between Middlesex and Buckingham, where both the Countries joyn together; or all the North parts of England between Barrick and Scotland: for this hath the same sence with the former, if any man fought to express by these two bounds, the Conquest of England: Barmick being the North border of England, as Seveneh or Syena is the South bound of Egypt, feated in Thebaida, which toucheth Æthiopia. But by the words of Ezechiel it appeareth, that Nebuchodonofor never entred into any part of Æthiopia, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the Geneva, and all other (in effect) have written Æthiopia for Chush.

|. IV.

Another place of Ezechiel, Chap. 30. Vers. 9. in the like manner mistaken.

Nd as the former, so is this place of Eze-A chiel mistaken, by being in this fort converted: In die illa egredientur nuncità facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Geneveans: In that day shall their messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Moors afraid. Now the Latine for (ships) hath the Greek word Trieres for Triremes, which are Gallies of three Scripture, Hai. 18. Ve terre Cymbalorum ala-

banks, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should have been (as in the former) amended by using the word chush, or Arabia, for Ethicpia, or the Black-Moors, every man may fee which meanly understandeth the Geography of the World, knowing, that to pass out of Egypt into Athiopia, there need no Gallies or Ships, no more than to pass out of Northampton into Leicestergion with Egypt, and not divided so much as by a River. Therefore in this place of Ezechiel it was meant, that from Egypt Nebuchodonofor should send Gallies alongst the Coast of the Red-Sea, by which an Army might be transported into Arabia the Happy and the stony (sparing the long wearisom march over all Egypt, and the Desart of Pharan) which Army might thereby surprise them unawares in their fecurity and confidence. For when Nebuchodonosor was at Seveneh within a mile of Æthiopia, he needed neither Gally nor Ship to pals into it; being all one large parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another: and if he had a fancy to he could not have done it; for the fall of Nilus (tumbling over high and steepy Mountains) called Catadupa Nili, were at hand.

Lastly, I have already observed the Sons of every Father feated themselves as near together as possibly they could; Gomer and his Sons in Asia the less; Javan and his Sons in Greece, and the Islands adjoyning; shem in Persia and Eastward. So the sons and grandchildren of Chush from the River of Gehon (their Fathers first seat) inhabited upon the fame, or upon some other contiguate unto it, as Nimrod and Havilah on the one fide, and Saba, Sheba, and Sabtecha (with the rest ) did on the other fide. And to conclude, in a word, the Hebrews had never acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the Ethiopian Black-Moors, as is already remembred in the Chapter of Paradife.

Aplace, Efay 18. v. 1. in like manner corrupted, by taking Chush for Æthiopia.

Nd as in these places before remembred, A foin divers others is the word Æthiopia put for Arabia, or Chush, which puts the Story where it is so understood) quite out of fquare; one Kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what sence hath this part of

cording to the Septuagint, in these words: Ve two parts, he sent threatning Messengers to terre navum alarum que est trans fluvios A- Ezechia King of Juda, periwading him to thiopia; Ho to the Land Madowing with submit himself: the Tenor whereof is fit wings which is beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia. down in the second of Kings in these words. fending Embaladors by Sea, even the Vessels of Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered Reeds upon the maters. Vaterra umbrola ora; live Land out of the hands of the King of Wo to the Land of the fludy coaft faith Junius, Afhur? Where is the god of Hamah, &c. By The former Translators understand it in this which proud Embatiage, if he had obtained sence; That the waters are shadowed with entrance into ferusalem, he then meant to the fails, which are significatively called the have united that great Army before Jerusawings of the ships; the other, that the coast lem, commanded by Rabsekeb, with the other of the Sea was thadowed by the height of which lay before Pelulum, a great City upon

fpoken of by the Prophet Ifaiah, is Egypt, no all those Cities in Judea and Benjamin, with Interpreter hath doubted. For they were a third Army (which himself commanded) the Egyptians that fent this Message to the being then at the siege of Lebna. But upon Ifraelites, which Isaiah repeateth, and by the the rumor of that Arabian Army led by Egypt is transported unto the other fide of Hiernfalem, and found Senacherib departed Æthiopia, and Æthiopia set next unto Judea; from Lachie, and set down before Lebna, when it is the Land of Chufb and Arabia indeed that lieth between Judga and Egypt, Equinoctial Line. And of this, Beroaldus asketh a material question (to wit) what Regi- Army before Hiernsalem by the Angel of his on that should be, of which the Prophet power, so as 158000. were found dead in speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers the place, as in the life of Ezechias is hereafof Æthiopias Nam de ignota agi regione dici ne-quit; For it cannot be faid that he treateth of my of Thirrhakeh was from Arabia, Josephus an unknown Region. Now, if Æthiopia it felf himself makes it plain. For he confesseth in be under the Equinoctial line, with whom the the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the Jews ledg of Nations far beyond it again, and beyond the Rivers of Æthiopia? except we marched towards him by the way of the Dediscourse of those Nations, which were not Pharan or Sur, which also toucheth on the discovered in 2000, years after, inhabiting as far South as the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known by the name of Bona esperanza.

#### ||. V I.

That upon the like miftaking both Terrhaca in the Story of Senacherib, and Zera in the Story of Asa, are unadvisedly made Æthiopians.

of his retrait. For Senacherib was first repulled at Pelulium, at the very entrance of King of Ethiopia, &c. whereas it should Egypt from Judea: when having certain have been thus converted with Junius: Audi-

rum que est trans siumina Æthiopiæ; or, ac- himself: and searing to leave his Army in the branch of Nilus next Arabia. For Sena-But to the purpose: That this Land here cherib had already mastered the most part of former Translation, every man may see the King Thirrhakeh (whom Josephus calls 144 the transposition of Kingdoms: for hereby Tharsices) Rabsakeh hasted from the siege of which was afterwards called Eleuthoropolis. as some have supposed. But while he had ill . Too and not Athiopia, which is feated under the fuccess at Pelusium, and feared Thirrhakeh, 19 God himfelf, whom he least feared ftrook his Jews had never any acquaintance, why Antiquities, that it was come to Senacheribs should any man dream that they had know- knowledge, that the Army which was afoot (both to relieve the Egyptians and the Jews) shall impiously think that the Prophet spake Jart: Now, the Defart which lay indifferent Little he knew not what, or used an impertinent between Hierusalem and Pelusium, was that of three Arabia's, to wit, the Stony, of which it is a part; the Defart, and the Happy; and by no other way indeed could the Arabians come on to succour either Pelusium or Hierusalem. But that there is any Defart between Pelusium and the South part of Egypt, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this descriptition of the fecond of Kings, Vers.9. hath the fame mistaking as the rest. For here the word (Chush) is also translated Æthiopia; and Nd by this Translation is the Story of in this sence have all the Interpreters (but Ju-A Nd by this Translation is the Story of in this ience have an the interpretation of the ninth senacherib utterly missaken in the cause miss expressed the beginning of the ninth expressed in the senacherib utterly missaken in the cause missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the cause missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the cause missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the cause missaken in the senacherib utterly missaken in the senacherib ut Verse: He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh knowledge that Thirrhaca (which all the In- ens autem de Thirrakeh Rege Chushi; He heard tepreters called King of Ethiopia) was on also of Thirrhakeh King of the Chushites. the way to set on him, he began to withdraw For they were the Chushites and Arabians,

CHAP. VIII. and upon whom the very smoak of Juda used, as in the 16. Psalm: Sub umbra alaflaming was blown, being their nearest ram tuarum protege me; Defend me under the Neighbours: and so were not the Æthiopi- shadow of thy wings. The Boats of Reed an Black-Moors under the Equinoctial whom spoken of are of two kinds; either of basketneither War nor Peace (which discovereth | Willow covered with hides (as anciently in all Regions) ever found out, faith Pliny. For Brittain) or a Tree made hollow in the botthis King was no more King of Ethiopia than tome, and built up on both fides with Canes. Zerah was, who invaded Afa King of Juda, with an Army of a Million, and three thoufand Chariots. Indeed, how fuch an Army and those Chariots should pass through all Egypt (the Kings of Egypt being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how far distant, Judge. For Princes do not eafily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there ever such strength of Black-Moors heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these Æthiopians such Travellers or Conquerors; and yet is this King Zerah also called King of Athiopia. But the word chulh being first so converted for Æthiopia, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the feats of Kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) fol-

# lowed one another in the former miltakings. | VII.

A farther Exposition of the place, Esai. 18. 1

Oncerning these words in that eigh-Winged Ships (fo the Septiagint turn it) or and these four brothers possest all that Tract Cymbalo alarum (according to the Latine) of Land, from Gehon in Chaldea, as far to fails whiftling in the winds, or terra umbrofa the West as the Mediterrane Sea: compreore (after Junius) the Land of a shadowed hending all Arabia Deserta, and Petrea, all eoass, or the Land shadowing with wings, as Canaan which embraceth Galilea, Samaria; our English Geneva hath it. The two sufficient and Judea; with the two Egipts, whereos terpretations of the Septuagint and S. Hierom, the neather is bounded by Memphis on the commonly called the wings of a Ship; shadow over the Red-Sea. But to make both rest of Noahs children, fort themselves. interpretations good, Pintus (upon Ifaiah) affirmeth, that the word (sabal) doth fignifie both to shadow, and to gingle (which is) to make a kind of Cymbaline found: so as the meaning of this place (faith Pintus) is this: Wo to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings : which (indeed) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of

whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, Haiah: and this phrase is often else-where Of the one fort I have feen in Ireland, of the other in the Indies:

#### 6. X I.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

That Mizraim the chief Planter of Egypt: and the rest of the Sons of Ham, were feated in order one by another.

He second Son of Ham was Mizraim; who (according to the place of a fecond brother) was fent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For Chush first possest chaldea on the West side of Gehon chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred Arabia, and by time came to the border of the Red-Sea, and to the South-east side of Judea. Mizraim his brother (with Phut) past over into Africa. Mizraim held Egypt; and Phut (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into Mauritania. Canaan took the teenth Chapter of Esay, Navium alarum, Sea-coast, and held the side of Palestina: have one sence in effect. For the sails are South, and by the Mediterrane Sea on the North: and Thebaida (called the upper Eand we use to say ordinarily when our Ships gypt) stretcheth it self toward the South as far fails flowly, that she wanteth wings (that is) as Syene, the border of the Ethiopians, or when her fails are either worn, or too nar- Black-Moors. All the rest of the coast of Africa row: and we also use the same phrase of the Westward, Phut peopled; which brothers had wind whistling in the fails. And it may be not any other Nation or Family that dwelt that the Egyptians imployed so many of those between them. And in the same manner did fmall thips, as their fails were faid to give a all their Sons again, and all the Sons of the

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be known: and of the Egyptians Lunary years, which made their Antiquites seem more fabulous.

"His flourishing Kingdom possess by Mizraim, changed her ancient name,

and became Egypt, at such time as Ægyptus (otherwise Ramesses, as some think) the son of Belus, chased thence his elder brother Danaus, shifting him into that part of Greece, now called Morea, by whom the Argives were made Danai, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877, years after the of foneth for the Egyptians Antiquity in Floud, in the time of Josia, as Saint Augustine this manner: That the fixteenth Dynasty conjectureth out of Eusebius. But in Homers (where Eusebius begins to reckon the Egypti-Odysses it appeareth that the Egyptians were ans times) had beginning with the general fo called at the time of the Trojane Warr. Floud: and that therefore the first of the And before this, Egypt was known by divers other fifteen reached the Creation, or foon other names, as Oceana, Aria, Ofriana, &c. after it. To which conjecture of Mercator, And Manethon (whom Josephus citethin his Pererius maketh this answer; That therein Kings of Egypt after Moses departure, who it for granted, that the beginning of the fix-

many years.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in Trogus, Herodotus, Plato, Diod. Siculus, Mela, and others. For they affirm (faith Pomp. Mela) that there had reigned in had Memory and Story of 13000. years Athenians and Arcadians, who dare affirm, that they are more ancient than Jupiter and

the Moon; whereof Ovid:

Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur Arcades : & Luna gens prior illa fuit. The Arcadians the Earth inhabited

Ere yet the Moon did shine, or Jove was bred.

reckon their years by Moneths, which unadvifed. For he makes Egypt possest, and ter any other of those five diversities of their them upon all the earth, Lunary years.

i). III.

Of certain vain affertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

Erardus Mercator, in his Chronologie, reafirst Book against Appion) numbreth all the Mercator was first deceived, because he taketh confumed 393. years. By which other men teenth Dynasty was at once with the general conjecture, that the Egyptians took on them Floud: which Eusebius maketh 292. years afthat name, 330. years after Josua, and about ter, and in the time of Abraham. Secondly, 1000, years after the Floud. But where Jo- Mercator maketh the beginning of the shep-Sephus in the same Book taketh Ifrael tobe herds Dynastia (being in number 17.) in the those Hycfes, which he also calleth Passares, or Shepherds, which are said to have reigned in the year of the World 1846. which Eusein Egypt 511. years: whom also he calleth bins findeth in the Worlds Age 2140. For the his Ancestors (meaning the Ancestors of the 16. Dynastia was begun but in the 292, year Jews) in this I am fure he was grolly de- after the Floud, as they account, and conticeived, or that he vainly boafted: for the nued 190 years. Thirdly, whereas Mercator Ifraelites had no such Dominion as Manethon maketh every Dynastia to endure 115. years, faineth, nor abode in Egypt 6 long a time by Engebius reckoneth many of them at less than 100. years: for the 28. had but fix years, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. years.

Now, Annius in his Supplement of Manethon affirmeth, That all these 15. Dynasties lasted but 162. years: and that the first of Egypt 330. Kings before Amasis, who was the 15. began but in the 131. year after the contemporary with Cyrus; and that they Floud: so as where Mercator maketh all the 15. to precede the Floud, and the 16. to and that the Stars had four times changed have been then in being at the time of the their course, and the Sun twice set in the Floud, Annius makes them all after it. But East. These Riddles are also rise among the the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, though difguifed. For Annius had forgotten his former Opinion and Affertion, that it was in the 131. year that Nimrod, with the Sons of Noah, came into the Valley of Shinaar: fo he forgets the time which was confumed in the building of Babel: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed Gomer into Italy, and Tubal into Spain, in the tenth year of But for those 13000, years, it may well be Nimrods reign (which was ten years after his true; seeing it is certain that the Egyptians arrival into Babylonia) yet herein he is more makes after that account not above 1000, a Government established in the very first or 1100. years, whether we take their year of the arrival of Nimrod into Shimaar, Moneths or Lunary years to have been of the before all partition, or any expedition farr first kind of 27. days and eight hours; or off, or near, in question: for, from thence otherwise 29. days and twelve hours; or af (that is, from Babel) did the Lord scatter

||. IV.

Against Pererius: that it is not unlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within 200. years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.

of the History of the World.

Bilt whereas Pererius feeketh to over-throw this Antiquity of the Egyptians touching their Dynasties (which Eusebius doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I do not find any great strength in this Opinion of Pererius (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that Egypt should be peopled within 100. or 200. years after Adam, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth dies of men were most perfect, even withthat it was not inhabited at all before the in 130. years the fame (if not a greater) general Floud, I do verily believe the con- number might be increased; and so within trary; and that not only of Egypt, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: percrius his words are these: Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel citam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut time after it. Neither doth it agree with the ad Ægyptum usque habitandum & complendum propagata fit, &cc. For how could the chil- and Affrian Empire, that all those people, dren of Adam be so multiplied in the first two which we increased in the first 100. or 130. hundred, or in the first hundred years of the years after the Floud, came into Shinaar and World, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill Babylonia. For that ever Noah himself came Egypt? for allowing this (faith Pererius) we out of the Eaft, as there is no Scripture or mult also confes, that there were then both Authority to prove it. To all probable conthe Afgrians and other Nations.

Now, feeing that the Scriptures are filent herein, and that it is no point of our favingbelief, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gainfay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cavelling humours: for I think it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward fubrilty, and pre-judicate resolvedness, to maintain factions needless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this Opinion, that Egypt was not planted fo foon after Adam, no, not at all before the Floud, I fay, that there is no reason why we should give a less increase to the Sons of Adam, than to the Sons of Neah. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Floud double and (after a few years) treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred; nor confanguinity. And that there was a speedy be, that long before semiramis Reign, the increase of people, and in great members it greatest part of Asia (whence her huge Armay in some fort appear by this, that Cain, my was gathered) was full of people; yea, who (being fearfull that the death of Abel Arabia it self (much part whereof is barren)

would have been revenged on him) withdrew himself from the rest, which were atterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, and there, by the help of his own in fues, built a City (called Enoch) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that Nimrod came into the Valley of shinaar with so many multitudes as sufficed to build the City and Tower of Babel: and that to this increase there was given but 130. years by Berofus, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of Arphaxad, Sclah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one year: I fee no cause to doubt, but that in the Infancie of the first Age, when the bo-70. years after (that is, by fuch time as the World had ftood 200. years) as well Asyria, Syria, and Egypt might be possess before the circumstance or true Story of the Babylonian jecture and reason it self denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerfull numbers which semiramis (but the third from Nimrod) found in India, confidered with her own Army of three millions (and the left not all her Kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few years after the Floud, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account, Ninus governed Babylonia and Afyria but 292. years after the Floud of Noah. And these Troops of Semiramis were gathered out of all those Eastern Kingdoms, from Media to the Mediterrane Sea; when there had now past from the Floud to the time of this her invafion fornewhat less or more than 260. years: for much more time the true Chronologie cannot allow; though I confess that in respect of the strange greatness of semiranis Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered; this is as fhort a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is faid, That her Army confilted of 1300000. Footmenjand 500000 Horfe-men, it must needs 124 must long before this time of semiramis, have been plentifully peopled; when Ninus having a determination to make himself Master of all Nations, entred (notwitstanding) in league with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or fought his affistance. And if Arabia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but Egypt might also be peopled. Now, if we may believe Trooms Pompeius (Epitomiz'd by Justine) Egypt was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before Ninus was born. For these be his own words, speaking of Ninus: Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris Rex Agypti, Oc. But there were in times more ancient Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanais King of the Scythians : of which the one invaded Pontus, the other Egypt. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of Ninus witness, who subdued with no imal force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterward the Bactrians; yea, all that whole body of Asia on this side India. For Diodorus out of Ctelias numbreth the Armies wherewith Ninus invaded Zoroafter, at and the Stories generally shew, that though was greater than any that those parts of the should I feek for foraign Authority? for no man doubteth, but that Egypt was pofthat it was an established Kingdom, filled with many Cities in Abrahams time, the cultive a defolate and overgrown ground. to beautifie it with many Cities, Laws, and Policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days: and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than 200. years after the thorter) before the Floud. For if so many millions of men were found within 300 years after the general Floud; fo as not onely Babylon, and Afyria, Battria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Egypt, Palestina, yea, the faroff Lybia on the one fide, and India on the other, and scythia (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what fmall corners could then all those Nations be compress, which 1656. years brought forth before the Floud? even necessity, which cannot be resisted cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the known World; especially, where death forbare the Father and made no place

for the Son, till he had beheld living Nati-

ons of his own body. with a the hereby

||. V.

Of some other Reasons against the Opinion of Pererius.

Or what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800, or 900, years? Surely we have reason to doubt, that the World could not contain them, rather than they were not foread over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in the Age of the World: wherein if one exceed 50. years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and vet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude fuch, as if by Wars, or Peftilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the Earth, with all the industry of man, could not give them food. What strange heaps then of Souls had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. years, as aforefaid? These numbers, Isay, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in Brittain 1700000. Foot-men, and 200000. Horf-men: fince three or four hundred years before the Norman Conquest (faving fuch as by accident, Zoroafters Army was far short of this, yet it or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as World ever since beheld. But to what end by Polygamy might have been increased. For (to omit, that the Giants and mighty Ones of the first Age observed no Law of Matrifest by Mizraim, the Son of Ham; and mony) it is to be thought, that those Lovers of the World and of Pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which na-Scriptures tell us. And fure, to prepare and ture had given them, would not willingly or halfily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from, or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswafion to make men careless of life, and fear-less of death, than the little time which keeps Floud; and in the same time (if not in a them as under, and that short time also accompanied with fo many pains and diseases, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and soweth with the

feeds of Mankind \\
Now, if that Berofus or Annius may be alledged for fufficient Authours, whom Pererive himself in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by Josephus confirmed, that the City of Engel, was leated near Libarus in Syria: and if other parts of Syria where peopled in Campa time, I fee, pig suite why raleftime (wich is allo a Province of Syria) and Egypt (which restablished in Could be left delotate both all the life time of Campa, and all those times between his death and the Floud, which were by eltimation 790, or 800, years. And fure though this fragment of Bergies with Annius his Comment

yet all things in Berofus are not to be rejected. Therefore S. Hierome, for fuch Authours gives a good rule: Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let us choose what is good in them, and reject the reft. And certainly, in the very beginning of the first Book, Berofus agreeth (in effect) with Mofes, touching the general Floud: and in that drawn to the times before the Floud, or to first Part Berosus affirmeth, that those mighty men and Giants which inhabited Enoch, commanded over all Nations, and subjected the universal Word: and though that phrase Sons, wherein doth that necessary division (Of all the World) be often used in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of it? And whereas it is alledged that the conthe Afts. That there were dwelling at Hicru- fusion of speech was the cause of this disperfalem Jews, men that feared God of every Nat fion; it is true, that it was fo for that prefent; tion under Hewven: yet by the words which but if Babel had never been built, nor any follow in Berofie, it is plain, that his words confusion of Languages at all, yet increase and sence were the same: for he addeth, from the Suns rifing to the Suns fetting; which farther-off and general plantation, as Berocannot be taken for any finall part thereof. [6.5 fays well, that when man-kind were ex-Again, we may fafely conjecture, that Noab ceedingly multiplied, Ad comparandas novas did not part and proportion the World feder necossities compellebut, They were driven among his Sons at adventure, or left them as by necessity to feek new Habitations; For we Discoverers, but directed them to those Re- and (as it is before faid) that within 300. gions which he formerly knew had been in- years after the Floud, there were gathered habited. And it cannot be denied that the together into two Armies such multitudes, Earth was more paffable, and eafie to travel as the Walley about Bubylon could not have over before the Floud, than after it. For Pe- fullained those numbers, with their increase, rerius himself confesses that Attica (by rea- for any long time; all Affa, the Greater and fon of mud and flime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200 years after ogrees Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into farr Countreys, after the general Deluge, when the Earth lay (as it were) incopied for 100. or 130. years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and less cumberfome to walk over, in the first Age, than after the general overflowing.

IL VI.

Of the words of Moles, Gen. 10. Verl. ult. whereupon Pererius grounded his Opi-

Aftly, whereas Peraries draws this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of Genesis; And out of these were the Nations divided after the Floud: Quo significatur ta-lem divisionem non fuisse anne diluzium; By

Comment be very ridiculous in many places | This consequence, quo significatur, &c. seem-(the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) eth to me very weak: The Text it self rather teacheth the contrary : For out of thefe (faith Mofes) were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Floud; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Floud out of these onely. But whatfoever fence may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be any plantation or division in that Age: for if there were none elfe among whom the Earth could be divided after the Floud, but Noahs controul the planting of the World before of people and time would have enforced a the Leffer; all scythia, Arabia, Paluftina, and Egypt with Greece, and the Islands thereof; Manritania, and Lybia; being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe Berofus. then pot onely those parts of the World, but (within 140. years after the Floud) Spain, Haly, and France were also planted : much more then may we think, that within 1656. years before the Floud, in the time of the chief firength of mankind, they were replenifted with people. And certainly, feeing all the World was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended. Constitution (Constitution)

. VII.

A Conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely, touching the Egyprian Antiquities: with somewhat of Phut (another son of Ham) which peopled Lybia.

Herefore, for the Antiquity of the Egotiaus, as I do not agree with Mercator, nor which it appeareth (faith Pererius) that there judge with the Valgar, which give too much was no such division before the Floud; which credit to the Egyptians Antiquities of I do he also seekerh to confirm out of the eleventh not think the report of their Antiquites so of Genesis, because the division of Tongues fabulous, as either Peterius or other men conwas the cause of the dispersion of the people: ceive it. But I rather incline to this, that 126

there might remain unto the Sons of Mizraim thirtieth Chapter of Exechiel, that Phat, Chulb, Stone or Metal) of their former Kings or Go- with the Egyptians. vernours: which the Egyptians having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in fucceding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inferted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such fort preserved, Berosus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and fo doth Epigenes. For they both write, that the use of Letters, and the Art of Astronomy was known to the Babylonians 2634. years before Alexanders Conquest: and this report Annius findeth to agree, and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was born 1034. years before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as alfo of Christ his coming in judgment, as Saint Jude hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquities to other mens judgments, and every man to his own reason, I will conclude this Plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it took the name of Egypt from Egyptus, the Son of Belus, as aforesaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from Memphis, or Nicovolis to the Mediterrane Sea, was called the Inferiour Egypt; surnamed also Delta: because the feveral branches of Nilus breaking afunder from one body of the River, gave it the form of the Greek Letter Delta which is the form of a Triangle. That branch, which ran toward the North-east, and embraced the Sea next unto the Defarts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the City of Pelulium, where Senacherib was repulfed: The other branch, which yielded it felf to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of Alexandria: The upper part of Egypt is bounded between Memphis and Syene near Æthiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of the ancient City of Thebes; which (according to Homer) was adorned with 100. Gates: and therefore called Civitas centum portarum; and by the Greeks, Diospolis; in the Scriptures No-hamon, which signifieth multitudes of In-Jos. 1. habitants, exceeding belief. Josephus calls aut. 7. Egypt, Mersin of Mizrain: and Herodotus affirms that it had once the name of Thebais.

Phut, the third Son of Ham, took the next portion of Land to his Brother Mizraim, and inhabited Lybia: whose people were anciently called Phutei (faith Josephus) and Pliny mentioneth the River Phut in Mauritania: Lister which River from the Mountain Atlas (known to the Inhabitants by the name of

Egypt being peopled before the Floud, and Dyris) he maketh to be distant the space of 200. or 300. years more or lessafter Adam, two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the fome Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of and Lud were contermini, and affociates

#### 6. XII.

Of the eleven sons of Canaan, the fourth Son of Ham.

#### | I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan : with the names of his eleven Sons.

Anaan (the fourth Son of Ham) possest all that Region, called by the Romans Palastina ; in the Scriptures Galilea, Samaria, and Judea; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and Jurie: the limits whereof are precifely fet down by Mofes, Genefis the tenth, Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goeft to Gerar until Azzah, and as thou goeft unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Adma, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha. Now, howsoever these words of the Hebrew Text (as thou goest) be converted. Mofes meaning was, that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan, and Zidon the North; Sodom and Gomorrab the East, and the other Cities named flood on the Frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right line from Gaza in the way of Fgipt, the uttermost Territory of Canaan Southward : and this was properly the Land of

Now, the Sons of Canaan which poffest this Countrey, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof were in number eleven.

- t. Zidon.
- Tebuli, or Tebulans.
- Emori, or Emoreus, or Amoreus.
- Girgeshi, or Girgiseus. Hevi, or Chiveus.
- Arki, or Harkeus.
- Seni, or Sineus.
- Arvadi, or Arvadaus.
- 10. Zemari, or Samareus or Tzemareus. 11. Hamathi, or Hamatheur, or Chamathews. The to be a somewhat is in a trail of a sign hard a de

| | II.

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, ambrites, Heuites, Jebufites, and Perizzites which Perizzites were descended of Zemari, or Samareut, or from fome of his.

||. II.

of the Portions of Zidon and Heth.

Idon the first-born of Canaan, built the ver obtain Zidon it felf.

The fecond Son of Canaan was Heth, or Cethus: of whom came the Hethites, or Hittites, one of those seven principal Nations (Commanders of Canaan) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the Gercm.10.19 gestes , the Amorites , the Canaanites , the Perizzites, the Hevites, and the Jebufites. The Hittites inhabited about Berfabe, and towards Hebron, near the Torrent Gen. 13. Befor, and about Gerar, which Mofes maketh the uttermost limit of Canaan, having the Defart of Pharan to the South: for about Bersabe (otherwise Puteus juramenti) four miles from Gaza, dwelt Heth and his Posterity, as far to the North-east as Hebron, and Mantre, and of Ephraim the Hittite, did A- lilee : Gergeseus also built Beritus (sometime Isaac, saying, That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth. The Giants Anakim were of these Hittites, a strong and sierce Nation, whose entertainment by the Kings of Ifrael against them the Syrians greatly feared : as in the feventh of the Kings; Ifrael hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites.

#### | III.

of the Jebusites and Amorites.

Ebusaus, the third Son of Canaan, of whom J came the Jebusites, and whose principal feat was Jebus (afterward Hierusalem) were also a valiant and stubborn Nation, and held their City and the Countrey near it, till such time as David by Gods affiftance recovered both : yet were not the Jebulites extinguished, but were Tributaries to Solomon.

Amoreus was the fourth Son of Canaan, of whom the Amorites took name, who inhabited that Land to the East of Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, having Arnon and the Mountains of Galaad on the East, and Jordan on the West: of whom og (King of Basan) and Sihon (overthrown by Moses) were Princes.

The Amorites had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of Ca-

losyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also their being in the Mountains of Juda, and in Idumaa, near the Metropolis thereof, called Dent. 1. Duma. And hereof it came that all the Ca-Numb. 13; naanites were sometimes called Amorites : as famous City of Ziden in Phanicia, which in Genesis the fifteenth: For the wickedness afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of of the Amorites is not yet full. And that this Affer: for Affer, Zabulon, and Nepthali had a was also a powerfull Nation, we find in the Amas : great part of the ancient Phanicia distributed among them; but the Afferites could ne- before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar and he was strong as the Oak.

#### II. IV.

of the Gergefites, Hevites and Harkites.

THe fift Son of Canaan was Gergesius, or Gergesion (otherwise Girgasi) who inhabited on the East-side of the Lake of Tiberias. or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolemy fets the City Gerafa, which Josephus calls Gesera, in the Territory of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ dispossessed the possessed with devils; and the Gergestes desired him to depart their Coasts, because their Swine, filled with the evil Spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of Gabraham buy the Field of Sarahs burial. Of Geris) afterward Fælix Julia, three miles which Nation Rebecca bewailed her felf to from the River Adonis in Phanicia: in which the Romans held a Garrison: and to which Augustus gave many large priviledges.

Heveus the fixth Son, and Father of the Hevites, inhabited under Libanus near Emath. These Hevites, howsoever the Caphthorim expelled a good part of them (as in Deuteronomie the fecond is remembred) yet many of them remained all the Warr of Josua, and afterward to the time of Solomon. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the Ifraelites, and at other times ferved (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, Judges the third : They remained to prove Ifrael by them, whether they would obey the Commandments of God.

The feventh Son was Araceus, or Harki, who between the foot of Libanus and the Mediterrane Sea (over against Tripolis) built the City of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards

Arachis.

### | V.

of Sini and Arvadi.

Cineus the eighth Son, Hierosolymitanus Jets at Caparorsa, which Ptolemy finds in Judea, not farr from Jebus; to the South naan: as behind Libanus, in the edge of Ca- thereof, faith Junius. But it is more pro-

CHAP. VIII.

ty than the report of Brochard, who took the letter C. (otherwise Kenei) who defcended of Hobab the Son of Raguel the Madianite, who affifted the Ifraelites in their conduction through the wilderness of Pha-Nephtalims, beside their inhabitations with Naturals. Judg 4. the Amalekites: against these Cinai, Balaam prophefied, that they should be destroyed

by the Asyrians. The ninth Son was Aradeus, or Arvadeus, who in the Isle of Aradus, built the City Ara-

dos: opposite against which Island, on the Main of Phænicia, they founded another Ciafterwards called Antaradus. To this City Ifle preached the Gospel, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we find no fuch work of his in the Ads of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom Ezechiel remembreth in his Prophecies against the Tyrians: The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy Mariners.

## ||. V I. of Zemari.

F Samareus, or Zemari, the tenth Son. there are divers Opinions. Some think that he inhabited in Cælosvria at Edesla, and founded samaraim, which in Josua is placed in the Tribe of Benjamin. There is also Sa- that Epiphania, which standeth to the North marajim (of the same Orthography) upon the of Emesa, hath all the Province of Landi-Mountain of Ephraim (faith Beroaldus) mentioned in the fecond of Chron. c. 13. v. 4. which the Latine converteth amiss (saith he) by Semeron. The Hierofolymitan Paraphraft. makes Samareus (of whom were the Perizzites) the Parent of the Emissani, which Pliny tween Epiphania and any part of the Holy calls the Hemisseni, in Caelosyria; and it may Land: and therefore Emath so taken, could be that it was their first habitation, and that not be a part of Nephtali, as in the thirteenth they afterwards inhabited those other places of Josua is directly proved. For Josua countbefore remembred. But that they founded ing the Lands that remained unpoffest, rec-Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthography, koneth all Mount Libanon towards the Sunand this place in the first of Kings (speak- rising, from Baalgad under Mount Hermon, ing of Omri) disproveth: And he bought the until we come to Hamath. And this reason Mountain Samaria, or Shemeron, of one She- (among others) is used that Emath was not

bable, that Sineus founded Sin, which Saint | mar, for two Talents of Silver, and built in the Hierome calls Sim: Ptolemy, Simyra: Mela, Mountain; and called the name of the City and Pling, Symirus : Brochard, Sycon (called which he built, after the name of Shemar, Lord Synochis ) near Arca. Pererius thinks that Si- of the Mountain, Samaria. But of all these news inhabited the Defarts of Sinai or there- places I shall speak more at large in the Conabout; but hereof there is no other certain- quest of the Holy Land, by the children of Ifrael. Of whomloever the Samaritans were view of all these places, affirming that Sinens | descended, fure I am, that they were ever built Sinochis, as Zidon built Zidon. There a perfidious Nation, and base : for as long as is also another Nation of Cini, written with the state of the Jews stood up, they always called themselves Jews: when it suffered, or fank, they then utterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at fuch time as they were returned from their first captivity, they ran. But the Cinai were admitted among the became a mixt Nation; partly of the Co-Ifraelites, and had a portion of Land with the lonies of the Assyrians, and partly of the

## I. VII.

of Hamathi.

"He last of Canaans Sons was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Haty of that name, which for opposition was mathi, of Hamath (faith Bervaldus:) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is procame Saint Peter (faith Clement) and in this nounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was present. Josephus, and Saint Hierome confound Emath with Antioch: not that Antioch which frandeth on the River Orontes, on the frontier of Comagena, between the Mountain Caffins, and the Province of Pieria, and Seleucis, of which Saint Peter was Bishop, and in which Saint Luke and Ignatius were born; but Antioch, surnamed Epiphania, as Beroal-dus supposeth, which standeth between Apamea and Emela in Calliotis. Yet indeed, Emath cannot be taken for either: for both that Antioch upon Orontes, and that which neighboureth Emela, are farther off feated from Canaan, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. Hierom setteth Emath, which he confoundeth with Epiphania, in the Tribe of Nephtali; it is manifest, cea between it and any part of the Land divided. And if Libanon it self were not shared among the Tribes, then could not Epiphania belong unto them: for both the Provinces, Laodicea, and Libanica, are be-

in Nephtalim, or any way belonging to the Hebrew, Schin. Sebathe eldeft Son of Chufb, children of If ael: because David accepted Regma his brother, and Sheba the Son of Regsends the presents of Tohn King of Emath, and ma, policised both the shores of Arabia falix. (therewithal) conditions of peace: which Saha took that part towards the Red-Sea. he would not have done, if that Territory as neerest his Father Chush, and the Land of had ever belonged to the children of Ifrael, the Chastes: Regma and Sheba the East coast but would have recovered it without com- of the fame Arabia, which looketh into the polition, and by strong hand, as he did the Gulfe of Persia, of which Pliny: Sabai, Arabum reft. But this Argument (as I take it) hath populi, propter thura clariffini, ad utraque mano great weight: For if the promife which ria porreitis gentibus habitant . The Sabaans. God made, be considered, as it is written in people of Arabia, famous for their Frankin-Deuteronomy, then might Emath be compre-cense, extending their Nations, dwell along hended, though feated altogether without both the Seas (to wit) the Persian, and the Athe bounds of the Land promifed, according rabian or Red-Sea. This Country was afterto the description of Moses and Josia: for E- wards called Arabia, à populi mixtione, saith math is indeed fituated on the other fide of Postellus. To this agreeth Ptolemy, who the Mountain of Hermon, which joyneth to letteth the City of Saba towards, the Arabian Libanus; and is otherwise called Hurea. or Red-Sea, and the City Rhegama towards But whereas Hamath is named in Josua 19. v. the Perssan; with whom also we may leave 35. and written in the Latine conversion E. Sabta: for so much Montanus gathereth out math, therein (faith Beroaldus) was S. Hierom of Ptolemy, because he remembreth a Natimiltaken. Emath or Iturea is that over the on (called Stabai) near the Persian Sca; and Mountains, and the City in Nephtalim should Majjabathe which descended of them. But bewritten Hamath: and so the Septuagint Montanus hath sent Regma, or (as he calls (understanding the difference) write it Am- him) Rhama, into Carmania, for which I fee understanding the difference which indeed no reason. Josephus, who only attended his belongeth to the Nephtalims, seated on the own fancies, hath banished Saba or Seba to South fide of Libanus, to the East of Assedim: the border of Ethiopia. But Beroaldus which City S. Hierom writes Emath; Jose- thinks it strange, that the Sahei, which stole phus, Hamab; others, Ematkin, or Amathees, away Job's Cattel, should run through all and the people Amathein; of which (as I Egypt, and all Arabia Petrea, and find out Kings. Where is the God of Hamath?

#### 6. XIII.

of the sons of Chush (excepting Nimrod, o whom hereafter.)

chush Sabteca,	
were, Nimred.	)

in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabaans that robbed Job : and of the Queen that came to Solomon.

Seba or Saba was the eldest son of Chush, the eldest Son of Ham; to make a diffewith a fingle (8) Samech, and Sheba the Son to pass them, especially with any numbers of Regma with an (8) asperat, which is the of Cattel, both in respect of the Mountains, of

take it) Rabsakeh vaunteth in the second of job in Traconitis, between Palassina and Calofyria, 1200. miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the Sabei on the Red-Sea, nor those towards the Persian Sea, could by any means execute the stealth upon fob, which foever Beroaldus shall take for nearest. But these were the Sabai of Arabia the Desart, where Guilandinus Melchior affirmeth out of his own experience, that the City Saba is feated: the fame which Ptolemy calls Save, now Semiscasac: and from this Saba in Arabia the Defart, came those Magi or Wife-men, which worthipped Christ, saith Melchior, whose words are these: The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia (as Chrysoftom, Hierom, and Ambrofe Supposed) nor out of Arabia That most of the Sons of Chush were feated the Happy, as many wise-men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the Defart : which City, when my self was there, was (as I judged it) called semificafac. And to approve this Opinion of Guilandinus, it appeareth that these Sabei were neighbours to Job, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Natirence between Him and his Nephew Sheba, ons (as well those on the Persian Sea, as those the Son of his Brother Raama or Regma (or on the Red Sea) are so dis-joyned with large Ragma after Montanus) his dame is written Desarts, as there is no possibility for strangers

in those parts: Ubi nec homines, nec bestia vi- the West of Sabatha towards the Red Sea, dentur, nec aves, imo nec arbores, nec gramen the great City of saba; and the Nation adaliquod, sed non nist montes saxosi, altissimi, asper- joining, sabæi; and to the South thereof rimi; Where there are found neither men, nor again toward the streight entrance of the beasts, nor birds, no, not so much as trees, or Red Sca, the Region of Sabe. To all these any pasture or grass, but onely sharp, and high, his brothers and nephews which were seated flony, and craggie mountains. Beroaldus and on the East side of Arabia, Havilabby the Pererius conceive, that the Queen of Saba, passage of Tygris was a neighbour, to whom which came to visit Solomon, was of the Sa- he might pass by Boat, even unto Rhegma bei, on the East side of Arabia fælix ; but the the City of Raama, or Rhegma, set neer the contrary scemes more probable, and that she River of Lar towards the mouth of the Perwas Queen of Saba towards the Red Sea : for fian Sea, which stood in Ptolemy's time? Solomon at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petrea, betwixt Idumaa and the Red Sea, as far down as Midian or Madian and Frion Gaber: and this Queen of Saba, which inhabited the West part of Arabia Fælix, being his neighbour, might, without any far travel enter his Territories free from all danger of furprise by any other Prince or

But to avoid tediousness it is manifest that Plia. L.1. of his Name, the City of opposition, of output of the habitation of his father and brother). 2.14. In the lame Arana: Of which both lamy a dictional miles. Befides which and Ptolemy; who withall nameth Sabotale, above four thousand miles. Befides which the Ethiopians Altabari, they be not worthy Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any given: especially seeing these Cities, pre- for Linnen, or Iron chiefly. ferving the memory of the names of Saba. in Ptolemy's time, though in some letters onely by imagination: and, being under the changed. As also in the coasts adjoining, the burnt Zone, was held uninhabitable. And names of other of the brethren of the Family therefore that the Negroes of the West Æthiof Chush, with little alterations, are preserved. opia, which inhabite about Serra Liona, or In Arabia the Defart, is found the City of Sa- Niger could either pass by Sea or Land to Tyre, be, or Save (now Semifcafac) with the City in the bottom of the Mediterrane Sea, were of Rhegana for Rhegma; and the Nation by a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now, to Ptolemy himself called Raabeni of Raamah. In put it out of dispute, that Dedan also dwelt Arabia the Happy, is found the City of Rhe- by the rest of the children of Chush, which gama, and Rabana; which also keepeth the seats they held by that name in the time of found of Rhegma, the City of Saptha, or Sap- Hieremy the Prophet; let us hear Hieremy tah, not far from the East-coast of Arabia: as his own words: Fly, ye inhabitants of Dedan, also the Metropolis and chief City in the bo- for I have brought the destruction of Esau up-

the fands, and of the extreme want of water | out difference or alteration Sabatha, and to

#### II. IL

Josephus his Opinion of Dedan, one of the Hine of Chush to have been feated in the West Ethiopia, disproved out of Exechiel and Hieremy.

Nd whereas Josephus (whom in this Saint Hierom followeth, as not curious here-Seba, or Saba, Sabta, Raama, or Regma, with in) fent Dedan the Son of Raamab into the his Sons, sheba and Dedan, and Sabteca, were West Ethiopia, it is strange that Exceliel all the possessions of Arabia the Happy, and the should couple Sheba, and Raamah, and Dedan Defart : onely Havilah and Nimrod dwelt to- together; Dedan in the 15. Verse, and sheba gether on the East fide of Chush, who held and Raamah in 22. Verse, to be the Merchants Arabia Petraa. Now, for Sabta, there is found of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Ethiof his Name, the City of sbbatha, or Sabota opia, which is distant from Raamah and Shewithin the walls whereof there was some- the Merchandise that the Dedanites brought times found fixty Temples. Ezechiel joineth to Tyre doth not make them naked Blackthe Father and the Son together, The Mer- Moors. For they of Dedan faith Exechiel) chants of Sheba and Raama were thy Mer- were thy Merchants in precious cloaths for chants. And that they were the Eastern Ara- thy Chariots; and these Western Ethiopians bians, their Merchandife witnefleth former- never faw cloth, till the Portugals, feeking ly repeated in the Chapter of Paradife. For those Coasts, traded with them: the Mer-Josephus his fancies, that Saba was the Parent chandise of the Countrey being Hides, Eleof the Ethiopians about Merce, and Sabta of phants Teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civetany farther Answer then hath already been manufacture: and all these they exchanged

But in those days, the West part of Africa. and of Sabta in Arabia, were yet remaining within the body of the Land, was known dy of the South part of Arabia, called with- on him. Hereby it appeareth, that Dedan

mea is a Province of Arabia Petrea: and Dedan, which dwelt on the North part of Ara- eth that which is spoken in the third Verse bia Falix, joined in that part to Peiraa, the of Lud, not to be meant of the Lybians at all: feat of his Grand-father Chush; which neighbourhood of Dedan and the Idumaans, is alfo confirmed by Ezechiel: I will stretch out my Exch. 15. hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan fhall fall by the foord.

CHAP. VIII.

in the He-

#### 6. XIII.

Of the issue of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie, Chap. 9. Verse 7.

A Fter Chuft, it followeth to speak of Miz-raim's Sons, whose names (faith Saint Augustine) were plural, to fignifie the Nations which came of them. Ludim, the elder Son of Mizraim, was the Father of the Lybiral num- ans in Africa: and the rest of his Brothers ber, as aim, dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoining. Among the Sons of Shem, there is also Lud; but he is differenced from Lud the Son of Mizraim by the fingular number: the Son of Shem being written Lud; the Son of Mizraim, Ludim: and yet these Names and came the Philistims, whom the Scriptures Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that Ludim the Son of Mizraim was the Parent of the Lybians in Africa, and that he was feated not far the Mountain Callins are found, not far from from Mizraim his Father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremie, who joined them in this fort together : Come up ye Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, Pelusium. Strabo calls it Sethrotis; Stephanus the Black-moores, and the Lybians which bear and Pliny, Sethroitis, of the City Sethron: the shield : for those Nations affisted the Egyptians, being of one Parent descended. And in Exechiel, Phut and Lud are joined together. Æthiopia (or Chush) faith Ezechiel, c. 30. v. 3. and Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to fay, as the Sons of Chush (which were the Chulites) the Sons of Mizraim (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians (defcended of his Son Lud) with other the Inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, shall fall together. Hierosolymitanus finds also in Africa a Nation of the Lidyans. And I believe it: because Hieremie joineth the Libyans and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Libya in Africa is by the Hebrews called Ludim (faith Arias Montanus ) though 2 Chron. 12. 3. they feem to be called Lubim or Lubai, a name somewhat neer the word Lybies, and by which it may feem that the indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is writtruer writing is, not Libyes, but Lybies. Nei- ten, that he was also King of the Philistims, in

was a Neighbour to the Idumeans: and Idu- ther is it here to be omitted, that Pintus (upon the thirtieth of Ezechiel) understandfor he will have this threatning to be meant against the people of Lyda, a City (saith he) between Egypt and Palastina, which opinion I could not mislike, if the City of Lyda were fo feated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda, with a double d, and is the same City which was afterward Diospolis, in which S. Peter cured Æneas of the Palfey) standeth neer the Torrent Gass, not farr from Joppe the Port of Hierusalem. Yet it is not imposfible but that this City might have Lud for the Founder: For there are many Cities of one name, founded in all the Regions of the World, and farr afunder; as after the names of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus, many Cities called Alexandria, Seleucia and Antiochia: fo of divers others. S. Hierome maketh Lehabim to be the Father of Libya, who was the third Son of Mizraim: and fo doth Poftellus; and either Opinion may be true.

The rest of Mizraim's Sons have no proper Countreys given them in the Scriptures; faving Caslubim and Caphtorim, of whom call Pelefet.

These Cassubim inhabited Cassiotis, a Region lying in the enterance of Egypt from Palestina, in which the Lake Sirbonis, and whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim feated near Cassum in that Tract of Egypt called Sethrotis, not far from which Ortelius takes to be the fame which Ptolemy calls Hercules parva. Of the Cassuhim and Caphtorim came the Philistims, which are called by the Septuagint Allophyli (which is) Alienigena, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the Holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palastina took name. For the Hebrews (faith Isidore) do not use the letter (p) but infteed of it (ph.) Their principal Cities were Gaza, Afcalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accuron: and the people of them called Gafei, Ascalonita, Azotii, Gethai, and Accaronita : Isidore affirms, that Ascalon was first called Philistim; and of that City the Countrey adjoining. But where Isidore had it, I know not.

The first known King of the Philistims, was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abrahams wife; with whom Abraham made a covenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt

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Pollupon these words: Wherefore Isaac went to Abime- stina, it is not certainly known. And sure in

the Mediterran Sea to the Northward, from Damajeus into Kir: and so Josephus seems to the Castle of Pilgrims (otherwise Casarea Pa- understand this Kir of Cyrene in Media, call-Lestina, or Stratons Tower ) which was the ing this Cyrene, Media superior: for it was the South border of Phanicia, to Gaza, or to the manner and policy of the Afgrians to trans-River of Egypt. The Anakims or strong Gy-plant the people conquered by them, as they named. They had sometimes five Kings, saith called Syro-Media: because the Syrians by Lyranus. They maftered the Ijraelites at fe- the Affyrians were therein captived. veral times above 150. years, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel; but in the end, this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on themselves.

It is Objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the Sons of Mizraim, therefore did the Ifraelites dispossess the Sons of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this faith Pererius, that although the Palastines or Philistims held it in the time of Josua, yet at the time of the Promise it was possessed by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomy. The Hevites dwelt in the Villages unto Gaza. And what marvel, if (the Canaanites being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the Philistims were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, besides Moses, the

Hier. c 47. Prophet Jeremy witnesseth: The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the iffue of Caphtor: and in like manner in the Amos 9 ninth of Amos, the Philistims are faid to be Abraham descended.) the reliques of Caphtorim: Have not I brought up Ifrael out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir? so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, and Palestinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, Assur (who was supposed to found Ninive) this conversion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a City directly West from Egypt, between Ptolomais or Barce and Apollonia; but Kir in Asia under the Assirians: Junius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene; and so hath the Geneva. But Perebound: and yet it is not altogether impro-Of which bable if he mean Cappadocia in Palassina, and and to whom Ophir and Havilah the Sons of

lech King of the Philistims unto Gerar. Now this manner he may expound Cappadocia to in regard that this or some antienter Abime- be ambiguous, aswell as he doth Crene: lech governed the Common-wealth greatly taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa but to his glory, the rest of his successors called for a place in Media. For it is written in the themselves by the same name. The Phili-stims commanded that Tract of Land upon the Assignment Agrans carried away the inhabitants of 10.9. ants were of these Philistims: and Goliah did the Samaritans or Israelites, and other was of Geth, one of the five Cities above Nations. And hereof it came that Kir was

> s. XV. of the iffue of Sem.

||. I. of Elam, Affur, Arphaxad, and Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speak of the Sons of sem, who are these:

- I. Alam, or Elam,
- 2. Afbur, 3. Arphaxad.
- 4. Lud, and
- 5. Aram.

"He posterity of Sem, Moses recounterh after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the Hebrews: (For of sem was

Of these five Sons, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of Arphaxad only, and only the Children of him and Aram; the rest are barely spoken of by reherfal of their names, faving that it may be gathered, that was also said to be the Father of the Asyrians, whose issues, and the issues of cham, infantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the Asyrians, sometimes the Babylonians obtained, according to the virtue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us that rius calls Caphtorim Cappadocia, according all the East parts of the World were peoto the Vulgar translation, to which he is pled by Affur, Elam, and Lud (faving India) which I believe Noab himself first inhabited: not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the Jostan afterward repaired: Hi filii Sem ab North of Asia the Less. For whether they in Euphrate fluvio partem Asia usque ad Oceanum habited sethrettes, or Cappadocia of Pale- Indicum tennerunt; Thefe sons of Sem (faith

of the History of the World. CHAP. VIII.

phrates to the Indian Ocean. Of Elam came the Elamites, remembred, of Elam came the Enames of Persia; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the Persians became Masters of Babylonia: the East Monarchy being established Cham possess the rest. It is true that he was in them. Some prophane Writers diftinguish the Father of the Hebrews: For Arphaxad

call sufan) in Elam was the Kings feat of Perfia (witness Daniel) And I faw (faith he) in a

cording to Ptolemy) in Daniel, Olai: and his friends. feated in the border of Susiana.

Ashur (as most Historians believe) the second Son of Sem, was Father of the Asprians, who disdaining the pride of Nimred, parted from Babel, and built Ninive, of equal beauty and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath been in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much: for the Asyrians so often invaded and spoiled the Ifraelites, destroyed their Cities, and led them Cap-

of the Asprians of any fuch power, after such | Greek Mesopotamia simply. time as Sardanapalus lost the Empire. For him towards the West, notwithstanding verted witness: Quos nos Syros vocamus, 19-19-Have the Gods of the Nations delivered them which we call Syrians (faith he) themselves call Streb. 1. 1. rej. 11. these vaunts of Senacherib in Esay the 37. whom my Fathers have destroyed: as Gozan, Aramenians and Arameans. and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were at Telassar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and Syrians in general; (and not only of those the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and in Syria Inter-Amnis, which is Mesopotamia) Ivah? All these were indeed but petty Kings some read, Genes. 22. 21. Kemuel, the Father of Cities, and small Countries, as Haran in of the Syrians: where others out of the ori-Mesopotamia: Reseph in Palmyrena: Hamath ginal read Kemuel, the Son of Aram. Neior Emath in Iturea, under Libanus : the He ther is it any inconvenience for us to underof Eden: Sephar, and others of this fort fland the word (Aram) here, not for the Yea, Nebuchadonozor, who was most pow- Nation, but for the name of fome one of erful before the conquest of Egypt, had but note; the rather, because in the History of Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and Syria; with Pala- Abraham and Isaac (which was in time long fina, and Phanicia, parts thereof. But in before Kennels Posterity could be famous) this question of Affir, I will speak my opini- we find Mejopotamia called Aram; and that on freely when I come to Nimrod, whose with an addition, sometimes with Nabarajim. Plantation I have omitted among the rest of and sometimes of Padan, to distinguish it

(St. Hierom) held all those Regions from Eu- the Chastres, because he established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable story of the World taketh beginning.

Of Arphaxad came the Chaldeans, faith Saint Hierom and Josephus; but it must be those Chaldeans about Or: For the Sons of Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a begat Shela, and Shela, Heber, of whom people apart. But susa (which the Scriptures hereafter.

And that Lud, the fourth Son of shem, gave name to the Lydians in Alia the less, is Vision, and when I aw it, I was in the palace of the common opinion; taken from Josephus Sulan, which is in the Province of Elam. This and Saint Hierom; but I fee not by what rea-Pail Ass City is embraced by the River Euleus (ac. fon he was moved to ftraggle thither from

II.

of Aram, and his Sons.

Ram the first and last Son of Shem was A the Parent of the Syrians: of which Damascus was head. Their name was chang- Elay 7. 8. ed from Aram or Aramites by Syrus (faith Eusebius out of Josephus) which Syrus lived Ensel. p. before Moses was born; the same which o- 10, C. thers call the Son of Apollo. Mesopotamia tives, as both in Divine and Humane letters also, being but a Province of Syria, had the there is large, and often mention of this name of Aram Naharajim, which is as much to say, as, Syria duorum fluviorum; Syria But howfoever Herodotus and D. Siculus compaffed with two Rivers, (to wit) Tygris extend this Empire, and honour this Nation and Emphrates. The Scriptures call it Melopowith ample Dominion; yet was not the state tamia, Syria, and Padan Aram: and the

Arise and get thee to Padan Aram (faith Isa- Gen. 18. Senacherib, who was one of the powerfulleft
Princes among them, had yet the Mountain

Artycanu get the boule of Bethuelthy Mothers 2. fee

acto Jacob 10 the boule of Bethuelthy Mothers 5. fee

artycanu get the boule on anam rame (anti-yie cos. 15.

Eather, and thence take thee a wrife. Strabo 10. allo Taurus for the utmost of his Dominion to- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth it by the antient name of A- Dominion 10- also remembreth name of A- Dominion 10 wards the North-east, and Syria bounded ram, or Aramea, as these his own words con-& Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant; Those Plat 59.

Against this opinion, that Aram the Son of Sem was the Father and Denominator of the

also was called Aram. For whereas Junius thinks, in his Notes upon Gen. 25, 20, that Padan-Aram ought to be restrained to some part of Mesopotamia (to wit) to that part which Ptolemy calls Ancobaritis (fo called from the River Chaboras, which, dividing it, runneth into Euphrates) the promiscuous use of Padan Aram and Aram Naharajim (which | feathers, to carry them far away in all haft. latter appellation questionless comprehends For mine own Opinion, I always keep the the whole Melopotamia) may feem to refute rule of Neighbourhood, and think with 74this Opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it fignifieth as much as | Province of Calliotis, and Selencis, where Ptothe yoak of Syria, which name agreeth with lemy placeth Gindarus, and the Nation by this Region: because the two Rivers (as it Pliny called Gindareni. were) voaked together go along it. The na (as Junius hath well noted) the one upon Chaboras, the other upon Euphrates.

The Sons of Aram were, Sether, and Mesch, or Mes.

Uz, or Hus, inhabited about Damascus. and built that City, faith Josephus and Saint Hierom. But Toftatus mistaking this Opinion, both in them and in Lyra, who also followeth Josephus, affirmeth, that Abraham's Steward. Eliezer, was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that Hus, the eldeft Son of Aram, the same, adjoining to Arabia the Desart, and to Batanea, or Traconitie; whereof the Prophet Hieremy: Rejoyce and be glad, O Lam chap daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the Land 4. v. 21. of Hus. Hus therefore is feated beyond fordan, in the East Region of Traconitis, adjoin-

ing to Basan, having Batanea Gaulonitis, and the Mountain Seir to the East, Edrai to the South, Damascus North, and Fordan West: having in it many Cities and People, as may also be gathered out of Hieremy: And all forts of people, and all the Kings of the Land of Hws. In this Region dwelt Job, descended of Hus, the Son of Nahor, the Brother of Abra-

bam (faith S. Hierom) and married Dina the Daughter of Jacob, faith Philo. Hul, the second Son of Aram, S. Hierom

makes the Father of the Armenians; and Gether, the third fon Parent to the Acarnanians, Shem, begat Shelah, and Heber. Heber had or Carians: which Opinion (because I find two Sons, Phaleg and Jostan: and in Phaleg's Sea. 7. not where to fet him) I do not disprove, time was the Earth divided.

from another Aram, which (as it feems) then I though I fee no reason why Gether should leave the fellowship of his own Brethren, and dwell among strangers in Asia the less. Junius gives Hul (whom he writes Chul) the Defart of Palmyrena, as far as Euphrates, where Ptolemy fetteth the City of Cholle.

Gether (faith Josephus) founded the Buctrians: but Josephus gave all Noah's children nius (to wit) That Gether feated himself neer his Brothers in the Body of Syria, and in the

Junius also giveth to Mes, or Mesch the Reliques of the name Padan appear in the North part of Syria, between Cilicia and Mename of two Cities, in Ptolemy, called Aphada- Sopotamia, neer the Mountain Massus. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwife be known than by this probability that Aram the Father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his Sons in the fame Land about him: for he wanted no scope of

Territory for himself and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Defart parts of the World, fo far afunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while; fo ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, fet them afun-

der. For although these Sons of Aram, and dwelt neer unto his Father, who inhabited the Sons of the rest of Noah's children, kept the body of syria. For Hus was a Region of themselves within the bounds of some one large Kingdom; yet therein every one also

fought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities, therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their Posterity: the use of letters being then

rare, and known to few.

In this fort did the pride of the Spaniards in America cast them into so many Provinces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (Nova Hispania and Peru ex-

cepted, because those Countreys are unacceffible to strangers) an easie force wil cast them out of all the reft.

Mes, the fourth Son, is made the Parent of the Meonians: of whom fomthing hath been spoken already. Arphaxad, the third Son of

||. III.

of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the sons of Heber, of the iffue of Sem.

of the History of the World.

(at Phale's birth) were then living and rougher and others : and Zoroughen on this the through Plantation of all the East part other fide who made refistance with 400000 of the World (at his death) hath made a prove it sufficiently, that if the division had doubt, whether the Earth were divided at not hapned before the death of Phaleg, there either. The Hebrews (lath Pererins out of had needed no division at that time at all. Sector Holati one of their Chronicles) affirm For some of them were to ill fatisfied with that this partition happed at the death of their portions, as they fought to be mafters Phales and Phales was born in the year after of all, and greater Armies were there never the Florid rot, and lived in all 239, years, gathered than by Nimis and Semiranis: which numbers added, make 340. And wherefore in this Opinion there is little aptherefore was it to many years after the Floud, ere the children of Noah severed themselves. But to this Opinion of the Hebrews, and the doubt they make, how in fo few years as 101. (the time of Phaleg's birth) the Earth: It was never meant that the fo many people could be increased, Pererius Earth could be tilled every where at the vegives this Answer, That if 70 persons of the ry instant, but by times and degrees. And Family of Jacob increased to 600000. fight- furely, whatsoever mens Opinions have been ing men in 215. years (besides women, children and impotent persons ) how much Tongues and of Men must go neer together more is it likely, that fo foon after the Floud the children of Noah might, in a shorter that the enterprise of Babel was left off intime, bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleffing of God, Increase and multiply, and fill the Earth & What strength on; and so neither at the birth nor death of this Answer hath, let others judge: for the Phaleg: for Phaleg was born in the year 101. children of Ifrael were 70. and had 215. years after the Floud, which was the year that time: and the Sons of Noah were but three, Nimrod came into Shinaar, or ten years after and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth he arrived, faith Berafus. of Phaleg.

name after the divition, in memory thereof: on must have lived without a name, except Joblin as Josephus and S. Augustine, who reason in the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this Objethis manner. If the division were at routed the second that it may answered, That the change of the death (which happened in the year, which the second that it may answered. That the change of the second that it is commonly held to be the 48: of Abraham, and the second that the second that it is commonly held to be the 48: of Abraham, but was, bymore likely, computation 12. years the Scriptures; for Jacob was called Israel before his birth) then was the divition 38. after he had wrestled with the Angel; Abrayears after Ninui, who governed 52: years : ham was first Abram; and Edom, Efau; and in the 43. year of whose Reign Abraham was that Phaleg being a principal man in this diborn. But when Ninus began to rule the vision, had his first name upon this accident

Afgrians, 80. years before this division (as changed, it is most probable. Res. It, this division is placed by the Hebrews, Hie-Gault, this division is placed by the Hebrews, Saint Herom, and Chrisfitom) then was the Earth so Hierom, and Chrisfitom. account Heber for peopled in all the East and Northern parts, a great Prophet, if that by giving his Son as greater numbers have not been found at the name Phaleg, he foretold the divition any time fince. For Ninns, aflociating to him- which followed: to this I fay, I do not find felf Ariam King of Arabia, a People who at that Heber deferved any fuch honour, if he that time (faith Diodorus Siculus) plurimum opibus atque armis prastabant, Exceeded both sion and dispersion followeth increase of in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in Armenia; received Barzanis into grace; then invaded Media, and crucified reference to the division, which after-

Pharms the King thereof, with his Wife and feven Children; vanquithed all those Regions between Nilus and Tanais, the Egyptians, Phanicians, the Kingdom- of Syria, and all the Nations of Persia, to the Hyrcanian Sea, For the number which followed Ninus (al-THe many People which at the division ready remembred out of Ctosus,) against Zapearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of Phales, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill herein, yet it is certain, that the division of with the ceasing of the work at Babel: and stantly upon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the divisi-

Now, if it be objected, That Phaleg 'the Others conceive that Phaleg took that Etymologie of whole rame fignifieth Livisi-

And laftly, whereas the Hebrews, Saint had thereupon fo called his Son: for divipeople of necessity; and this Prophecy (if any fuch had been) might also have

Building of the Tower and City of Babel, in Persia was accounted the furthermest Eastwhich time many people (by reason and by Country in respect of Judea; which also and that upon the fall thereof the contuion ing the rest of Abraham's Sons leated themand divition followed (whereupon Phaleg felves on the borders of Judag: I Tather took name) then in this opinion there is no- choose to leave Saba the Son of Abraham in thing either curious or monftrous.

The first Book of the first Part

#### I. IV.

of the fons of Joctan, the other son of Heber.

I. Elmodad. 2. Saleph, or Salep, or Sheleph. 3. Asamath, or Chatzar.
4. Jare, or Jaraah, or Jerath. 5. Hadoram.
6. Ozal, or Ozal.
7. Dicklach, or Dicla.
8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal. 9. Abimael. 10.Sheba, or Seba. 11.Ophir, or Opir. 12. Havilah, or Chavila, and 13. Jobab.

Lithose Sons of Jostan (according to A Saint Hierom) dwelled in the East parts of the World, or India, even from the River Cophe or Choas, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scrip-Gene 30. And their dwelling was from Melha as thou But Ophir is found among the Moluccas fartures, the words of Moses being general: goest unto Separ a Mount in the East. Of all ther East. these thirteen Sons, there were only three memorable, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Havi-nicles, the third Chapter and fixth Verfe, gation; Primum Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ; prope vero hos funt Tisci: The first are Sabæans; after these be Passægarde; and near these the Tasci. And whereas it is writ-Gen. 25 6. ten: But unto the Sons of the Concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and

wards fell amongst the Hebrews themselves. Hereuron it is surposed, that this saba the But if we give a reasonable time to the Son of Abraham wandered irte Persia: for which time many people (by least and conditions) which time many people (by least and demonstrative proof) might be increased: Good settleth under the Sun-rifing. Yet see Manal Arabia the Defart, where Ptolemy letteth a

City of that name. But Saba, the Son of Joda's, the Son of Heber (as I conceive ) inhabited India itself. For Dionysus Afer in his Periegess or description of the World) which he wrote in Greek Totals Verie, among the Regions of India Indeth medios habitatque Sabaus; In the middeft of antile these dwell the Sabai, and the Taxili, faith Dionylus.

of Ophir one of Joctan's Sons, and of Peru, and of that voyage of Solomon.

Phir also was an inhabitant of the East India, and (as St. Hierom understands it) in one of the Islands plentiful with Gold, which are now known by the name of Molucce. Josephus understands Ophir to be one of those great head-lands in India, which by a general name are called Chersones, or Peninfula: of which there are two very noto-But the certain places of those thirteen rious; Calleent and Malacon. Pererius takes it rightly for an Island, as St. Hierom doth, but he fets it at the head-land of Malacca.

Arias Montanus, out of the second of Chrolab. Concerning whose names, to avoid conthers that Ophir was Peru in America, lookfusion, it is to be observed, that among the ing into the West Ocean, commonly called Sons of Chulb, two of them had also the Mare del Sur, or the South Sea ; by others, names of Sheba and Havilab. Abraham had Mare pacificum. The words, in the second of also a third Saba, or Sheba, his Grand-child the Chronicles, are these: And he over-layed by his wife Ketura. But Seba the Son of Chush, the house with precious stones for beauty; and and Shebathe Son of Rhegma his Nephew we the gold was gold of Parvaim. Junius takes have left in Arabia fælix; and Havilah the this gold to be the gold of Havilah, remem-Son of Chush upon Tygris. Saha the Grand-bred by Moses in the description of Paradise: child of Abraham was (as some have thought)

And the gold of that Land is good: finding a gr., the Father of the Sabaans in Persia: of which Town in Characene, a Province of Sustana, Plate Nations Dionysius de Orbis situmaketh men-called Barbatia; so called (as he thinks) by c. st. corruption for Parvaim: from whence those Kings subjected by David, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which David preserved for the inriching of the Temple.

But this fancy of Peru hath deceived mafent them away from Ifaac his Son (while he ny men, before Montanus, and Pleffis, who get lived ) Enjimard to the Enft-Country: also took Ophir for Pern. And that this Que-

World of that name: fure I am, that at least, fignifieth an Island. And in this manner have America hath none, no not any City, Village many places, newly discovered, been entior Mountain so called. But when Francis tuled, of which Peru is one. And therefore Pilarro first discovered those Lands to the we must leave ophir among the Molnecos, South of Panama, arriving in that Region whereabout such an Island is credibly afwhich Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of firmed to be. magnificence, riches, and dominion inferior to none) fome of the Spaniards, utterly ig- in Arabia it felf (towards Persia) in Havidah. norant of that language, demanding by now sufiana, and all alongst that East Indifignes (as they could) the name of the Coun- an shore ; yet the greatest plenty is taken try, and pointing with their hand athwart a up at the Philippines, certain Illands planted River, or Torrent, or Brook that ran by, the by the Spaniards, from the East India. And Indians answered Peru, which was either the by the length of the passage which Solomons name of that Brook, or of Water in general. Ships made from the Red-Sea (which was The Spaniards thereupon conceiving that three years in going and coming) it seemeth the people had rightly understood them, set they went to the uttermost East, as the Moit down in the Diurnal of their enterprise, luccas or Philippines. Indeed these that now and so in the first description made, and sent | go from Portugal, or from hence, finish that over to Charles the Emperor, all that West navigation in two years, and sometimes less: part of America to the South of Panama, had and Solomon's Ships, went not above a tenth the name of Pern, which hath continued e- part of this our course from hence. But we ver fince, as divers spaniards in the Indies must consider, that they evermore kept the assured me; which also Acosta the Jesuite in coast, and crept by the shores, which made his natural and moral History of the Indies the way exceeding long. For before the confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also use of the compass was known, it was imfindeth, that a part of the Indies (called In- possible to navigate a-thwart the Ocean; catan) took that name of Jottan, who as he and therefore Solomon's Ships could not find supposeth navigated from the utmost East of Reru in America. Neither was it needfull India to America: it is most true, that Inca- for, the Spaniards themselves (had it not tan is nothing else in the language of that been for the plenty of Gold in the East In-Country, but [What is that ?] or [What say dia Illands, farr above the Mines of any one jou?] For when the spaniards ask'd the place of America) to sail every year to the name of that place (no man conceiving their West part of America thither, and there to meaning) one of the Salvages answered Ju- have strongly planted, and inhabited the catan (which is) What ask you, or What say richest of those Islands: wherein they built Jone The like happened touching Paria, a City called Manilia. Solomon therefore a Mountainous Country on the South fide of needed not to have gone farther off than Trinidado, and Margarita: for when the Ophir in the East, to have sped worse: neispaniards inquiring (as all men do ) the ther could he navigate from the East to the names of those new Regions which they West in those days, whereas he had no coast discovered, pointed to the Hills afar off, to have guided him. one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to fay, as, high Hills or Mountains. Inion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be For at Paria begins that marvellous ledg of a Countrey, whose mountains of Gold are Mountains, which from thence are continu- kept by Griffins: which mountains Solinus ed to the Strait of Magellan, from eight de- affirmed to be in Scythia Asiatica, in these grees of North latitude to the 52. of South:

the name of Paria. which I sent under Sir Richard Greenevile to Stones, the Griffins defend the one and the inhabit Virginia. For when some of my other: a kind of Fowl, the siercest of all other; people asked the name of that Country, one with which Griffins a Nation of people, called of the Salvages answered, Wingandacon, Arimaspi, make Warr. These Arimaspi are said which is as much to fay, as, Tou wear good to have been men with one eye onely, like cloaths, or gay cloaths. The same happened unto the Cyclops of Sicilia: of which Cyclops, to the spaniard in asking the name of the Herodotus, and Aristeus make mention: and Island Trinidado: for a Spaniard demanding fo doth Lucan in his third Book: and Valerius

ftion may be a subject of no further dispute; the name of that felf place which the Sea it is very true that there is no Region in the encompassed, they answered, Caeri, which

Now, although there may be found Gold

Toftatus also gathereth a fantastical Opiwords: Nam cum Auro & Gemmis affluant, and so hath that Country ever fince retained Griphes tenent universa, alites ferocissima, Arimalpi cum his dimicant, &c. For where-The same happened among the English, as these Countreys abound in Gold and rich

Flaccis :

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on) I believe none of them. And for these Ophir past into the Islands adjoining. And Arimafi, I take it that this name fignifying whereas Ganger is faid to water Havilah, it is one-eyed, was first given them, by reason that meant by Havilah in the East-India, which they used to wear a vizzard of defence, with took name of Havilah the Son of Joban: but one fight in the middle to ferve both eyes; Havilah which Pifon compaffeth, was so caland not that they had by nature any fuch deled of Havilab, the Son of Chus, as is formerly fect. But solinus borroweth these things out of Plin, who fpeaks of fuch a Nation in the the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comeft to 1 Samig extreme North, at a place called Gifelitron, or Shur, which is before Egypt. Bur, that Saul . 7. the Cave of the North-east wind. For the rest, as all Fables were commonly grounded hath suspected. For an end we may conupon some true Stories or other things done: clude, that of the thirteen Sons of follam, fo might these tales of the Griffins receive these three, Saba, Havilah, and Ophir; though this moral: That if those men, which fight against fo many dangerous passages for Gold, the Hill Massus, or Mesh, Gen. 10.20. (to wit) or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half length, either themselves, or their islues retheir eye-fight (at least of the eye of right moved into the East-India, leaving the other reason and understanding) they would con- Families of Jostan, to fill the Countreys of tent themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not suject themselves to famine; defines to have been from Mess unto Sephar. forts of milerable difeases. And though this Region of the Eaff-India, and Sephar a fable be feigned in this plate, yet, if fuch a fale were told of some other places of the Mountain, would have to be the Andes in A-Mountain. World, where wilde Beafts or Serpents defend mountains of Gold it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the World, and other ravenous and cruel Beafts: unto fame warr which the Arimashi make against the Griffins: not that the one or other had any themselves or their young ones, they grow and rich inraged and adventurous. In like fort it may of time. ans call the Crocodyles) defend those Pearls stand not, being grounded but upon mens be faid that the Alegartos (which the Egyptimany times the poor Indians are eaten up by them, when they dive for the Pearl. And though the Alegartos know not the Pearl, yet they find favour in the flesh and bloud of the Indians, whom they devour.

| VI.

of Havilah the Son of Joctan, who also passed into the East-Indies : and of Mesha and Sepher named in the bordering of the families of Joctan: with a Conclusion of this Difcourse touching the plantation of the World.

F Havilah the Son of Jostan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the gene-

Flaccus: and D. Siculus, in the Story of Ale- ral Opinion is, that he also inhabited in the xander Macedon. But (for mine own Opini- East-India, in the Continent, from which proved by this place of Scripture : Said fmate derstanding. For, the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to Judea. is never farther extended than into Persia. fable mountains, which are very rich; and full of Gold, inhabited onely with Tygers, Lions, Mafins in the North of Melopotamia, out of which, if any man ascend except his strength runneth by Charran: and in the same Regibe very great) he shall be sure to find the on we also find for sephar (remembred by Moses) Sipphara by Ptolemy, standing to the East of the Mountain Masins; from whence, fense of the Gold, or feek to defend that me- JoHan having many Sons, some of them tal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of might passinto India, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process The other fallion of Planting I under-

which lie in the Lakes of the In-land: for imaginations, contrary to reason and possibino farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the fame phrase is used: as in Numbers 23. Balac the King of Moab ref. 7. bath brought me from Aram, out of the Monttain of the East; which was from the East part of Mesopotamia. For Balac brought Balaam out of Mesoporamia (witness this place of Deuteronomy:) Because they hired Balaam the Son of Beer, of Pethor in Aram Naha- cap 21. rajim, to curfe thee : for Aram Naharajim was ver, 4-Syria fluviorum, which is Mejopotamia, as This plantation of the World after the

Floud doth best agree (as to me it seems) | darkest forgetfulness ought to have buwith all the places of Scripture compared ried, and covered over for evermore. And together. And these be the reports of rea-although the length and dissolving nature of fon and probable conjecture 5 the guides time hath worn out or changed the names which I have followed herein, and which and memory of the Worlds first Planters af-I have chosen to go after; making no valu- ter the Floud (I mean the greatest number, ation of the opinions of men, conducted by and most part of them) yet all the footsteps their own fancies, be they ancient or mo- of Antiquity (as appears by that which hath Statues and Trophies to those, whom the Founders and true Parents.

dern. Neither have I any end herein, pri- been spoken) are not quite worn out, nor vate or publick, other than the discovery of over-grown: for Babylon hath to this day the ruth. For as the partiality of man to himself found of Babel; Phenicia hath Zidon, to which hath disguised all things: so the factious and City the eldest Son of Canaan gave name; so hireling Hiltorians of all Ages (especially of hath Cilicia, Tharsis; and the Armenians, these later Times) have, by their many Vo- Medes, Hibernian, Cappadocians, Phrygians, lumes of untrue reports, left Honour with- the Syrians, Idumaans, Libyans, Moors, and out a Monument, and Virtue without Memo- other Nations, have preserved from the ry: and (in flead thereof) have erected death of forgetfulness some signs of their first



CHAP. IX.

Of the Beginning and Establishment of Government.

§. I.

of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of the Families to be Recal and from Regal absolute, to Regal tempered with Laws.

Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were our Ancestours had never called the highest then as Kings, and the eldeft of Families as Councel by the name of Senate. Princes. Hereof it came, that the word But, though these reasons may well be (Elder) was always used, both for the Ma- given, yet we doubt not, but in this name of gistrate, and for those of Age and Gravity: (Elders) for Governours, or Counsellours of the same bearing one fignification almost in State, there is a fign that the first Governours all Languages. For, in the Eleventh of Num- were the Fathers of Families; and under bers, God commanded Moles to gather togethen them the eldeft Sons. And from thence did ther 70. of the Elders of the people, and the French, Italian, and Spaniard, take the Governours over them: the Hebrew bearing word (Signor) and out of it (Seignourie) for the Tame sence which the Latine word Sener, Lordship and Dominion : figuifying (accordor Seniores doth. So it is written in Sufanna, ing to Loyfeau) puissance in propriety, or Then the Assembly believed them as those that proper power. The kinds of this Seignourie; were the Elders and Judges of the people. And Seneca makes two: The one, Poteffas ant fo in the words of those falle Judges and imperium, Power or command: the other, Withefles to Daniel, Shew it unto us, seeing Proprietas aut dominum; Propriety or mafter-God hathgiven the the office of an Elder. De-fbip: The correlative of the one is the Sub-midhouse uleth the same word for the Ma-ject; of the other, the Slave. Ad Casarem giltrate among the Grecians. Cicero in Cato (faith he) potestas omnium pertinet; ad singivethews other reasons for this appellati- gulos proprietes; Cefar bath power over all, on: Apud Lacedamonios qui amplissimum and every man propriety in his own: And Magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sie etiam appelagain. Cesar omnia imperio possidet, singuli do-

T followeth now, to intreat how the the chief Magistrates, as they were, so they are World began to receive Rule and called Eldermen: And again, Ratio & pru-Government, which (while it had dentia nift effent in senibas, non summum Conscarcity of people) under-went no cilium Majores nostri appellassent Senatum; If other Dominon than Paternity and reason and advisement were not in old men,

lantur, Senes; Among the Lacedamonians, minio; Cafar holdeth all in his power; and

Were Ritat

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dience (the fruit of natural reverence, which it followed, that when Kings left to be but from excellent feed feldome ripeneth) good, neither did those men's Virtues value being exceedingly over-shadowed with them which were not fancied by their Kings, pride, and ill examples, utterly withered nor those men's Vices deforme them that and fell away. And the fort weapons of Pa- were. Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum ternal perswasions (after man-kind began to nihil videt; Love sees one while too much, anoneglect and forget the Original and first ther while flark nothing. Hence it came to giver of life ) became in all over-weak, ei- passe, that after a few years (for direction ther to resist the first inclination of evil, or and restraint of Royal power) Laws were eafter (when it became habitual) to constrain stablished: and that Government which had it. So that now, when the hearts of men this mixture of equality (holding in an even were onely guided and steered by their Ballance supreme power and common right) own fancies, and tost to and fro on the tem- acquired the title of Regal: the other pestuous Seas of the World, while Wisdom (which had it not) was known for Tyranniwas severed from power, and strength from cal: the one, God established in favour of charity: Necessity (which bindeth every his people; the other he permitted for their nature but the immortal) made both the affliction. wife and foolish understand at once, that tabilis pro the estate of reasonable men would become Princes as they were chosen for their virtues far more miserable than that of beafts, and only, so did they measure their powers by a that a general floud of confusion would a fecond time over-flow them, did they not, ed in their own strengths, found others again were rightly accounted and called Gods.

(by interchange of times) more mighty than And though (speaking humanely) t themselves: the feeble fell under the forindurable bondage.

ded, and by Reason maintained and conthers. For the very Bees have their Prince; firmed, perswaded all Nations which the Deer their Leaders; and Cranes (by this cure. And therefore the same Necessi- And that this power is given from God, which Dominion (in the beginning boundless) might also discern her own limits. For that the World hath been governed from before the invention of Laws, private affe- the beginning (to wir) by a Justice natural; Ctions in supream Rulers made their own by which the Parents and Elders of Families fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen; governed their Children, and Nephewes, measuring by this Yard, and weighing in this and Families; in which government the Ballance, both good and evil.

the rule of Kings; fothe will of Kings fore- Laws and Ordinances of God; and the Owent the inventions of Laws. Populus nullis bedience hereunto was called Confeience: legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro le- And lastly, by a Justice civil, begotten by

every man possessible his own. But as men and | gibus erant; The people were not governed by vice began abundantly to increase: so obe- any other laws than the wills of Princes. Hereof

In the infancy of this Regal authority, great deal of moderation. And therefore (faith Fabius Pictor) Principes, quia justi erant, De aru by a general obedience to Order and Domi- & religionibus dediti, jure babiti Dit & didis, seato, nion, prevent it. For the mighty, who trust- Princes because they were just and religious, on the seaton of the sea

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reacible; and the equal from equal received of and Necessity; yet it was God himself equal harms. Informuch, that the licentious that first kindled this light in the minds of disorder (which seemed to promise a liber- men, whereby they saw that they could not ty upon the first acquaintance) proved, up- live and be preserved without a Ruler and on a better trial, no less perillous than un- Conductor: God himself by his eternal providence having ordained Kings; and the These Arguments, by Necessity propoun- Law of Nature, Leaders, and Rulers over o-Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a order imposed) watch for their own safety. Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. The most High beareth rule over the Kingdoms Don 5.11. Under which Government, as the change of Men; and appointeth over it whomsever (which brought with it less evil, than the he pleaseth. By me (faith Wisedom, spoken Pro. t. former mischiefs) was generally pleasing: by the Son of God) Kings reign; By me 15. fo time (making all men wise that observe it) Princes rule. And it is God (saith Daniel) Dental found some imperfection and corrosive in that setteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings. ty which invented, and the same Reason | Christ himself witnesseth, speaking to Pilate; which approved, Sovereign power, bethought it felf of certain equal rules, in except it were given thee from above. It was therefore by a threefold Justice

Obedience was called natural Piety: A-For as wisedom in Eldership preceded gaine, by a Justice divine, drawn from the CHAP. IX. both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three, those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in general was Paternal, it is most evident: for Adam, being Lord over his own Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we read, Cain and Abel brought Oblations before God, as they had been taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankind.

#### 6. II.

of the three commendable forts of Government. with their opposites: and of the degrees of bumane society.

Hat other Policy was exercised, or State sounded, after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainly known, though it feem by probable conjecture, that the fame was not without Kings in that first Age: Rule, than the Paternal.

Berofus ascribeth the rule of the World in unfitly. those days to the Gyants of Libanus, who mastered (saith he) all Nations from the Sunrifing to the Sun-fet. But in the fecond Age of the World, and after such times as the rule of Eldership failed, three several forts of Government were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Laws, called Monarchy: to which Tyranny is opposed, being also a fole and absolute Rule; exercised according because thinher they gathered their riches for to the will of the Commander, without re- Sefety and defence a as also they were called spect or observation of the Laws of God, or Orbes, ab orbe; because when they were to Men. For a lawful Prince or Magistrase build a City, they made a Circle with a (faith Arifibile) is the Keeper of Right and Plough (faith Varro) therewith measuring Magultrate to be, according to the rule of to inclose or fortifier And although Drie Gods word! Judges and Officers shall thou and Civitas be offen confounded, yet the make theein thy Cities. And these shall judg difference was antiently in this, that Urbs the people with righteous judgment.

The felond Covernment, is of divers principal Persons established by Order, and ruling by Laws, called Arifforracy, or Optimatumpoteftas; to which Oligarchia! ( or the particular faction and inforpation of a few thele walls are not properly Citizens, but great-ones) is opposed as the December, only such as are called Free mens, who or Trium vini, and the like.

The third is a State popular, (or Government of the people) called Democratia, to which is opposed Ochlocratia, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, feditiously swaying the State, contrary to their own Laws and Ordinances. These three kinds of Government are briefly exprest by Tholosanus; unius, paucorum, & multorum; Of one, of few, of many.

Now as touching the beginning and order of Policy fince the second increase of mankind, the same grew in this fort: First of all, every Father, or eldeft of the Family, gave Laws to his own iffues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many housholds (man by nature loving fociety) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call Vicus; of the Greek sixos, which fignifies a Houle; or of the word (Via) because it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, fo the Village into that it being possible that many Princes of the which is called Pagins (being a lociety of di-Egyptians (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general Floud; and which fignifieth a Fountain: because many very likely, that the cruel Oppressions in people (having their habitations not far athat Age proceeded from fome Tyranny in funder ) drank of one Spring or Stream of Government, or from some rougher form of Water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires, answereth not

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride, between the Race of the one and the other, daily increased: so both to defend themfelves from out-rage, and to preferve fuch goods as they had gathered, they began to joyn and set together diversof their Villages, invironing them first with Banks and Ditches, and afterwards with Walls: which, being so compassed, were then called oppida; either ab opponendo se bostibus, Because walls were opposed against Enemies; or ab opibus, Equity : and of this condition ought every and compatting the ground which they went fignified no other than the very walls and buildings, and Civital was taken für the Gitizens, inhabiting therein : fo called of Civil, and that, abeo quad multitudo coivit, of comming together; But all inhabitants within bearing proportionably the charge of the

gistrates thereof: the rest go under the strates. And so much did Saint Chrysostom, name of Subjects, though Citizens by the in his Homily to the people, prefer Monarfame general name of Subjects are also chical Government, as he rather commended known. For every Citizen is a Subject, but the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also they should be wanting: Pressat Regem ty-fome Citizen (asthe chief Magistrate, if he rannum habere, quam nullum; Better a tybe to be tearmed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we need not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken à Magistro from a Master, and the word (Mafter) from the Adverb Magis (as also Magifteria, Precepts of Art) or elfe from the Greek word (Megistos) and so the Greeks call them Megistanes, whom the Latines call Magnates,

or Magistratus. The Office and Duty of every Magistrate. Aristotle hath written in few words. A Magiftrate or Prince (faith he) is the keeper of right and equity; but the same is best taught by Saint Paul, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and final, (that is) by whom Magifrates and Princes are ordained, together Rom 13.4. with their Duties and Office. A Magistrate is the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear: for he bearth not the food to for nought. For he it the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil. He also

Ver. 1.2. teacheth in the same place ; That every foule ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained, and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giver and fountain thereof: and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and con-Bid. v. 5. demnation of Man, but of God: For ye must

> but also for conscience lake. The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments, upon those that have sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes refitted Authority, by God ordained and by Magistrates; sometimes by the People stablished. Neither ought any Subject themselves. therefore to relift the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleafeth God fometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without diffinction. The Prophets and Christ Now this first Age after the Floud, and himself subjected themselves to the power of after such time as the people, were in-Magistracy: Christ commanded that all due creased, and Families became strong, and they

that were Captives under Heathen Kings) 17. 0 17 to pray for them and for the peace of Babylon. So! Abraham sprayed for Abimelech; tial, and in the blowth and bud. Teor while and Jacob bleffed the King of Egypt. And it the Law, of Nature was the rule of mans life, is acceptable in the fight of our Saviour faith they then fought for no larger Territory Paul) that ye make Supplications and Prayers than themselves could compass and manure: for Kings, and for all that are in authority: they erected no other magnificent Buildings, and if for fuch Kings as were Idolatrous, than fufficient to defend them from cold and

City, may by turns become Officers and Ma- much more for Christian Kings and Magirannous King, than no King: to which also Tacitus subscribeth: Praftat (faith Tacitus in the first of his History) fub malo principe ese, quam nullo; It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all. And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more fafe, than to ferve them : Neque enim libertas tutior ulla eft (faith Claudian andm Domino fervire bono; No liberty (faith he) more fafe for us than to be fervants to the virtuous. And certainly, how-foever it may be disputed, yet it is safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wife man that is cruel. than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as Agefilaus answered a Citizen of sparta, that defired an alteration of Government, That kind of rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great Regions by.

CHAP. IX.

Lastly, as many Fathers erect many Cotages for their many Children: and as ( for the reason before remembred) many Housholds joyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: fo when these Cities and Citizens joyned together, and established Laws by consent, assobe subject (saith he) not because of wrath only, ciating themselves under one Governour, and Government; they, so joyned, were called a Common-Wealth: the same being

## s. III.

Of the good Government of the first Kings.

to Cefar should be given unto him: and he dispersed into several parts of the world, payed Tribute for himself and Peter. Hiere- was by antient Historians called Golden: my commanded the Ifraelites (even those Ambition and Covetousness being as then but green, and newly growners, the feeds and effects whereof were as yet but poten-

of the History of the World. tempelt: they cared for no other delicacy | Solomon: Say not then, Why is it that the former Ecdef. 1. Снар. 1Х. of farc, or currency of tayer, than to maintain life: nor for any other apparel, than to inquire wifely of this thing: to which purpose

And fure if we understand by that Age plicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may complain, our Children will complain, that good plicity be cast upon those elder times: manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, then truly be call upon those could time. I manners are gone, sum are generally and reggs, but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether and all things grow morfe and arosfe, and the the same may be attributed more to any one into allevil. These are usually the Discourting allevil. the farmentary be attributed more to any one limited time than to another (I mean to one limited time than to another (I mean to one limited limited time than to another (I mean to one limited limit time than to another (a mean to one minuted time and none elfe) it may be doubted. For can we add to this of Arnobius ? Nova res 18, 2, good and Golden Kings make good and quandoque vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus; Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both forts. And as the infancy of Empiry (when Princes played their Prizes, and did then only woomen to obedience) might be called the Golden Age; formay the beginning of all Princes times be truly called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if hoings have commonly the leaft impediments: lothe love of their people thereby purchased and if ever Liberality overflow her banks fed, held the fame Crowns on their heads. bothby policy and example. But Age and to Princes: so ( relatively ) he gave the Time, do not only harden and shrink the openeft and most Joviel hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torn estates before their eyes, and (withal) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sun whose means are answerable all things by their own respects, do no sooner makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a complain of alteration, and account the obedience: For, Potessis humana radicatur times injurious and Iron. And as this falleth in valuntatibus hominum: All humane power out in the Reign of every King, to doth it is rooted in the will or dispositions of men. in the life of every man, if his daies be many: for our younger years are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those feasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grievous alterations in our felves, and the pains and difeafes which never part from us but at the grave, make the times seem so differing and displeafing: especially the quality of man's nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the prefent state how just soever : Fit himanæ malignitatis vitio, ut semper veteraun launa mangaramo onto, an jeaper comesto pajs de, presentia in fushidosint; It comesto pajs (faith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaiss extol the time pajt, and hold the present fastidious: For it is one of the from the vulgar, was not in the beginning errors of wayward Age: Quod fint landato-

tain me: not tot any other apparer, than to again e when of the Rain and the seneca; Majores noftri questi sint, o nos querimur posteri querentur eversos esse mores regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefaslabi: Our ancestors have complained we do ever is new, in time shall be made old: and the antientest things when they took beginning were also new and sodain. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentment of present times have made Golden, this we may fet down for certain, That as it was the virtue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns:

care and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not only to the Kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his Creatures: Nunquam particulari bono servit omne visa.6.7. bonum. The infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which

#### 9. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vain vaunt thereof without virtue.

A Nd with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority, began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices fprung peras xel those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, bilia non which have continued from Age to Age, to again these daies. But this Nobility, or difference Succession of Virtue, as hereafter may be fore-paffed times, forgetting this advice of proved. Though at length it was sufficient

for those whose Parents were advanced, to Personal; yet if Virtue be wanting to the be known for the Sons of such Fathers: and natural, then is the personal and acquired so there needed then no endeavour of well-Nobility, by many degrees, to be preferred: Weeds. For what is found praise-worthy and not to honour. in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and de-filed? Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando ter of Nobility) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobility: the form (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Virtue, and Quality, profitable to the Common-weal. For he is truly and entirely Noble, who maketh a fingular profession of publike Virtue, ferving his Prince and Country, and being descended of Parents and An-cestors that have done the like. And although that Nobility, which the same Auselves acquire by our Virtue and well de-that proceedeth from the face of him that fervings) cannot be ballanced with that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellency. which is both natural by Descent, and also

doing at all, or any contention for them to For (faith Charron) this Honour (to wit) by excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobili- Descent, may light upon such a one, as in his ty necessarily descended. Yet hereof had own nature is a true Villain. There is also Nobility denomination in the beginning, a third Nobility, which he calleth Nobility That fuch as excelled others in virtue, were in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: fo called: Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute and these be indeed but Honours of affectipre aliis notabilis. But after such time as the on, which Kings, with the change of their deserved Honour of the Father was given in Fancies, wish they knew well how to wipe reward to his Posterity, Saint Jerom judged off again. But surely, if we had as much of the Succession in this manner: Nihil aliud sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as video in Nobilitate appetendum, nis quod No- we have of vanity in deriving our selves of biles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab such and such Parents, we should rather antiquorum probitate degenerati, I fee no ather know fuch Nobility (without Virtue) to be thing to be affeded in Nobility, than that Noble-flame and difinonour, than Nobleness and men are by a kind of necessity bound, not to deglory to vaunt thereof. What calamity is generate from the virtue of their Ancestors. wanting (faith Bernard) to him that is born Bentle For if Nobility be Virtus & antique divitie; in sin, of a Potshare body and barren mind? de cm For it Nobility be Virtus & antique arontae; in un, of a rotipare voay unit varren minus; film a Virtue and antient riches, then to exceed in For (according to the same Father) Dele Estate. all those things which are extra hominem, as fucum fugacis honoris hujus & male coronate riches, power, glory, and the like, do no o- nitorem gloria, Oc. Wipe away the painting therwise define Nobility, than the word of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the (animal) alone doth define a reasonable man.

Or if honour (according to L. Vivus) be a witness of virtue and well-doing: and Noout of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence bility (after Plutarch) the continuance of with thy Mytre, or glistering with Jewels, or Virtue in a Race or Linage: then are those garnished with Silks, or adorned with Feathers, in whom Virtue is extinguished, but like un- or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow to Painted and Printed Papers, which igno-rant men worship in stead of Chrift, our Lady, morning clouds, which do or will soon pass over, and other Saints: men in whom there remain but the dregs and Vices of antient Virwertched, and miferable man, and blushing, tue: Flowers, and Herbs, which by change because he is naked, and weeping, because he is of soile and want of manuring are turned to born, and repining, because he is born to labour,

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference between it and dust: which if thou dost not believe (faith St. Chry-chrys. filed? Ex terra fertili producitur diquando fostom) look into the Sepulchres and Monne, bon, 1. 1 Cicata accencifa, ex terra fierili pretiofum Auments of thy Ancefors, and they faul eafly per-de haverum; Out of fruitful ground any ieth fountimes.

Poyloning Henhane, and out of barren foyle preduft and dirt: fo that if man feem more noble s. cious Gold. For as all things confift of mat-ter and form, so doth Charron (in his Chap-from the diversity of his Nature, but from the

> For true Nobility standeth in the Trade Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly Line: For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And howfoever the cuftom of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Iffues: vet Solomon (as wife as any King) reprehendeth the fame in his fellow-Princes : There is an evil (faith he) Eulef. 16. thor calleth personal (the same which our that I have seen under the Sun, as an errour

CHAP. X. ፟፞ቝ፟ቝ፞ቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝቝ

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

S. I. Comment

That Nimrod was the first after the Floud that reigned like a sovereign Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.

of Compo, dutinguithed by Mofes from the reft (according to
S. Anguftine) in one of these two respects:
cither for his eminency, and because he was
the first of same, and took on him to comthe first of same, and took on him to command others: or else; in that he was begotten which came from the East. And though by Chiffs, after is other children were also sem came not himself so fari as shinaar (his become Fathers; and of a latertimethan lot being east on the East parts) yet, from fome of his Grand-children and Nephews, his Son's Nephew Heber, the name and Na-Howloever, feeing Mofes in express words, tion of the Hebrens (according to the gecalleth Nimrod the Son of Chufb, other mens nerall copinion) took beginning, who inha-

no respect. and many later Writers call tyrannical: the thence into Canaan. fame beginning in Babel (which is) confusion. But it feemeth to me, that Melanthon which same into Chaldea, were no partners conceived not amis hereof: the same ex-in the unbelieving work of the Tower: polition being also made by the Authour of therefore (as many of the Fathers conjethat Work, called Onomafticum Theologicum; (ture) did they retain the first and most an-But S. Angustine understands it otherwise, the general speech: and therefore first called and converts the word (ante) by (contra) (Saith Calestinus) lingua humana: the humane Hunter against God: Sie ergo intelligendus We know that Goropius Becanus follow-eff Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is ing Theodoret, Rabbi Moles, Agyptius Vergara, affirming therein, that Nimrod was a mighty tongue. that Giant to be underflood, a Hunter against and others, is of another opinion; but howfo-

the Lord. than by him usurped. For it no where is that Nignred rather had it by just authofound, that Noah himself, or any of the Sons rity, than violence of usurpation. of his own body, came with this troop into

He first of all that reigned as Babylon : no mention at all being made of Sovereign Lord, after the Noah (the years of his life excepted) in the Floud, was Nimrod, the Son facceeding Story of the Hebrens; nor that of Chifh diffinguished by Mo-Sem was in this difobedient troops or among

conjectures to the contrary, ought to have bired the Southermost parts of Chaldaa, about the City of Or; from whence Abra-This Empiry of Nimrod, both the Fathers, ham was by God called into Charran, and

And because those of the Race of Sem that Work, called Onomaliscum Theologicum, crure, and they retain the first and most arrived affirms that Nimrod was therefore cal-cientlanguage, which the Fathers of the first led Amarus Dominator, A bitter, or Severe Age had left to Noah; and Noah to Sem and led Amarus Dominator of Rule seemed, his ssues in familia select remarks that the service of the service thority. And therefore is he in this respect mained (faith Saint Augustine out of Epiphaalso called A mighty Hunter: because he manes and this Language Abraham used; took and destroyed both beats and thisees, yea, it was anciently, and before the Floud,

ever we determine of this point, we may with But how foever this word (A nighty Hunter) be understood 5 yet it rather appeareth, godly feed of Sem were the chief Leaders of that as Nimrad had the command of all thole this prefumptuous multitude. And feeing it which went with him from the East into Shi- is not likely, but that some one was by order naar : lo, this charge was rather given him, appointed for this charge, we may imagine

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6. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus were three distinct Persons.

Benzo, and out of him Nanclerns; with Now, whereas D. Siculus affirmeth, that others, make many Nimrods; Eusebins Ninus overcame and suppress the Babyloniconfoundshim with Belus, and fo doth Saint ans, the fame rather proveth the contrary, Hierom upon Ofe; and these words of Saint than that Ninus and Ninrod were one Per-Augustine seem to make him of the same Opinion: Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem Empire at Ninive in Asyria, whence the Bapatris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65. annos; There did Ninus reign after the death of fall from his obedience, whom he reof his father Belus, who governed in Babylon fixty five years. But it could not be unknown to Saint Augustine, that Nimrod was the Establisher of that Empire: Moses being plain and direct therein. For the beginning of Nimrods Kingdom (faith he) was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar; wherefore Nimrod was the first King of Babel. And certainly, it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator (led by clement) supposed: for in Ninus his time, the World was marvelloufly replenished. And if S. Angustine had undoubtedly taken that such an addition might have been given Belus for Nimrod, he would have given him to many other Kings as well. For, if we may the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, mighty Kings beprophane Authours. And for those words fore Ninus was born. And if we may compare of S. Angustine (qui primus illic regnaverat; the words of Moses (touching Ninnod) with Who was the sirst that reigned there) supposed the undertakings of Ninus, there will be to be meant by Belus: those words do not found great difference between them. disprove that Nimrod was the Founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although Julius Cefar overthrew the liberty of the Romane Common-wealth, making himself perpetual Dictator; yet Augustus was the first established Emperour, and the first that reigned ab- and Chalne: which work he therefore ascrifolutely by foveraign Authority over the Ro- beth to Ninns, as a man of the greatest unmans, as an Emperour.

nity, laying the foundation of foveraign those names of Nimrod and Ninus to belong years after the Floud (as they account ) that Belus reigned; but fuch agreement of times proves it not. For, so Edward the third, and erected to his hand. his Grand-child, Richard the second, were Kings both in one year: the one died; the

other in the same year was crowned King. Belus were one) is farr more probable than gint calls Archard; and Epiphanius, Arphal;

Nimrod to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of Nimrod's Kingdom was Babel, and the Towns adjoining : but the first, and most famous work of Ninus, was the City of Ninive.

Now, whereas D. Siculus affirmeth, that fon. For Ninus established the seat of his bilonians might (perchance) in disdain therecovered again by ftrong hand; which was easie: Babylon being not walled till Semiramis time.

- Dicitur altam

Cottilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis Orbem. Semiramis with walls of Brick, the City did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call Nimrod mighty; fo Justine hath the fame of Ninus, which is one of Mercator's Arguments; it may be answered, believe Justine; then were Vexoris King of

For, whereas Mercator conceiveth, that it was too early, for any that lived about the time of the confusion of Languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so farr removed from Babel, namely, Erech, Accad, and dertaking; and confequently would have The like may be faid of Nimrod, that he Nimrod to have been long after the time, in first brake the rule of Eldership and Pater- which we suppose he flourished; and both rule, as Cefar did; and yet Belus was the to one Person, to wit, to Ninus: to these first, who peaceably, and with general al- things to make some answer. First, I do not lowance, exercifed fuch a power. Pererius is find that supposition true, That ever Nimof opinion, that Belus and Nimred were the rod invaded any of these Cities; but that he same, because many things are said of them, sounded them, and built them from the both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. ground, being the first after the Floud, that conducted the children of Noah into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or

Besides, whereas these Cities, in many mens opinions, are found to stand farr away from Babylon, I find no reason to bring me to that And yet the opinion (that Nimrod and belief. The City of Accad, which the Septuathat of Mercator; who makes Ninus and Junius takes it to be Nifibis in Mesopotamia:

for the Region thereabout, the Cosmogra- tinue in our opinion, That Nimrod, Belw, and phers (faith he ) call Accabene for Accadene. Ninus, were diffinet and successive Kinge. Others understand Nisibis and Ninive, to be one City: fo do Strabe and Stephanus confound it with Charran, but all mistaken. For Nisibis, Accad, and Charran, are distinct places. Though I cannot deny Accedene to be a Region of Mesopotamia, the same which Arias Montanus.out of S. Hierom, calls Achad: and fo do the Hebrews also call Nisibis, which feemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As Orech; S. Angustine, Oreg; and Pagninus, Erec; of Babylon and Assyria: a controversie weathis place Junius understands for Aracca in risomly disputed without any direct proof. Suliana: but there is also a City in Camagena, conclusion, or certainty. But to me(of whom, is no certain proof, without the afliftance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City(called Chalne) fome take it for Calinisis: of which Am. Mercellinus. S. Hierom takes it for Seleucia; Hierololymitanus, for Cteliphon: others do think For in this fort he converteth the Hebrew it to be the Agrani upon Euphrates, destroyed Text : Erat enim principium Regni ejus Baand razed by the Fersians. But let Moses be bel, & Erec, & Accad, & Chaine, in terra the Moderator and Judge of this Dispute, Shinaaris: è terra hac processit in Assyriam, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are ubi adificavit Niniven (which is) For the not feated in so diverse and distant Regions; beginning of his Kingdom was Babel, and for these be his words: And the beginning of his Kingdom (speaking of Nimrod) mas Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne in the Land of Shibylonia, or Chaldaa (being all one) we must but for the Region of Assyria; the Land beof the two) think, with Viterbiensis, that these four made but one Babylon, than that they

were Cities farr removed, aud in several Provinces, did not the Prophet Amos precifely distinguish Chalne from Babylon. Go you (faith Amos) to Chaine, and from thence ning of the tenth Chapter, he setteth down go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Phi-the Sons of Noah, in these words: Now these listims. The Geneva Translation, savouring are the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, the former Opinion, to fet these Cities out of Ham, and Japheth, unto whom Sons were born Shinaar, hath a marginal note expressing that after the Flond: then it followeth immedi-Shindar was here named, not that all these ately; The Sons of Japheth were Gomer, cities were therein seated, but to distinguish &c. so as Japheth is last named among Babylon of Chalda, from Babylon in Egypt: Noah's Sons, be he eldeft or youngest, bebut I find little substance in that conceit. cause he was first to be spoken of: with For fure I am, that in the beginning of Nimrod's Empire, there was no fuch Babylon, nor any City at all to be found in Egypt: Babylon of Egypt being all one with the great City of Cairo, which was built long after, not farr from the place where stood Memphis the ancient City, but not so ancient as Babylon upon Exphrates. Now, that Chalne is fitu- was the eldeft: and then the Sons of Chufb and ate in the valley of Shinaar, it hath been for- Mizraim; and afterwards of Canaan; leaving merly proved in the Chapter of Paradife. So as for any argument that may be brought to join the Story of the Hebrews. But after he

#### 6. III.

That Nimrod, not Affur, built Ninive; and that it is probable, out of Elay 23. 13. that Affur built Ur of the Chaldees.

Ow, as of Nimrod; fo are the Opinions of Writers different touching Affar, and for the City of Erec, which the septuagint call touching the beginning of that great State called Arace; and indeed, likelihood of name where the Scriptures are filent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing) the Interpretation of Junius is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not dif-join the sence of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar : and he went forth of this Land into Affyria, and built Ninive. So as Junius naar: so as in the Valley of Shinaar, or Ba- takes Asher in this place, not for any Person, find them. And therefore I could (rather ing so called in Moses time, and before it. For certainly, the other construction (where the word Affur is taken for Affur the Son of shem) doth not answer the order which Moses obferveth through all the Books of Genesis, but is quite contrary unto it. For, in the beginwhom (having last named him) he proceeds and fets down his Iffue, and then the Iffue of his Sons: first, the Iffue of Gomer, Japheth's eldest Son; and then speaks of Javan and his Sons: for of the rest of that Family he is filent. Anon after, he numbereth the Sons of Ham, of which Chush shem for the last, because he would not disthe contrary, from the remote fituation of beginneth with shem, he continueth from these three Cities from Babylon, we may conthence by Arphaxad, Shela, and Heber,

unto Abraham, and so to Jacob, and the Fa- | cient and Learned Writer, understands this then he beginneth with the Islue of shem; which he continueth to Abraham and Ifrael. And of Junius opinion touching Assur, was Calvin: to which I conceive P. Comestor, in historia Scholastica, gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in some other fence, he useth these words: Vel intelligendum non est de Assur, filio Sem, &c. sed Affur (id eft, Regnum Affyriorum) inde egrefsum est, quod tempore Sarug proavi Abrahami factum eft; (which is) Or elle it is not to be understood of Affur the Son of Sem, &c. but Affur (that is, the Kingdom of the Affvrians) came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of Sarug the great Grand-father of Abraham. After which he reconcileth the diffe-Belus (meaning Nimrod) to be the first Erector of the Asyrian Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, Quantum ad initium; Respecting the beginning; but others con-ceive that it had beginning from Ninus, which is also true, Quantum ad Regni ampliationem; Regarding the inlargement of the Empire. To this I may add the opinion of Epiphanius; confirmed by Cedrenus, who takes runt robustos ejus, suffoderunt domos ejus, po-Affur to be the Son of Nimrod: and so doth fuerunt eam in ruinam (which is) Behold the Methodius, and Viterbiensis, Saint Hierom, and Land of the Chaldwans, such a People there Cyrillus, and now lastly, Torniellus: who were not (or, this was no People, after the Ge-(faith he) took upon him that name of Affur after he had beaten the Affrians, as Scipio they carried away their from men captive they did of Africanus, after his Conquest in Afri- undermined their Houses, and ruined their Cica: and that Assur was a common name to ty. The Septuagint express it but in a part the Kings of Afgria, as it appeareth by ma- of another Verse, in these words: Et interny Scriptures, as Pfal. 81. Efay 10. Ofe. 5. &c. ra Chaldworum, & bec defolata eft ab Affy-But to help the matter, he makes Nimrod of riis, quoniam murus ejus corruit, making the the race of shem, and the Son of Irari. But sence perfect by the preceding verse, which

thers of that Nation. But to have brought place with Comeftor, or Comeftor with in one of the Son of shem, in the middle of him, agreeing in substance with that Transthe Generations of Ham, had been against lation of Junius: to which words of Moses order; neither would Moses have past over he giveth this sence : De hac terra Assyriofo fleightly the erection of the Affgrian Em- rum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nipire in one of the Sons of shem, if he had had ni, Beli filis, Ninum condiderunt, urbem maany such meaning: it being the Story of gnam, &c. Out of this Land grew the Emshem's Sons which he most attended. For pire of the Asiyrians, who built Ninus the he nameth Nimrod apart, after the rest of the great City, so named of Ninus the son of Be-Sons of Chufh, because he founded the Baby- lus. On the contrary, Calvin objecteth this lonian and Afrian Empire : and in the ele- place of Efay: Behold the Land of the Chaldayenth Chapter, he returns to speak of the ans, this was no People, Assur founded it by 23. 13. building of Babel in particular, having for- the inhabitants of the Wildernes; than which merly named it in the tenth Chapter, with there is no one place in the Scriptures, that those other Cities which Nimrod founded in hath a greater diversity in the Translation Shinaar. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, and Understanding; insomuch as Michael fo also in the eleventh he maketh no report de Palatio upon Esay (though in all ele ve-of shem, till such time as he had sinished so ry diligent) passeth it over. But Calvin much of Nimrod as he meant to touch; and seemeth hereby to inferr, that because Asiar founded the State of the Chaldeans, therefore also Affar rather than Nimrod established the Asyrian Empire, and built Nineve: contrary to the former translation of Junius, and to his own Opinion. Now, out of the Vulgar (called Hierom's Translation) it may be gathered, that Affur both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the Chaldeans, by Esay remembred: unto which City, People, or State, he plainly telleth the Tyrians, that they cannot trust or hope for relief thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this City of Chaldaa, and that Estate, an example unto those Phanicians, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which City of chaldea, being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by rence in this fort: If you take the ancient the Asyrians utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and fore-telleth them, that their own City of Tyre (invincible, as themselves thought) should alfo foon after be overturned by the same Assirians: as (indeed) it was by Nebuchodonofor. And these be the words after Hierom: Ecce terra Chaldworum, talis populus non fuit, Affur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxeneva) Affur (or the Affyrians ) founded it, Rabanus Maurus, who was Archbishop of altogether may be thus understood: If thou go Mentz in the year of Christ 854. an an-worte Chittim (which is Macedon, or Greece)

neither in the Land of the Chaldwans, for this is made desolate by the Affyrians, because their to be the City anciently called Or; and by Hewalls fell together to the ground. Pagninus and cataus. Camerina; by Ptolemy, Orchoa; and by Vatablus convert it thus: Ecce terra Chafdiim, ifte populus non erat illic olim; nam Affur fundanit eam navibus erexerunt arces illius; contriverunt ades ejus, posuit eam in ruinam: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldwans, this People was not once therein inhabiting : for Affur built it a barbour for Ships they erected the Towers thereof; and again brake down the houses thereof. and ruinated it. Junius, in the place of Ships, fets the word (pro Barbaris) that is, for the Barbarians: and the Geneva, by the Barbarians. But this is undoubted, that the Prophet Elay (as may be gathered by all the sence of that sence, the same may be the better apthe Chapter) did therein affure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, Cities, and Regions, by whose trade the state and greatness of the Tyrians was maintained; as by the Cilicians from Tharfis, from the Macedonians, and other Grecians, under the name of Cittim; alfo by the Egyptians, the Chaldwans, and the rest. For Tyre was then the Mart Town of fart Lands, because it joineth to that part of theWorld most renowned. And (as it appears in our Discourse of Paradise) not the least Arabians by the name of Ituraans) addeth, part of her chief merchandize came in by the that they are, of all other People, the most City Ur, or Urchoa in Chaldea, where the bo- Salvage; calling them Homines omnium mady or chief stream of Euphrates (even that xime barbaros. ftream which runneth through Babylon and Otris, which now falleth into Tygris ) had his fome doubt in Calvin, proveth in nothing passage into the Persian Gulf: though now it the contrary Opinion, nor in any part be stopped up. For, as we have heretofore weakneth the former Translation of Junius, noted, the Arabians (that descended from sheba and Raamab) dwelling on the East banus. For though other men have not conbanks of the Persian Gulf, trading with the ceived (for any, thing that I have read) that Tyrians (as those of Eden, Charran, and Chaine did) transported their merchandize by the Son of shem, when he is spoken of as a Builmouth of Tygris, that is, from Teredon; and of der of Ur; and when as a Destroyer thereof, Euphrates, that is, from Ur, or Urchoa: and then for the Assyrian Nation) yet certainly and then by Babylon, and thence by River the evidence of the truth, and agreement of and over Land, they conveyed it into Syria, circumstances seem to enforce it. And so this and so to Tyre; as they do this day to Aleppo. Founding of the City of the Chaldees by Affur So then Or of the Chaldees was a Port Town. and one of those Cities which had Intelli- that came into Shinaar, and were separate gence, trade, and exchange with the Tyrians: for the Idolatry of the Chustes and Nimrofor it stood by the great Lakes of chaldea, dians, retired themselves) hath nothing in through web, that part of Euphrates ran, which it to prove the same Assur built Nineve, or passage is now stopt up. Eins cursum vetustras that the same Assurance and one with Ninus; abolevit (saith Niger.) And Pliny: Locus ubi except we will make Assurance, who was the Euphrais oftium fuit, slumen salfum; time hath Son of Shem, both an Idolater, and the Son worn away the channel of Euphrates: the place of Belus. For (out of doubt) Ninus was the

vet thou shalt not rest (speaking to the Tyrians) | the City of the Chaldees, whose calamities Esay here noteth for terrour of the Tyrians, the Greeks, Chaldeopolis the City of Chaldea : which the Sons of Shem until Abrahams time. inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations, it is faid, that Affir both founded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that Affur the Founder was the Son of Shem; and Affur the destroyers were the Allyrians, by whom those that inhabited Ur of Chalden were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore-feeing, commanded Abraham thence to Carran, and fo into Canaan. And if the Hebrew word by Watablus and Pagninus converted (by Ships ) do bear proved. because it was a Port Town: and the River fo farr up as this City of Ur was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Pliny* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word ( for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be alfo in the Hebrew Text, it is no less manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Defart were and are the confronting, and next People of all other unto it. For Chaldaa is now called Arachaldar, which fignifieth De-Arabia fo called: and Cicero (calling those

So as this place of Esay, which breedeth Affur is in this place diverfly taken (as for the (into which the most of the Posterity of shem where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of falt first notorious acrificer to Idols; and the sirst water. These things being thus, certainly (not that set up a Statue or Image to be honourwithout good probability) we may expound ed as God. Now, if Affur must be of that

and Religion. make the Founder of Ninive (and so the Son nive, and the other Cities of Assyria which of Belus) were any other, and not the same he builded (considered with the want of with Ninus; then what became of him? materials, and with other impediments) were Certainly, he was very unworthy, and ob- of greater difficulty than any thing performfeure, and not like to be the Founder of ed by his Succssours in many years after : to fuch an Empire, and fuch a City, if no man whose undertakings time had given so great have vouchfafed to leave to Posterity his ex- an increase of People; and the examples pullion thence, and how he loft that Empire and patterns of his beginning, so great adagain, or quitted it to Ninus: whose acts and vancement and encouragement; in whose conquests are so largely written, and (ac- time (faith Glycss) all these Nations were cording to my apprehension) farr differing called Meropes, a sermonis linguarum terfrom truth. It will therefore be found belt raque divisione; By reason that the earth and agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and the speech were then divided. best agreeing with the Story of that Age written by prophane Authours, that Nimrod Nimrod, after he had reigned 114. years; of founded Babel, Erech, and siccad, and Chalne, whose acts and undertakings there is little the first works and degrantings of his Empire, written. For it is thought that he spent much according to Moles; and that these works of his time in disburdening the low Lands being finished within the Valley of Skinaar, of Babylon, and drying and making firm he looked farther abroad, and fet in hand ground of all those great Fens and overthe work of Ninus, lying neer unto the same Hown Marishes which adjoined unto it. For stream that Babel and Chalne did: which any of his Warrs or Conquests there is no work his Grand-child Ninus afterward am- report, other than of his begun enterprise plified and finished, as Semiramis (this against Sabatius King of Armenia, and those Ninus his wife ) did Babylon. Hence it came parts of Scythia, which Berofus calls Scythia to pass, that as Semiramis was counted the Foundress of the City which she onely finished : so also Ninus of Ninive: Quam quidam sollowed the Warr to effect, which was by Babylonem potnit instaurare; She might re- his Father Belus begun. pair or renew Babylon, faith S. Augustine. For fo did Nebuchodonosor vaunt himself to be the Founder of Babylon also, because he built up again some part of the wall, over-born by. the fury of the River: which work of his stood till Alexander's time, whereupon he Dan. 4. 27. vaunted thus: Is not this great Babel which I have built?

6. IV.

Of the Acts of Nimrod and Belus, as farr as now they are known.

propagated his Empire into Affyria, and in them, held the power which they poffelt,

Race, and not of the Family of Shem, as he Affyria built four more Cities(to wit) Ninive, must be, if he founded Ninive, then all those Rehoboth, Celah, and Resen. And seeing that which feek to give him the honour there- he spent much time in building Babel it felf, of, do him by a thousand parts more in- and those adjoining; and that his travels jury, by taking from him his true Parent were many ere he came into Shinaar: that work of Babel (fuch as it was) with the other Belides, if this supposed Assir, whom they three Cities, and the large foundation of Ni-

> Belus, or Bel, or Jupiter Belus, succeeded Saga, whose Son and Successour Barzanes became subject and Tributary to Ninus, that

> > 6. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many Kingdoms could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

⊤Hat fo many Kingdoms were erected in all those Eastern parts of the World fo foon after Nimrod (as by the Story of Ninus is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunity, Example, and Necessity, For Opportunity, being a Princess DUt to return to the Story, it is plain in liberal and powerfull, bestoweth on her sust Moles, that Nimrod (whom Philo inter- Entertainers many times more benefits, than preteth transfugium, and Julius Africanus either Fortune can, or Wisdom ought; by furnamed Saturne) was the establisher of the whose presence alone the understanding the Babylonian Monarchy, of whom there is minds of men receive all those helps and no other thing written, than that his Empire supplies, which they either want or wish in the beginning consisted of those four Ci- for: so as every Leader of a troop (after ties before remembred; Babel, Erech, Ac- the division of Tongues, and dispersion of cad, and Chalne; and that from hence he People) finding these fair offers made unto and governed by diferetion all those People, whom they conducted to their deflined places. For, it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like Beasts in a Defart; but that by agreement they disposed themselves; and undertook to inhabite all the known parts of the World, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from Babylon and Shinaar, which had Kings, and were Peopled in Ninus his time, would not have been possest in many hundreds of years after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and travelled farr off (order being the true Parent of prosperous success) undertake so difficult enterprises without a Conductor or ny Writershave observed, figuilieth the Sun Commander. Secondly, the example of in the Ghaldean Tongue; and therefore did own Travels; northofe which were of little thaginians and other Nations, as fome Hiftostrength, secure themselves against forcible rians have conceived. violence; nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness, either possess the Ministers and Attendants.

Nims (the Son of Belus) made it apparent; Daniel was so called (faith Suidas) Ob bohim in the Warrs.

companion King, to us known, when he first | bylon was so called, which Ninus in memotook on him Soveraignty and fole com- ry of his Father fet up to be worthipped: to mandment of all those the Children of which, that he might add the more honour Stemore that Vexoris, who by many circumstances them erected on the Mountain Phegor, or orbitals feems to me, righty accounted by the Judi- Peor, and called Baal) is the fame which

6. V I.

of the name of Belus, and other names affines

X 7 Hence this fecond King and Successor, V of Nimrod had the name of Bell, or Believe, question bath been made ; for it seems. eth vather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by Ninus, than affumed by Belus

Carillus against Julian calls the Father of Ninus Arbelus, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god : which were it forthen might the name of Belus be thence derived. But Bel, as ma-Nimrod, with whom it succeeded well, Nims, and Semiramis give that name to their ftrengthened every humour that afpired. Father, that he might be honoured as the Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the Sun, which the Babilonians worthipped as arguments of common miferies, that with- a god. And as this Title was assumed in afout a Commander and Magistrate, neither ter-times by divers others of the Chaldean could those that were laborious, and of Princes and Babylonian Satrapa: fo was it honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their used (in imitation) by the chief of the Car-

To this Bel, or Belus, pertain (as in affinity) those voices of Baal, Baalim, Belphegor, Beelfame in quiet, or rule and order their own phagor, Belfebub, and Beelfephon. Those that That these causes had wrought these estfects, the undertakings and Conquests of Princeps militie, Chief in the Warr; though for he found every where Kings and Mo- norem explications arcanarum rerum; In the innarchies, what way foever his Ambition led honor of his expounding feerets. Saint Hierom But Nimrod (his Grand-father) had no fignification: and faith, that the Idol of Eu-Noah, which came from the Eaft into Baby and reverence, he made it a Sanctuary and Lyr, in lonia: though in his life-time others allo refuge for all offenders. Hence (laith Ly-Spira) raifed themselves to the same estate; of rams; came Idolatry, and the first use of siem, which hereafter. Belus (his Son and Successor) found Sabatius King of Armenia and Bel by Vetus, old, or ancient; adding, that scybia, fufficiently powerfull to refift his ar- as among the Affrians it is taken for Salmry, tempts, which sabatius I take to be the same, and the Sun: so, in the Punick or Carthawhich Justine calls Tanais; and should con- ginian Language, it signifieth God: Glycas jecture, that Minraim had been his Vexoris, makes it an Affrian name properly; and were it not that I vehemently suspects some Josephus a Tyrian. He also affirmeth, that the errour (as Justine placeth him) in the time of Idol which the Moalites worshipped (by of this first closes and Learned Reineccius, all one with Parces, the great sessificial, that lived certain Ages, which also was the Opinion of Saint oje c. a. after Ninus. This Belus, the second King of Hierom. But, that the word Bel, or Beel, & s. Babylon, reigned 65, years, according to the common account.

was as much to fay, as God, appeareth by the word Beelzehnb, the Idol of Accuron. For Bel. or Beel foundeth (God) and Sebub

(Flies or Hornets) by which name (notwithftanding) the Jews express the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet Ofe teacheth us Of the worshipping of Images, begun from Belus the propher fignification of this word from the voice of God himself; And at that day ( faith the Lord) thou (halt call me Ishi, and thalt call me no more Baalim: for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouths. Astronomy if Pling fay true : from whence the For, although the name of Baal, or Bahal, be Egyptians might borrow both the name and justly to be used towards God; yet in re- doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which spect that the same was given to Idols, God his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, hath hated it, and forbad it. And the using the same Author affirmeth that it did remain of the word Bel among the Chaldeans for in his time. the Sun, was not, because it properly fignifieth the Sun, but because the Sun there was worshipped as God: as a also the Fire was: tanquam Solis particula. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as Belphegor, and Belsephon; Belsephon is expounded out of Facius; Dominus specu-Idol, and the place wherein it was wor-Aufto, de Grand-child Hercules. Saturni dicuntur faequit l. 1. miliarum Nobilium, Regumque qui urbes contillimi. The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called Saturns; their first-born, Jupiters and Junoes; reigned (faith suidas) whom they called aftheir valiant. Nephews. Hercules. But this terthe name of the Planet Mars; a man of Belus (faith L. Vives) was famous by rea- sharp and fierce disposition, who bidding fon of his Warlike Son, Ninus, who caused battel to Caucasus, of the stock of Japheth, his Father to be worshipped as a God by slew him. The Assyrians worshipped him for the name of Jupiter Babylonius, whom the their God, and called him Baal (that is) Mars; Egyptians (transported by Dreams of their thus far Suidas. Neither is it unlikely but Died, 13. Antiquities) make one of theirs. For Neptune that any among Idolatrous Nations were (fay they) upon Lybia the Daughter of Epa- Deified in their life-times, or foon after: phus, begat this Jupiter Belus, who was Fa- though I deny not, but that the most of their ther to Agyptus. They add, that this Be- Images and Statue were first erected withlus, carrying a Colony to the River of Eu- out divine worthip, onely in memory of the phrates, there built a City, in which he or- glorious acts of Benefactors, as Glycas rightly dained Priests after the Egyptian manner. conceiveth; and so afterward the Devil crept But, were there any Belus the Son of Epa- into those wooden and brazen carcasses, phus and Isis, or of Neptune and Lybia, or when Posterity had lost the memory of their (with Eucebins) of Teglonus, who after the first invention. Hereof Isidore speaketh in death of Apis married Iss (Cecrops then this manner: Quos autem Pagani Deos affereigning in Athens ) the same was not this runt, homines suerunt, & pro uniuscujusque vi-Babylonian Belus of whom we speak, but ta meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post rather some other Belus, of whom the Egyptians so much vaunted.

E. VII.

in Babel.

S for the Babylonians Belus, he was the A most ancient Belus, and the Inventor of

Of the Sepulchre of Belus, Srabo writeth thus: Over the River, faith he, there are Gar- 13.63. dens, where they say the ruines of Belus his Tomb, which Xerxes brake up, are yet remaining. It was a square Fyramis made of Brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth: It appears by Cyril against Julian, L. L. on. La, vel custodia: The Lord of the Watch-tower, that he obtained divine worship yet living: Jaim, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the for so he writes of him (calling him Arbelles.) Arbelus vir superbus & arrogans primus homishipped. It is written Belpeor, or Baalpeor: num dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen acceand Peor (they fay) is as much as Denuda- piffe: Perfeverarunt igitur Affyrii, & finitimæ vit; and therefore the word joined, ex- illis gentes sacrificantes ei. Arbelus, a man vepressent a naked Image. Some there are ry proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the that call this Belus, the Son of Saturn: for first of all men that was ever honoured by their it was used among the Ancients, to name | Subjects with title of Deity; (or with the name the Father saturn, the Son Jupiter, and the of God) the Asyrians therefore, and the bordering Nations have persevered, sacrificing to him. Even Arius also, whom Suidas calls Thudiderunt senissimi; primogeniti eorum Joves ras, who succeeded next after Ninus, was [ Junones, Hercules vero nepotes eorum for- made an Idol-God among them, if we credit Snidas.

After Ninus (that is, after Ninias) Thuras mortem caperunt : sed (Demonibus persuadentibus ) quos illi pro sua memoria bonoraverunt, minores Deos existimarunt : ad ista vero magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta; they are men former to a regarding they continue for ever firmed to be gods: and every one for his merits they continue for ever. prince to the Scholemen affirm, that ermagnificence, began after his death to be koer magnification ... Lut, at length (the Denonco g they accounted them lefter of the Heathen Idols, it is manifeli, that Mofes cats permaning ) and accounted them upon or the treatmentations, it is maintent, that angles gods, whose memories they bonoured: and the frake of Images of the living God, and not goas, awoje memories they communed, and the space of the mages of the rest of that nature, For you fillions of the Poets made the Opinions (conentions of the toes made the examination of the more full far no Image (faith Mofes) that day that the

orongan array the rogans, and reamen space | Journal imaginaris, as the conference commence on site snot Modere alone that witnesseth; but I te that: Do not imagine any form to be in God, one, it is not Modere alone that witnesseth; but I te that: on the Gregory: Genilitas (faith he) inventrix & left thou limit or circumferile bim in thy mind caput of Imaginum, Gentilifm is the inventres too. Now, if the great Ball thought it a pretapo yo amagaming commignion to the market function unlawfull to represent a pattern of and ground of Images: and Ambroje; Gentes function unlawfull to represent a pattern of lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei; The the inlinite God to our own thoughts and 16.17. God. Eufchius also affirmeth as much, and calput him under the grease Pencil of a Painleth the worthipping of images, a custom bor-Late bis. rowed of the Heathen. The like faith S. Angustine against Adimantus. Et verentur (faith Lactantius ) ne Religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent; They fear their Religion would be vain, should they not see what they

the very workmanship is forbidden, how can fet them in their Temples for 170. years; obthe heart of a wife Christian satisfy it self with serving the Law of Numa, who thought it imthe diffinction of Doulia, and Hyperdoulia, piety to refemble things most beautifull, by which can imply nothing but tome difference of worthipping of those Images afterwards prevailing, and following the vaniter they are made? And it is of all things ty of the Greeians (a Nation of all others unthe molt frrange, why religious and learned der the Sun most deluded by Saran) set up many places forbidden, and curfed the pra- which seneca thus derideth; Simulachra decticers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devil was so strongly and subtilly rooted, as neile la adorunt; & cum bac supriciant, fabros, qui ther express the Commandment of God himfelf, Thou shalt not make any graven Image, nor are worshipped, those they pray unto with bended all the threatning of Mojes and the Prophets knees these they adore; and while they so after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, greatly admire them, they contemn the Handior by any perswasions lead the hearts of men craftsmen that made them: which also sedulifrom it. For, where shall we find words of w the Foet in this fort feofied at: greater weight, or plainer instruction than these? Take therefore good heed to your selves (for ye faw no Image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire) that ye corrupt not your selves, and make you a graven Image, or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likeness of Male or Fe-

male. And, besides the express Commandment, Thou shalt make thee no graven Image, and the prohibition of many Scriptures; fo it is written in the Book of Wildom, That, the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredom: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for

They were men (faith he) whom the Pagans of I they were not from the beginning, neither fluid

And, that the worthipping of Images was excellently laid of Bafil 3 Noli aliquam in illo brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Natiagainst autor and, ranguage imaginest Dec 3 the time finance God to our own thoughts abut Gentiles adore mood, as it were the Image of minds, how farr do those men prelume, that ter, or the rufty Axe or other Instrument of

a Carpenter or Carver? For as this dithonour to the infinite and incomprehentible God, began in Babel: fo did the Devil transport and spread this invention into all the Regions adjoining, and into Egypt and Greece.

The Romans, for a while, refifted the erefearfull cultom very strangely. For, seeing thion of these Idols and Images, refusing to men should strain their wits to defend the the Images of their gods; which (as S. Au- Ass. de use of those things, which the Scriptures have entire witnesseth) that learned Varro both time. As not only no where warranted, but exprelly in bewailed, and utterly condemned: and can-

Heu miseri qui vana colunt qui corde sinistro Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumque Factorem fugiunt, & que fecere verentur! Quis furor est? qua tanta animos dementia

ludit ? Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque Draconem,

Semi-hominemque-canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And confecrate dumb Idols in their heart, Who their own Maker (God on high) despise, And fear the work of their own hands & art!

CHAP. X

Mens minds? that man should ugly shapes

tue and Images, but in memory of tuch re-Deum invisibilem cognoscere : Images say they,

What fury? what great madness doth | vales (called the pictures of Christ, our Lady, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but effected to adore of Eirds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vite the focks we call (South the Look of Wijdom) Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid im- when we pass through the riging maves, on these flocks more rotten than the Ship that carries us.

This Heathen invention of Images became And though this device was barbarous, and fo fruits all in after-times, breeding an infinite first, and many years practised by Heathen multitude of gods, that they were forced to Nations onely, till the Jews were corrupted diffinguish them into degrees and orders; in Egypt, vet it is not Seneca alone that laugh- as Dii confentes, feu majorum gentium, felecti, eth to fcorn the ignorant stupidity of his Na- Patriti infigniores dii medii: Counselling gods, tion: but Justin Martyr remembreth how the or gods of the mightiest Nobility, select gods, Pa-Sybils inveighed against Images: and Huffi- trian gods of mark, and Common gods (which nian, how Sophocles taught, that it was perni- the Romans called Medioxum) dii infimi, and cious to the fouls of men to erect and adore terrestrial Heroes, and multitudes of other those bables. Strabo and Herodotus witness, gods, of which S. Augustine hath made large that the Persians did not crect or set up any mention, in his Book, de Civitate Dei. But Statue of their Gods. Lyenrgus never taught (faith Lactantius) among all those miserable it the Lacedemonians, but thought it impiety fouls and rotten bodies, worshipped by men to represent immortal natures by mortal Fi- more like to their Idols, did Epimenides Cregures. Eusebius also witnesseth, in his Sixth tenss (by what good Angel moved I know Book, de praparatione Evangelica, that it was now) erect in the Athenian Fields, Altars to forbidden by a Law in Serica, or among the the unknown God, which stood with the Brackmans in India, that Images should be same title and dedication, even to the times worshipped. The same do 'actius and Cri- of S. Paul: who made them first know to nitus report of the antient Germans. Many whom these Altars belonged, and opened other Authours might be remembred, that their eyes which were capable of grace, that witness the disdain which the Heathen them- they might discern the difference betwixt felves had of this childish (dolary : of which that light which lighteneth every man, and Holpinian hath written at large in his "ract, the obscure and stinking mist wherein the de origine imaginum. And it was truly faid, Devil had so many years led and mis-led Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta funt, them. And it sufficed not that the multitude All ill examples have frung from good agin- of these gods was so great in general, or that mings. The Heathen, at first, made those Sta- every Nation had some one which took particular and fingular care of them, as Jupiter markable men, as had deserved best of their in Crete, Isis in Egypt, in Athens, Minerva, in Countries and common-wealths: Effigies ho. Samos, Juno, in Paphos, Venus, and fo of all minum (faith Pliny) non folebant exprime, nife other parts; but every City, and almost evealiana illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium; ry Family had a god apart. For as it is writ-Men are not wont to make littures, but of men | ter in the fecond of Kings, the men of Babel co. 1. which merited for some notable cause to be per- made succoth Benoth, and the men of Cuth petually remembred. And though of the more made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made antient Papifts, some have borrowed of the Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tar-Gentiles (as appears in Lactantius) that de- tak, and the Sepharvaims burnt their chilfence for Images: That Simulachra are pro ele- dren in the fire to Adramelech. All which, mentis literarum, ut per ea discerent homines how plainly hath the Prophet Esay derided? cap. 44. Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of (and to be fore them the Heathen faid) are in them, make ready their meat, and warm themstead of Letters, whereby men might learn to selves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he know the invilible God: in which understand- maketh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it: but ing, perhaps, they no otherwise esteemed God bath shut their eyes from sight, and their them than pictures indeed; yet as that of Ba- heart from understanding. It is therefore safest alor Bel, fet up in memory of Belus the Baby- for a Christian, to believe the Commandments lonian, became afterward the most reveren- of God, so direct against Idolatry, to believe ced Idel of the world, by which so many Na- the Prophets, and to believe S. Paul, who tions (and they which were appropriate to speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, My be-God imfel! ) were misled and cast away : so loved, she from Idolatry ; I speak as unto them those very stocks and stones, and painted can- which have understanding, judge ye what I say.

e. VIII.

Of the Warrs of Ninus: and lastly of his Warr against Zoroaster.

U Nto this Belis succeeded Nimes, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that, without shame or fear, committed Adultery in his kinsman, and a chissie, and the necrest publick. But, asof Belus there is no certain Prince confronting Eabylonia. His first entermemory (as touching particulars) to of this prize was upon syria, which he might easily Ninus (whose Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in also became the Arabians and their King the greatest part doubted. For, although Arieu (which bordered Spria) affished him that piece of Berofus, let out and commented in the Conquest thereof. upon by Annius, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as Chryteus noteth) to the understanding of Diodorus Siculus, Dion, Halicarnasseus, and others: yet, Lodovieus Vives, B. Rhenams, and others after but, that, ever he commanded the lefter Afia, them, have laid open the imperfection and I do not believe, for none of his Successors defects of the Fragment; proving directly, had any policilion therein. that it cannot be the same Berosus which lived in Alexander's time, cited by Atheneus of the Medes, whom it is faid that he overand Josephus: and whose Statue the Athenithrew, and gruelly murthered with his seven page. and populars, and whose summe the above the configuration of the page of chiefly, that many have gathered the successall died in one barrel against him. Whether fion of the Babylonian and Affrian Princes, he invaded Zorosfier before the building or even from Nimrod, to the eighteenth King amplifying of Ninive, or after, it is uncer-Ascatades, and to the times of Josua. For of tain. It is said, that he made two Expediti-Metasshenes an Historian, of the Race of the tions into Eadria: and, that finding little Persian Priests, there are found but certain Papers; or some few lines of the Chaldean in the collection of the Persian Kings, is not without his errours.

Ctesias, or Cnidus (a City joining to Halicarnasseus) who lived together with Cyrus the younger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered his Hiftory out of the Persian Records, and reacheth as farr upwards as Ninus and Semiramis: and, though in the Story of Cyrus the younger, Xenophon approveth him ramin (the Wife of Menon) he entred and in some things, and Atheneus, Pausanias, and Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the Times and Princes lately published.

a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men long into the Water, and died.

of judgment, I will pals over the acts of this third Afgrian, in as few words as I can express them. S. Augustine affirms, that Ninus mastered all Asia, India excepted. Others say that he wan it all, fave India, Eadria, and Arabia. For he made Aricus of Arabia, the companion of his Conquetts, with WHOm he entred into a streight league of aming, because he commanded many people, and was fudden, and because it lay next him: and

The King of Armenia, Barzanes, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his Warr against Zoro fer: for from Armenia, he bent himself that way toward the East;

His third Warr was against Pharmes, King or ill fuccess in the first, he returned, and set the work of Ninive forward: and then a feand Myrian Monarchies: but he afterwards, cond time entred Eadria with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horfe, and 100000 fix hundred Chariots: being encountred by Zoroafter with four hundred thousand. But Ninus prevailing, and Zoroafter being flain, he entred farther into the Countrey, and be- Aug. de fieged the chief City thereof, called Battra, Civil Dei. or Bactrion (faith stephanus) which by a passage found, and an assault given by Semipossest. Upon this occasion Ninus both admiring her judgment and valour, together vib. de with her person and external beauty, sancied with whom he lived, and so incredible are her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely rethe numbers which he finds in the Armies of fpects) he took her from her Hufband, whole Ninus, and especially of semiramis; as what- eyes he threatned to thrust out, if he refused foever his reports were, times have confumed to confent. He thererefore yielding to the his Works, faving some very few excerptions passion of love in Ninus, and to the passion of forrow in himfelf, by the strong perswasions And therefore in things uncertain, feeing of shame and hishonour, cast himself head-

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beguile

Nens minds? that man should ugly shapes

Half-dog-half-man on knees for aid im-

tion: but Justin Martyr remembreth how the or gods of the mightiest Nobility, select gods, Panitus report of the antient Germans. Many other Authours might be remembred, that witness the disdain which the Heathen them-Hospinian hath written at large in his Tract, de origine imaginum. And it was truly faid, Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta funt, nings. The Heathen, at first, made these Statue and Images, but in memory of tuch remarkable men, as had deferved best of their Countries and common-wealths: Efficies ha-

What fury? what great madness doth | vales (called the pictures of Christ, our Lady, and others) were by thoulands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but effeemed to adore have life, motion, and understanding. On Of Eirds, or Bulls, or Dragons, or the vile these focks we call (fish the Eook of Wisslam) when we passtbrough the raging waves, on these flocks more rotten than the Ship that carries us.

This Heathen invention of Images became And though this device was barbarous, and fo fruit will in after-times, breeding an infinite first, and many years practited by Heathen multimde of gods, that they were forced to Nations onely, till the Jews were corrupted distinguish them into degrees and orders; in Egypt, yet it is not Seneca alone that laugh- as Dii consentes, seu majorum gentium, selecti, eth to fcorn the ignorant stupidity of his Na- Patritii insigniores dii medii: Counselling gods, Sybils inveighed against Images: and Hospi- trian, gods of mark, and Common gods (which nian, how Sophocles taught, that it was perni- the Romans called Medioxum) dii infimi, and cious to the fouls of men to crect and adore terrestrial Heroes, and multitudes of other those bables. Strabo and Herodoius witness, gods, of which S. Augustine hath made large that the Persians did not creck or set up any mention, in his Book, de Civitate Dei. But Statue of their Gods. Lyenrgus never taught (saith Lactantius) among all those miserable it the Lacedemonians, but thought it impiety fouls, and rotten bodies, worshipped by men to represent immortal natures by mortal Figures. Eusebius also witnesieth, in his Sixth tensis (by what good Angel moved I know Book, de praparatione Evangelica, that it was now) erect in the Athenian Fields, Altars to forbidden by a Law in Serica, or among the the unknown God, which stood with the Brackmans in India, that Images should be same title and dedication, even to the times worthipped. The fame do 'actins and cri- of S. Paul: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt felves had of this childifh idolarry : of which that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Devil had so many years led and mis-led them. And it sufficed not that the multitude All ill examples have firing from good begin- of these gods was so great in general, or that every Nation had some one which took particular and fingular care of them, as Jupiter in Crete, Ilis in Egypt, in Athens, Minerva, in Samos, Juno, in Paphos, Venus, and fo of all minum (faith Pliny) non folebant exprimi, mil other parts; but every City, and almost evealiqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium: ry Family, had a god apart. For, as it is writ-Men are not wont to make l'idures, but of men ten in the second of Kings, the men of Babel Cap. 17. relich merited for some notable cause to be per- made Succost Benoth, and the men of Cuth petually remembred. And though of the more made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made antient Papifis, fome have borrowed of the Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tar-Gentiles (as appears in Lastantius) that de- tak, and the sepharvaims burnt their chilfence for Images: That Simulachra are pro ele- dren in the fire to Adramelech. All which, mentis literarum, ut per ea discerent komines how plainly hath the Prophet Esay derided? cap. 44-Deum invisibilem cognoscere: Images say they, Men cut down Trees, rind them, burn a part of (and so before them the Heathen said) are in them, make ready their meat, and warm themstead of Letters, whereby men might learn to selves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he know the invisible God : in which understand- makesh a god; an Idol, and prayeth unto it : but ing, perhaps, they no otherwise esteemed God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their them than pictures indeed; yet as that of Ba-beart from understanding. It is therefore safest alzor Bel, fet up in memory of Belus the Baby- for a Christian, to believe the Commandments lonian, became afterward the most reveren- of God, so direct against Idolatry, to believe ced Idol of the world, by which fo many Na- the Prophets, and to believe S. Paul, who tions (and they which were appropriate to speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, My be-God mmfelt ) were mifled and caft away : fo loved flie from Idolatry ; I fleak as unto them those very stocks and stones, and painted can- which have understanding, judge ye what I say.

s. VIII.

CHAP. X.

Of the Warrs of Ninus: and laftly, of his Warr against Zoroaster.

of the History of the World.

U Nto this Belus succeeded Nimus; the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that, without shame or fear, committed Adultery in publick. But, as of Belus there is no certain Prince confronting Ealylonia. His first entermemory (as touching particulars) to of this prize was upon syria, which he might early Ninus (whose Story is gathered out of profane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in also because the Arabians and their. King the greatest part doubted. For, although driem (which bordered Spria) allisted him that piece of Berofus, fet out and commented in the Conquest thereof. upon by Annius, hath many good things in it. and giveth great light (as Chrysess notesth) to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his to the understanding of Diodorus Siculus; Dion, Halicarnasseus, and others: yet, Lodovicus Vives, B. Rhenanus, and others after but, that, ever he commanded the lefter Afra, them, have laid open the imperfection and I do not believe, for none of his Succeffors defects of the Fragment; proving directly, had any policition therein. that it cannot be the same Berosus which lived in Alexander's time, cited by Atheneus of the Medes, whom it is faid that he overand Josephus: and whose Statue the Athensthrew, and cruelly murthered with his seven man, of an erected, faith Pliny. Yet it is from him Children, though others affirm, that they chiefly, that many have gathered the fucceffion of the Babylonian and Assyrian Princes, even from Nimrod, to the eighteenth King Ascatades, and to the times of Josea. For of tain. It is said, that he made two Expediti-Metaflhenes an Historian, of the Race of the tious into Badria; and, that finding little Persan Priests, there are found but certain or ill success in the first, he returned, and see Papers; or some few lines of the Chaldean and Affyrian Monarchies : but he afterwards, in the collection of the Persian Kings, is not without his errours.

Ctesias, or Cnidus (a City joining to Halicarnaffeus) who lived together with Cyrus the younger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered his History out of the Persian Records, and reacheth as farr upwards as Ninus his Works, faving some very few excerptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing of shame and hishonour, cast himself headlong into the Water, and died. a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men

of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third Afgrian, in as few words and can express them. S. Augustine affirms, that Ninus mastered all Asia, India excepted. Others say that he wan it all, fave India, Eadria, and Arabia. For he made Aricus of Arabia, the companion of his Conquetts, with which he entred into a ftreight league of amitin because he commanded many people, and was his kiniman, and a Chuste, and the neerest fudden, and because it lay next him: and

The King of Armenia, Barzanes, he forced Warr against Zorosfer: for from Armenia, he bent himfelt that way toward the East;

His third Warr, was against Pharmes, King he invaded Zorouster before the building or amplifying of Ninive, or after, it is uncerthe work of Ninive forward: and then a fecond time entred Badria with 1700000 Foot, and 200000 Horse, and 100000 six hundred Chariots: being encountred by Zoroafter with four hundred thousand. But Ninus prevailing, and Zoroafter being flain, he entred farther into the Countrey, and be- Ang. de sieged the chief City thereof, called Bastra, Civin.Del. or Bactrion (saith stephanus) which by a and Semiramis: and, though in the Story of passage found, and an assault given by Semi-Cyrus the younger, Xenophon approveth him ramin (the Wife of Menon) he entred and in fome things, and Atheneus, Paulanias, and possest. Upon this occasion Ninus both ad-Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent miring her judgment and valour, together 2016. are his flatteries of the Times and Princes with her person and external beauty, sancied with whom he lived, and so incredible are her fo strongly, as (neglecting all Princely rethe numbers which he finds in the Armies of spects) he took her from her Husband, whose Ninus, and especially of semirams; as whatfoever his reports were, times have confumed to confent. He thererefore yielding to the passion of love in Ninus, and to the passion of forrow in himfelf, by the strong perswasions

Of Zoroaster, supposed to have been the chief Authour of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magick.

That Zoroaster was not Cham, nor the first inventer of Astrologie, or of Magick: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.

ternal Ancestour of Ninns, the Fa- far more ancient, and left by Noah to his Sons. ther of Chus, the Grand-father of Ninnrod, For Abraham, who had not any acquaintance whose Son was Belus, the Father of Ninus. It with Zoroaster (as Josephus reporteth) was no may be that Vincentius had heard of that less learned herein than any other in that age, Book which was called Scripture Cham, de- if he exceeded not all men then living: difvised by some wicked Knave, and so enti-fering from the wisdom of after-times in this, tuled; of which sixtus senensis hath made that he knew, and acknowledged, the true the due mention.

ters of the Floud; and feven of Brick, things, and reneweth all. against the injury of fire. There was also ano- Now, whether this Zoroafter (overthrown ther devised Discourse, which went under by Ninus) were the same which was so excelthe title of Prophetia Cham. Caffianns out of lent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroafter Serenus hath somewhat like this of Comestor. the Magician, Ctesias calls Oxyartes, whom These be Cassanus words: Cham (filius Pliny finds of a later time. And if Zoroaster Noah) qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis were taken away by a Spirit (being in the fuit artibus infectus. sciens nullum se posse super midst of his Disciples) as some Authours re-(the Son of Noah) who was infected with these Scaliger.

ther children weep; which prefaged the of knowledge, and leave it by writing to great knowledge which afterward he at- Posterity.

Oreafter, King of the Battrians, Vin- Minerals, or their Sympathetical, or Antipacentius supposeth to be Cham the thetical workings; of which, I know not Son of Noah: a fancy of little pro- what King of Chaldaa is also made the Invenbability. For cham was the Pa- ter. I rather think that these knowledges were cause, and giver of life and virtue to Nature, It is reported by Cassans, that Serenus and all natural things; whereas others (for-Abbas gave the invention of Magick to Cham getting Gods infinite, dispersed, and universal the Son of Noah: fo did Comestor in his Scho- power) admired the Instruments, and did lastical History; which Art (faith he) with attribute proper strength to the things themthe feven Liberal Sciences he writ in four- selves (from which the effects were sensible) wife.c. teen Pillars: seven of which were made which belonged to that wisdom, Which beof Brass, to resist the defacing by the Wa-ing one, and remaining in it self, can do all

his memorialem librain Arcam prorsus inserre, port, then Zoroaster, Ilain by Ninus, was not in qua erat cum patre justo, &c. Cham the the Magician: which is also the opinion of

Superstitions and Sacrilegious Arts, knowing Again, Josephus, and Cedrenus affirm, that scalig in that he could not bring any Book or memorial Seth first found out the Planets, or wandring soft that nature into the Ark, wherein he was to Stars, and other motions of the Heavens: for Junique remain with his godly Father, caused the Pre- if this Art had been invented by Zoroaster, cepts and Rules thereof to be graven in Metal, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein, in his own life-time; but Saint Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was being a man(as it seemeth) of singular judgfaid to have laught at his birth, when all o- ment, he might add somewhat to this kind

tained unto ; being taken for the Inventer But of this Zoroaster, there is much dispute: of natural Magick and other Arts; for the and no less jangling about the word and Art Corrupter, faith Pliny and Justine. But I do of Magick. Arnobius remembreth four, to not think that Zoroaster invented the do- whom the name of Zoroaster, or Zorcastres Ctrine of the Horoscopes, or Nativities : or first was given : which by Hermodorus and Dinon found out the nature of Herbs, Stones, and seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, CHAP. XI. The first, Arnobius calleth the Badrian, which | study and labour, altogether ridiculous. may be the latter than the Aftronomer of by is express such a chaldean, and the Aftronomer of by is express such as is altogether con-Ninus: the third was Zoroaster Pamphylius, who lived in the time of Cyrus, and his familiar: the fourth, Zoroafter Armenius, the Nephew of Hostianes, which followed Xerxes into Greece : between whom and Gyrus, there | faith, that the Perfians called their gods unique: past threescore and eighteen years. Suidas remembreth a fifth, called Persomedus sapiens: and Plato speaketh of Zoroaster the Magus is a name sometimes of him that is a Son of Oromasses 5 which Picus Mirandula God by nature; sometimes of him that is in confirmeth.

Zoroasier was, it is doubted. Pliny and Lacrtius make him a Persian. Gemitheus, or Pletho, Ficinus and Steuchins, make him a Chaldean. But by those Books of one Zoroafter found by Picus Mirandula, it appeareth plainly, that the Author of them was a Chaldwan by Nation, though the word (Chaldean) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. Forphyrius makes the Chaldei and Magi divers; Picus, the same. But that this Zoroafter was a Chaldean both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Books, which (faith Picus) Zoroastris & Melchior magorum oracula.

#### §. II.

Of the name of Magia; and that it was anciently far divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.

Ow, for Magick it felf; which Art (faith Mirandula) Pauci intelligunt, multi re- han Tongue the word (Magus) imports as prekendunt; Few understand, and many repre-much a contemplator of divine and heavenhend; Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; As Dogs bark at those they know not: so they Chaldeans were ignorant of the true Divinicondemn and hate the things they under-ty. And it is also right which His Majely afrand not: I think it not amifs (leaving Ninus voweth, that under the name of Magick, all for a while) to speak somewhat thereof.

Plant 30 Wittnery, are fart officering Arts, whereon powers a party surface of the Wifemen Arioli, 1881, Nat. Pliny being ignorant, feoffeth thereat. For nameth four kinds of those Wifemen Arioli, 1881, Nat. Pliny being ignorant, feoffeth thereat. Papping Nero (faith Pling) who had the most excel Magi, Malesici, and Chalderi. Arioli the old

and was as much to fay, as Aftrorum cultor. dom by his grace, found the Art, after long Magus is a Persian word primitively, where- Plato in

firmeth) the Art of Magick is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect Apollonius in his Epittles expounding the word (univ ) whence he addeth, that Magus is either i स्ट्रीवे क्षंडा अन्देर, Or अद्भानकी मह अन्तर (that is) that Now, of what Nation the first and chief is taken, Mat. 2. v. 1. And this is the first and vine Magick : and these did the Latines new-riced, de ly entitle Sapientes, or Wisemen: For, the fear privat. 7. and worship of God is the beginning of know- John Bug. ledge. These Wiscemen the Greeks call Philo-Linschot. fophers: the Indians, Branchmans; which name they somewhat neerly retain to this day, calling their Priests Bramines; among the Egyptians they were tearmed Priests with the Hebrews they were called Cabalifts, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharifees: amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldeans : and among the Persians, Magicians: of whom Arnobius (speaking of the Comment in the fame Language. Now, that the Magiand they were not differing it uleth these words: Et verum Deum merita selections may be judged by the name of those Books majestate prosequitur, Angelos ministros Dei, Arabio of Toronfler, which in an Epistle of Mirandula fed veri ejus venerationi novit affifere. Idem 1,560. toFicinus, he saith, to be intituled, Patris Ezre demonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis not Hoftanes) ascribeth the due Majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the Worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are Devils earthly, and wandering, and enemies to man-kind. His Majesty also, in his first Book of Demo-

ly science; but unjustly so called, because the other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and It is true, that many men abhort the very yet doth His Majesty distinguish it from Nename and word (Mages) because of simon cromancy, Witcherast, and the rest: of all Magus, who being indeed, not Magus, but which he hath written largely, and most goer (that is) familiar with evil Spirits, nurped that Title. For Magick, Conjuring, and By condemneth, is of that kind whereof the Witchery, are farr differing Arts, whereof Devil is a party. Daniel in his fecond Chaplent Magicians of the East, sent him by Tyri- Latine Translation calleth Sophiftas: Fatadates King of Armenia, who held that King- blus and Pagninus, Cenethliacos, or Phylicos, or

divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam, unto them knew none of these Sciences. profitentes; For the Magi are the same with

the Septuagint, Magicians.

The third kind are Malestei or Venesici; in Hierom, Pagnin, and the Septuagint, Witches, whole Philosophy of Nature; not the brab-nenting. cerers, as in English.

the Devil by other means bringeth to pass.

events: and this they vaunted to perform by the influences of the Starraby them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of Magick. crept into the inferiour degrees.

motions and influences of the Starrs into those lower Elements.

knew the Creator by the contemplation of the gathered and translated.

Philosophers, or (according to the note of creature, Josephus reporteth of Abraham, that Vatablus Naturalists: Nempe funt Magi apud he instructed the Egyptians in Arithmetick Rabaros quod Philosophi apud Gracos (scilicet) and Astronomie who before Abraham's comine

And so doth Archangelus de Burge, in dethe Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the fence of Mirandula against Garsias : Alexan-Grecians (that is) men that profess the know- der & Eupolemon dicunt, quid Abraham ledge of things both divine and humane. The fantitate & spientia omnium prastantissimus. Greek and the English call them Inchanters; Chaldaos primum, deinde Phoenices, demum Junius, Magicians; Castalion, Conjedurers : in Egyptios Sacerdotes Astrologiam & divina the Strian, they are all four by one name docuerit; Alexander (faith he, meaning Acalled Sapientes Babylonis; The Wisemen of lexander Polyhistor) and Eupolemon affirm, that Abraham, the holiest and wifest of men, The second fort Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, did first teach the Chaldwans, then the Pheniand our Englift, call Aftrologers; Hierom and cians; laftly, the Egyptian Priefts, Aftrologie, and divine Knowledge.

or Poisoners: in Junius, Prastigiatores, or Sor- blings of the Aristotelians, but that which say to bringeth to light the inmost virtues, and divin. Dis. That Witches are also rightly so called draweth them out of Nature's hidden bo-Venefici, or Poisoners; and that indeed there | some to humane use: Virtutes in centro centri is a kind of Malefici, which, without any Art latentes; Virtues hidden in the center of the of Magick or Necromancie, use the help of center, according to the Chymists. Of this fort the Devil to do mischief, His Majesty con- were Albertus, Arnoldus de villa nova, Kayfirmeth in the first Chapter of his second | mond, Bacon, and many others: and before Book: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of these, in elder-times, and who better undertheir practice, to mix the powder of dead stood the power of Nature, and how to apbodies with other things by the Devil pre- ply things that work to things that fuffer, pared; and at other times to make Pictures | were Zoroaster before spoken of: Apollonius of Wax, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were Tyaneus, remembred by S. Hierom to Pauli-Sacramentaliter) to effect those things which | nus; in some mens Opinion, Numa Pompilius among the Romans : among the Indians, The-The fourth all Translators call Chaldeans: fian: among the Egyptians, Hermes: among who took upon them to foretell all things to the Babylonians, Budda: the Thracians had come, as well natural ashumane, and their Zamolxis: the Hyperboreans (as is supposed) Abbaris: and the Italians, Petrus Aponensis. The Magick which these men profest, is thus defined: Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, libi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non line corum line admiratione qui cauhaving chiefly fought (as is the manner of all | fam ignorant: Magick is the connexion of na-Impostures) to counterfeit the highest and tural agents and patients, answerable each to omost noble part of it, yet so as they have also | ther, wrought by a wife man, to the bringing forth of such effects as are wonderfull to those that A fecond kind of Magick, was that part of know not their causes. In all these three kinds, Astrologie, which had respect to sowing and which other men divide into sour, it seemeth planting, and all kinds of Agriculture and that Zoroafter was exceedingly learned; efpe- , Touring Husbandry: which was a knowledge of the cially in the first and highest. For in his O must be motions and influences of the Starrs into racles he consessed to be the Creator en Tries. of the Universal: he believeth of the \* Tri- natelloris Philo Judeus goeth farther, affirming, that | nity, which he could not investigate by any cept Canada by this part of Magick, or Aftrologie, together with the motions of the Starrs, and other and of Faradife: approve th the immortality pair. heavenly bodies, Abraham found out the of the Soul: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, menting knowledge of the true God, while he lived and Love, discoursing of the Abstinence and description in Chaldea: Qui contemplatione creaturarum Charity of the Magi: which Oracles of his, or Filington  Phenicians, uling Zoroafter's own words : Hac (faith he) were the chief Ministers of the Perad verbum (cribit (faith Eusebins ) Dens primus fian Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, fibi-ipst simillimus, bonorum omnium losophy: neither could any be King of the Perauriea, munera non expect ans, optimus, pruden- fians, who had not first been exercised in the mytillimus, pater juris, line doctrina justitiam per- steries and knowledge of the Magi. Sixtus Sedoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacra natura nenfis, in the defence of Origen against Polyunicus inventor, &c. Thus writeth Zoroaster, chronius and Theophilus, hath two kinds of mord for word. God, the first incorruptible, ever- Magick, his own words are these: Et ne quem the best, the misest, the father of right, kaving alteram ubique ab Origine damnatam, qua per learned justice without teaching, perfect, wife by fader a cum demonibus inita, aut vere, aut apnature, the onely inventer thereof.

of the History of the World.

the Chaldwans, doth distinguish those wise tinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applimen into five orders (to wit) Chascedim, or catione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invi-Chaldwans: Asaphim, or Magicians: Chartu- cem agentium ac patientium; That the testimomim (which he translates Ariolie, or Sophists) nies of Theophilus and Polychronius (faith or Diviners.

celorum motus diligentissime specification to the practick part of na-did most diligently contemplate the motions of tural Philosophy, teaching to work admirable the heavens: whom Philo, in the life of Abraham describeth.

Asaphim were in the old Latine translation Hierom, Magicians: Qui de omnium tam di- considering of the difference which Daniel vinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philo- makes between these four kinds of wise Men Cophati funt : Who discoursed of the canses of all formerly remembred, he useth this distinctithings, as well divine as humane : of whom on: Ques nos hariolos; cateri & mon \$4 (id eft) Origen makes Balaam (the Son of Beor) to be incantatores interpetati funt, videntur mihi Lum. 1. 1. the first : but Laertins ascribeth the inventi-

on of this Art to Zoroaftres the Persian. (faith S. Augustine, Pliny, and Justine) of anofrom his Ancesters.

His Majesties Book of Damonologia.

Gazarim, or Aruspices (after S. Hierom) which divine from the intrails of Beafts flain for facrifices: or by Gazarim, others underftand Augures, who divine by the flying finging, or feeding of Birds.

difference between those wife men which the Kings of Babylon entertained; and that the name and profession of the Magi among the antient Persians was most honest. For as Puur de Peucer truly observeth, Pracritit religioni sibe name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom Divinia. Perfice, ut in populo Dei Levite, ftudisque vera the onlgar call Mathematicians. But common mg. fol. Philosophia diditi erant: nec quifquam Rex enstom takes Magicians for Witches, who are 133,136. Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum otherwise reputed in their own Nation : for

Of this Zoroafter Eufeb in the Theologie of the disciplinam scientianque percepisset; The Magi and they were given to the studies of true Phi-Lafting unbegotten without parts, most like him- moveant pramissa Polychronii & Theophili Bibl. L. 6. felf, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; ful. 124, parenter operatur; alteram ab Origine landa-Sixtus Senensis, speaking of the wisdom of tam que ad practicen naturalis Philosophia per-Mechasphim, or Malesici, or Venesici, Wiches, or be) may not move any man, it is to be under-Poisoners; and Gazarim, Augures, or Aruspices, stood that Magick is of two forts, the one every where condemned by Origen; which worketh Chascedim were those which had the name (whether truly or seemingly) by covenants made of Chaldeans, which were Aftronomers: Hi with devils; the other commended by Origen, things by the mutual application of natural vir-

tues agent and suffering reciprocally.

This Partition Hierom doth embrace in the called Philosophers: of the Septuagint, and of first of his Commentaries upon Daniel, where esse qui verbis rem peragunt ; Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; Malefici, qui sanguine Chartumim, or Inchanters, the Disciples utuntur, & victimis, & sape contigunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldais Genethliacos ther Zoroaftres : who corrupted the admi- fignificari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vorable wildom of the Magi, which he received cant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gen-Mechasphim, or Venesici, or Witches, are tem suam, eo qued fint Philosophi Chaldeorum: those which we have spoken alteady out of Sad artis bujus scientiam, Reges quoq & Principes ejusclem gentis omnia faciunt ; unde & in nativitate domini Salvatoris, ipsi primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethlehem, adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper oftendente; They, whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seem to me, such as perform things by words; Magicians, such as By this diftinction, we may perceive the bandle every thing philosophically; Witches, that use blond and sacrifices, and often lay bands on the body of the acad: further, among the Chaldwans, I take them to be signified by

6. IV.

King and princes of that Nation do all that they ing, they were thought the works of the devils do, according to the knowledge of this Art: by theignorant. Among these works is natural whence, at the nativity of the Lordour Savi- Magick, which men call very improperly, Neour, they first of all understood his birth, and cromancy. coming unto hely Bethlehem, did worship the Child: the Starr from above shewing him unto For by understanding (saith he) the uttermost them. By this therefore it appeareth, that activity of natural agents we are allifted to there is great difference between the do- know the Divinity of Christ for otherwise (to Etrine of a Magician, and the abuse of the use his own words) Ignoratis terminis potenword. For though fome Writers affirm, that tie & virtutis rerum naturalium, flat nos du-Asaeus hodie dicitur, qui ex fædere facto uti- bitare illa eadem opera, que fecit Christus, posse tur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque, That fieri per media naturalia, The terms or limits of he is called a Magician non-a-days, who having natural power and virtue not underflood, we entred league with the Devil, ujeth his belp to must needs doubt, whether those very works any matter: yet (as our Saviour faid of Di- which Christ did, may not be done by natural woree) it was not to from the beginning. means: after which he goeth on in this fort: For the Art of Magick is of the wildom of Ideo non heretice, non superstitione dixi, sed Nature 3 other Arts which undergo that title, verissime & Catholice per talem Magiam adjuwere invented by the fallhood, fubtilty, and vari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: envic of the Devil. In the latter, there is no Therefore I faid not heretically, not superfitiother doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies, Per malam fidem; By an evil faith: in Magick we are furthered in knowing the Divithe former, no other ill, than the investigati- nity of Christ. And seeing the Jews and others, on of those virtues and hidden properties the enemies of Christian Religion, do impuwhich God hath given to his creatures, and dently and impioully object, that those Mihow fitly to apply things that work, to things racles which Christ wrought, were not above that fuffer. And though by the few those ex- nature, but by the exquisite knowledge cellent Magicians, Philosophers, and Divines, thereof performed: Mirandula, a man for his which came to worthip our Saviour christ, were tearmed Mechaschephim, or Mecasphim; latter Age hath brought forth, might with yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. Consuctudo autem communis THE MARIE MAGOS PTO Maleficis accipit; Common cujton which Christ did, and which (as himself wit-(faith S. Hierom understandeth Witches under nesseth) no man could do, do manifestly testiflood good and wife men. Quid igitur expavefeis as a Pencil, and by a power infinitely Su-Magi nomen formidolofe, nomen Evangelie graper preme and Divine; and thereby those that tiofum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed were faithless, were either converted, or put sapientem sonat, & Sacerdotem? O thou fear- to filence. Mar Ficin, full one (faith Ficinus) why doubtest thou to use the name of Magus, a name gratious in the Gofpel which doth not signifie a Witch or a Conjurer, but a wife man, and a Priest? For what brought this flander to that Study and Profellion, but onely idle Ignorance, the Parent of caulless admiration? Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, que (re vera) opera naturalia funt : veruntamen quia procuratione demonorum, naturas ipsas vel conjungentiam, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera damonu credebantur ab ignorantibus hac. De operibus hujufmodi est Magia naturalis quam Necromantiam multi improprie vocant. The marvellousness of

they are the Philosophers of the Chaldwans : yea, or how sower fitting the natures to their work-

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further: Fol So. years, fuller of knowledge than any that this good reason avow, that the uttermost of Nature's works being known, the works the name of Magicians: And antiquity (faith fie of themselves, that they were performed Peter Martyr) by the word (Magi) under- by that hand which held Nature herein but

#### 6. III.

That the good knowledge in the antient Magick is not to be condemned: though the Devil here, as in other kinds, hath fought to obtrude evil things, under the name and colour of good things.

Eeing therefore it is confessed by all of Understanding, that a Magician (according to the Persian word) is no other than, Divinorum Cultor & Interpres : A studious Observer and Expounder of Divine things: and the Art of it self (I mean the Art of Natural Masome works, which (indeed) are natural, bath gick) no Other, Quam naturalis Philosophia been the cause of this slander: but because these absoluta consummatio; than the absolute per-Gal. Parish morks have been done by procurement of deviles, fection of natural Philosophy: Certainly then, it norks have been aone by procurement of acrous, person of names transport. Certainly forteth end tegs, joining the natures together or mingling them, proceeds from ignorance, and no way forteth with found lawfull and praife-worthy knowledge the Land, that commonly some great from with that impious, and (to use S. Pauls words) with those beggerly rudiments, which the Devil and the Swallow betoken fair weather; that hath shuffled, and by them bewitcheth and the crying of Crows, and bating of Ducks, befooleth graceless men. For if we condemn natural Magick, or the wisdom of Nature, because the Devil (who knows more than any man) doth also teach Witches and Poisoners the harmfull parts of Herbs, Drugs, Minerals, Crane, and the Swallow. Hereupon, this eneand Excrements: then may we, by the same my of Man-kind, working upon these as uprule, condemn the Phylician, and the Art of on the rest of Gods creatures, long time abu-Healing. For the Devil also in the Oracles of sed the Heathen, by teaching them to ob-Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and the ferve the flying of Fowls, and thereby to like, taught men in Dreams, what Herbs and Drugs were proper for such and such Disea- and (withall) to look into their entrails for fes. Now, no man of judgment is ignorant, the same, as if God had written the secrets of that the Devil from the beginning hath fought to thrust himself into the same employment among the Ministers and Servants pleased God sometimes by Dreams, not only of God, changing himself for that purpose to warn and teach his Prophets and Apostles, thrust in his Prophets among those of the ed Joseph, and by a Dream informed Jacob, true God; he hath corrupted the Art of A- Laban, Pharao, Solomon, Paul, Ananias, the firologie, by giving a divine power to the Magi of the East, and others. For as it is re-Stars, teaching men to esteem them as gods, membred in Job: In Dreams and Visions of ferveth) it is true, that judicial Astrologie is God openeth the ears, that he might cause man corrupted with many superstitions: but the 10 return from his enterprise; therefore, I abuse of the thing takes not away the say, doth the Devil also practise his Divinatiexercise their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sun and the Starr of Mars do drie; the Moon doth moisten, and govern the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planets, as they have feveral and proper names, so have they feveral and proper virtues: the Stars do also differ in beauty, and in magnitude; and to all the Stars hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and virtues different ) needed not : He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names. But, into the good and profitable knowledge of the celeftial influences, the Devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of Characters, Numbers, and Incantations; and taught men to believe in the strength of Words and Letters(which, withbreath) thereby either to equal his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or Word, by whom are all things. Moreover, he was never ignorant, that place denieth dispute.

with wife and learned men, promifeue, and both the wife and the simple observe when without difference and diffinction, to con- the Sea-birds forfake the shores, and slie into followeth; that the high flying of the Kite foreshew Rain: for they feel the air moistned in their quils. And it is written in Hieremy the Prophet, Even the Stork in the air knoweth ce. 8.0.7. judge of good or ill fuccess in the Warr: unsearchable providence in the Livers and Bowels of Birds and Beafts. Again, because it into an Angel of Light. He hath led men to but Heathen Princes also; as Abimelech to re-Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath store Sara to Abraham; because he admonish-v.17. and not as instruments. And (as Bunting ob- the night when see falleth upon men, &c. then 100 33.17. Art, considering that heavenly bodies (as one by dreams, or (after Paristensis) divinitation on Paristensis even general experience sheweth) have, and imitationes, his mock-divinity. This in the deltg. 24. end grew to common, as Ariftides compiled 42. an Ephemerides of his own Dreams: Mithridates of those of his Concubines. Yea, the Romans, finding the inconvenience hereof, because all Dreams (without distinction of codes, de cales) were drawn to Divination, forbad the malefic. fame by a Law, as by the words of prohibi- Mathematical tion (aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam leg. o s artem divinandi) it may appear. Likewise by the Law of God, in Deuteronomy, Chap. 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is to be contemned, not that Marcus Antonius was told a remedy in his Dream for two grievous diseases that opprest him; nor that of Alexander Macedon for the cure of Italemie's poisoned wound; nor that which Saint Augustine reporteth of a Millanoise, Aug. de whose Son (the Father dead) being de- cara pro mortuit a-manded a debt already paid, was told by genda. out Faith in God, are but Ink or common his Father in a Dream, where the Acquittance lay to discharge it : not that of Astyages of his Daughter, and many others of to diminish the glory of God's creating like nature. Of the reason of all which, for as much as the cause is not in our selves, this

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i. IV.

That Daniel's milliking Nebuchodonofor's condenining of the Migicians, deth not juflific all their practices.

fuch kind of ; or 'e God himself command- Jupiter apollo, and the like, was so adored. ed tobe flain. To this givers an wers may be the King, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not given to those his glorious creatures. with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that upon good reason, that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawfull Arts, but never terrifie the honest and learned Physiciwere meerly Magicians and Naturalists: and were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniel's caution they may make use of them. instruction: for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the Inchan-

of diffinct professions.

of their practice and profession.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds is not to condemn the right ufe of them.

Otwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evil, of falshood Ut it may be objected, that if such Divi- with truth, of corruption with cleanness and nations as the Heathers commonly used, purity: The good, The truth, The purity in were to be condemned in them, who took every kind may well be embraced: As in the on them very many and firange Revelati- ancient worthipping of God by Sacrifice, ons, how came it to pais, that Daniel both there was no man knowing God among the condemnee the halty lenvence of Nebuchodo- Liders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrinofor agains, the Magicians of Chaides, and in fice to the God of all power, because the Dea fort forbed it? especially considering that vil, in the Image of Baal, Aftaroth, Chemoth,

Neither did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie given. Fiff. it feem in that Laniel had re- Abraham (if we may believe the most ancient Anax. fpect to those Chamerns, because they ac- and religious Historians) from observing the & Popular knewiedged to the Common of the King, motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neiwhich himselt had forgotten, could not be ther can it dehort wife and learned men in known to any man by any Art, either Natu- these days from attributing those virtues, inral or Diabolical: For there is none other fluences, and inclinations to the Starrs and (faid the Chaldwans )that can declare it before other lights of Heaven, which God hath

The Sympathetical, and Anipathetical working of Herbs, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost virtues, sometimes taught by the Devil, and applied by his Ministers to harmfull and uncharitable ends, can an or Magician from the using of them to the therefore when the King commanded to kill help and comfort of Man-kind: neither can all, Daniel perswaded the contrary, and cal- the illusions, whereby the Devil betrayeth led it a halfy judgment, which proceeded such men as are fallen from God, make other with fury without examination. And that men reject the observations of Dreams; so some of those mens studies and professions farr as with a good Faith and a Religious

Lastly, the prohibition to mark flying of Fowls (as figns of good or evil fuccess) hath ters: of which some were tearmed sooth- no reference at all to the crying of Crows fayers, others Astrologians, others Chaldeans, against Rain, or to any observation not suothers Magi, or Wise-men: and therefore perstitious, and whereof a reason or cause 10 may be given. For if we confound Arts with Thirdly, Daniel misliked and forbad the the abuse of them, we shall not onely conexecution of that judgment, because it was demn all honest Trades and enterchange unjust, For howsoever those men might de- amongst men (for there are that deceive in serve punishment for the practice of unlaw- all Professions) but we shall in a short time full Arts (though not unlawfull according bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledg to the law of that State) yet herein they were and all learning, or obscure and cover it altogether guittefs. For it exceeded humane over with a most scornfull and beggarly power to pierce the King's thought, which ignorance : and (as Pliny teacheth) we the Devil himself could not know. So then, in should shew our selves, Ingratos erga eos, qui Daniel's diflike, and hindring of the execu- labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac tion of ientence of death pronounced against luce: Unthankfull towards those, who with the Magicians, there is no absolute justifying pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed, not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks also, and Professors thereof: though those that are excellently learned

nation Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni feibili vants and vaffals, do no way need any fich queritur, elucet; non modò remota similitu- inforcement. dine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glass of the Mathematicks, that Truth doth hine, which is sought in every kind of knowledg; not in an obscuring, but in a neer and manifest representation.

CHAP. XI.

6. VI.

of the divers kinds of unlawfull Magick.

T is true, that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with at other times they are willingly mastered. the name Magick: and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that Tree, on whose had lifted him up in the air, cast him headroot they never grew. The first of these is an Invocation at the Graves of the dead, to S. Peter no where vaunteth) yet the fame whom the Devil himself gives answer in pranks at other times, upon his own accord, ftead of those that seem to appear. For cer- the Devil played with Theodotus; who transtainit is, that the immortal fouls of men do ported (as Simon Magus was supposed to not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but have been) had the same mortall fail that he they give motion and understanding to the had. The like success had Budas, a principal living : death being nothing else but a sepa- Pillar of the Manichean Heresie, as Socrates in ration of the body and foul: and therefore his Ecclefiaftical History witnesseth: and for the foul is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay conjuring or raising up Devils, of whom they times he maketh himself a Pegalius, to conhope to learn what they lift. These men are fo diftract, as they believe, that by terrible words they make the Devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle fend them strong illusions; Of these their suppowhich cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein set transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Majesty in the 2d Book, & the that great Monster. Doubtless, they forget that the Devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness, no, not by the fearfull Word of the Almigh-Gods feat, that he made no scruple to tempt tores, qui in unque & vitro volunt spiritum inour Saviour Chrift, whom himself called the cludere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: faum val- Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts They are foolish Inchanters, which will sont up of his, an unworthy wretch, will yet refolve their spirits within their nails, or in Glass: for himself, that he can draw the Devil out of a spirit cannot be inclosed by a body. months Hell, and terrifie with a Phrase: whereas in tan; eque very truth, the obedience which the Devils feem to use, is but thereby to possess themraise them up; as His Majesty in his Book aforenamed hath excellently raught: That the Divels obedience is onely, secundum quid, scilicet L. Vives in up. 11. ex pacto; respective, that is, upon bargain.

I cannot tell what they can do upon those are apt enough to come uncalled: and al- constrained or commanded out of Heaven

icen learned, judge of it in this fort: In speculo ways attending the cogitations of their fer-Or, it may be that these Conjurers dealt

altogether with Cardans mortal Devils, following the opinion of Rabbi Avornathan and of Porphirius, who taught that these kind of Divels lived not above a thousand years: which Plutarch in his Treatife de Graculorum defectu confirmeth, making example of the great God Pan. For, were it true, that the Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alway fear those words and threats, by which But the Familiar of Simon Magus, when he long out of his claws, when he was fure he hath the name of Neeromane; or Getia: and should perish with the fall. If this, perhaps, English his. hath the name of Necromancy, or Goetta: and Ihould perin with the fall. It this, perinaps, accounts of this again there are divers kinds. The one were done by S. Peter's Prayers (of which cap. 16. a manfest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the Devil leaves all Witches and Sor-Tribute, or are in league with Satan, is that of cerers at the Gallows, for whom at other vey them in hafte to places far distant, or at least makes them so think : For those that re- 2 Thess. ceived not the truth (faith S. Paul) God shall 4th Chap, of the Demonologie, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerly illufive. Another fort there are, who take on them to include spirits in Glasses & Cryty: and that he feared not to offer to lit in stals; of whom Cusanus: Fatui sunt Incanta-lib. 2. There is also another art belides the afore-

mentioned, which they call Theureia, or White Magick; a pretended conference with good felves of the bodies and fouls of those which Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven and communicate withall. Bur the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; fo, seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man for Area de Control de la Control Lamblicus imagination; but fure I am, the rest rupted his understanding) that they can be

Levit.20.

by threats. Wherefore let the Profesiours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed purity of life, by the ministery of Infants by fasting and abstinence in general; yet all those that tamper with immaterial fubstances, and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, or men of evil

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the rest are Devils, which willingly obey. called Hydromantia: by the air, called Mataotechnia, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other, fort) command; the other obey the Devil.

was it no more to be admired then Mahocould never mafter or instruct any Beast as he did his Horfe.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the Marsians, a people of Italy, practised: Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu: inchanting Marsia makes the Snakes to burft.) That it hath been used, it appears, Pfal. 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kind, and even by natural causes it may be done. For, there are doth more easily betray the other faculties many fumes that will either draw them out, or deftroy them; as womens hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: Frogs were not imaginary, but fuch indeed and therein I find no other Magick or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouse with brio, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, a piece of tosted Cheese.

#### 6. VII.

Of divers ways by which the Devil semeth to work his wonders.

D Ut to the end that we may not dote with the Manichees, who make two powers of faith, and in the power of Satan. For good gods: that we do not give to the Devil any Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and other dominion than he hath (not speak of his ability, when he is the Minister of Gods Other forts there are of wicked Divinati- vengeance; as when Egypt, according to Daons; as by fire, called Pyromantia: by water, vid, was destroyed by evil Angels) he otherwife worketh but three ways. The first is by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The fecond, by the exquisite knowledge of is Fascination or Witchcraft: the Practicers Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion. whereof are no less envious and cruel, re- and false semblance. And, that they cannot vengeful and bloudy, than the Devil himself. work what they would, G. Parisensis giveth And these accursed creatures, having fold three causes: the first, a natural impotentheir fouls to the Devil, work two ways; ei- cy: the fecond, their own reason dissivather by the Devil immediately, or by the Art ding them from daring overmuch, or inof poisoning. The difference between Necro- deed (and that which is the onely certain mancers and Witches, His Majesty hath excel- cause) the great mercy of the Creator, Tenens Sint paid lently taught in a word: that the one (in a eos ligatas (faith the fame Author) velut immanissimas belluas. S. Augustine was of opi-co. 10. There is another kind of petty Witchery (if nion, that the Frogs which Pharaoh's Sorit be not altogether deceit) which they call | cerers produced, were not natural, but that charming of Beafts and Birds of which Pytha- the Devil (by betraying of their fenses that goras was accused, because an Eagle lighted looked on) made them appear to be such. Elian 1.6 on his shoulder in the Olympian fields. But if For, as Varius observeth, those Frogs of the Nat. Hift. the same exceeded the Art of Falconry, yet Inchanters were not found corrupted as those of Moles were, which might argue met's Dove, which he had used to feed with that they were not creatures indeed. Here-Wheat out of his ear: which Dove, when it of, faith Saint Augustine: Nec sane Demones was hungry, lighted on Mahomet's shoulder, naturas creant, sed qua à Deo creata sunt com-and thrust his Bill therein to find his break-mutant ut videantur esse quod non sunt: The Defast: Mahomet perswading the rude and vils create not any creatures, but so change those simple Arabians, that it was the Holy Ghost that are created by God, as they feem to be that that gave him advice. And certainly, if Banks which they be not: of which in the 83. Question had lived in elder times, he would have he giveth the reason. Damon quibusdam nebushamed all the Inchanters of the World : for lis implet omnes meatus intelligentia, per quos whosoever was most famous among them, aperire lumen ration's radius mentis solet (that is) The Devil fills with certain clouds all passages vis of of the understanding, by which the beam of the theuse mind is wont to oven the light of reason.

And, as Tertullian in his Book de Anima rightly conceiveth, if the Devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazel those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God patieth out, the Devil entreth in, beginning with the fantalie, by which he of the foul : for the fantafie is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aguings, on the contrary, held, that those as they feemed : not made Magica artis ludibut (according to Thomas) Per aptam & ido-

By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For Moles could not be deceived by that fleight of false semblance; and S. Augustine in another case like unto this (to wit) of the turning of Diomedes his companions into Birds, per activa cum passivis, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that S. Augustine doth believe that of Diomedes. And this opinion of Thomas, G. Parisiensis, a man very learned also, confirmeth. For, speaking of natural Magick, he useth these words: De hujusmodi autem operibus. & subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, alierumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus fola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adjutoris ipfa seminanatura confortant & accuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (que tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed poten-tia Demonum,&c. to which he addeth: Qui autem in his doll funt talia non mirantur, fed Solins enim divine intelligentia etho enthe con confidence for confidence for control in his glorificant: In fuch nosse overlare; It is onely proper to Gods un-office is north; (faith he) the sudden generation of Frogs derstanding and pussion to know and reveal and Lice, and Worms, and some other creatures hidden things. is: in all which, Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in fuch wife that they fo haften the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant, not to be the work of Nature, which ufually worketh more leifurely, but they think it done by the powers of Devils. But they who are learned in these Arts, marvel not at such working but glorifie the Creator. Now, by these two ways the Devils do most frequently work(to wit) by knowing the uttermost of nature, and

thunders lightnings, & tempelts; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it ; tural? Or, may it be objected that he foretelleth things before they happen, which exair, and can thence better judge, than those the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to that inhabite the earth: if he should not an eternal and second death.

by illusion: for there is no incomprehensible

For, shall we say, he causeth sometimes

or unsearchable power, but of God onely.

neam agentium & patientium applicationem: | fometimes, yea, it he should not very often-Diabetas times ghes rightly of things to come (where babes re-God pleaseth not to give impediment) if rum usum: were very strange. For we see that wise and que res learned men do oftentimes by comparing bet momentalike causes, conceive rightly of like effects be-it is quovis fore they happen: and yet, where the Devil regoing. doubteth, and would willingly keep his cre- Anima, dit, he evermore answereth by Riddles: as 27, 5%

Crocfus Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim:

If Crafus over Halys go,

Great Kingdoms he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdom, or of his Enemies. And thus farr we grant the Devil may proceed in Predictions, which otherwise belong to God only, as it is in Elay: Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods ; shew us at all times, and certainly what is to come.

#### 6. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

O conclude, It may be objected, that

the Devil hath raised from the dead : and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of samuel, raifed by the Witch of Ender; which, were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Devil's acts exceeded all the powers of Nature, false semblance, and other illusions. Justin Martyr was sometime of the opi- Just. Mari. who knows not that these things are also na- nion, that it was samuel indeed; and so was in colleg. Ambrose, Lyra, and Burgensis; from which Au- phone in thorities those men borrow strength which resp ad orceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, to believe. But Martyr changed his opinion; the quest. that he sometimes doth it ; but how? In elder and so did S. Augustine, who at first seemed to Jambs. in Ages he stole his knowledge out of the Pre- be indifferent: For, in his Questions upon the Luc. 1. 1. dictions of the Prophets: and foretold the Old and New Testament, he accountesh it in Reg. I. death of Sanl, at fuch time as he was in his detestable to think it was Samuel which ap-Arg at own possession and power to dispose of. And peared and these behis words elsewhere to Simp. L. he that hath lived from the infancy of the the same effect: In requie sunt anima piorum becivit. world to this day, and observed the success à corpore separata, impiorum autem panas lu- Dei l. 13. of every councel: he that by reason of his unt, donec istarum ad vitam aternam, illarum cap. 8, fwift motions can inform himself of all pla- verd ad aternam mortem qua secunda dicitur, ces, and preparations: he that is of counsel | corpora reviviscant; The fouls of the godly sepawith all those that study and practise subver- rated from their bodies, are at rest, but those of fion and destruction: he that is Prince of the the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of

And

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in ione aterno; alterum in regno aterno; The body, that gave answer and advice. one in eternal fire; the other in Gods eternal But because Helias and Helizens had raised quimes.

spould be drawn up again by a Devil.

of the contrary opinion build upon that by Lucretius: place of the 26. of Ecclefiafticus (a Book not numbred among the Canonical Scriptures, as S. Augustine himself in this Treatise, if it be his, De sur a pro mortuis agenda, confesseth) ver Syracides, following the literal fence and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For, though the Devil would willingly We fear by light, as children in the dark. The bound of the same of the s 4 9 3 14 Azor 7

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And (belides S. Augustine) Justin Martyr, | perswade, that the souls (yea, even of inst Aug de ner, de le larius, Tertullian, Athanasus, Chrysofton, men) were in his power; vet so farr is it and others, believed firmly, and taught it: from the promifes of the Scriptures, and Jul. Mart. that the fouls of men, being once separate from Gods just and mercifull nature, and so from their bodies, did not wander on the contrary to all divine reason, as S. Augustine "from their bodies, did not wander on the contrary to an universelection as S. Engagnize with the fact at all: Credere debenus (laith Crit) (or whosever wrote that Book offere cines.

Texal, de quam à corporibus sans or anima abierint, ted) night rightly tearmit a detectable only the sans of t Terreit de Tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati nion so to think. For, if God had so absofor divine commendari; We must believe, when lutely for faken Saul, that he refused to anthe fouls of holy men are departed from their swer him, either by Dreams, by Vrim, or by the jouls of roly men are acquired; the divine his Prophets: it were fottish to conceive, bom 9. in Goodness, as into the kands of a most dear Fa- that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked ther. If then they be in Heaven, the power Witch, to raife a Prophet from the dead in 12 of the Devil cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, saul's respect; it being also contrary to his a King a Ab inferno nulla est redemptio; From Hell there divine Law, to ask counsel of the dead : as 34. is no redemption For, there are but two ha- in Deut. 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it min many bitations after dear h: Onum (faith Augustine) was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead

CHAP. XI

Kingdom. And though it be written in Jure from the dead by the power of God; wire, de Pontificio, that many there are who believe, those Devils which Saint Augustine calleth saint that the dead have again appeared to the Ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum; living; yet the Gloß upon the same Text Mockers of their own vassals, calting before finds it ridiculous: Credunt, & male, quia their eyes a femblance of humane bodies, funt Phantasmata (saith the Glos) They believe, and framing sounds to their ears, like the and they believe amis, because they be but Phan-voices of men, do also perswade their taffner, or apparition. For, whereas any fuch graceles and accurred attendants, that voice hath been heard, faying, I am the Soul themselves both posses, and have power of such a one: Hec oratio à frande atque de- over the souls of men. Eludit Diabolus aciem ceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium, saith by the fraud and deception of the Devil, faith L. Vives; The Devil beginleth the fense both Chrylostom. Likewise of the same, saith Ter- of the beholders, and of those that so imagine. tullian: Absit ut animam cujuslibet santi, These then are the bounds of the Devil's nedum Propheta, à damonio credamus extra- power, whom, if we will not fear, we must Etam; God forbid that we should think that the fear to fin. For, when he is not the instru-Soul of any boly man, much less of a Prophet, ment of God's vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary It is true, that the Scriptures call that ap- vaffal : Potest ad malum invitare, non potest parition, Samuel; fo do they the wooden trahere, faith'S. Angulline; He can allure, but Images, Cherubims: and falle brazen gods be cannot enforce to evil. Such as think otherare gods, and the like. And whereas these wise, may go into the number remembred

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omma

In tenebris metuurit fle nos in luce ti-

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10.00

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his Wife Semiramis, and of other her Acts.

§. I.

of the magnificent building of Ninive by Ninus: and of Babylon by Seniramis.

Ut to come back to Ninus, the amplifter and finisher of Ninive: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of Zoroafter, it is uncertain. As for the City it felf, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other those Regions between it and the Mediterjulia lia it had in compass 440. stadia, or furlongs; saddlife the walls whereof were an hundred foot upriots might pass on the Rampire in front: he had reigned 25 years. Plutarch reporteth, right, and had such a breadth, as three Cha-

CHAP. XII.

the nature of those times. Campfor, at fuch time as Ninus amplified the cast on her by the Greeks, than that it had fame, and gave it a wall, and called it after any truth.

Rule of the Assprian Empire: of which Nihis own name. ned to ms and Semiramis made perfect. Ninus finished Ninive, Semiramis Babylon: wherein he changed his seat from Babylon in Chaldea, Alimits. to Ninive in Affrica. Juffine reports, that see 7.es Dimandis (the better to invelt her felf, and in miramis (the better to invelt her felf, and in derate, they neither thought how to invade her beginning without murmure or offence others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to take on her fo great a charge) prefented to build Towns and Villages, for the use of her self to the people in person of her Son themselves and their people, without either Ninias, or Zameis, who bare her external Walls or Towers ; and how they might differm and proportion without any fensible charge the earth of Woods, Briars, Bushand fertile. But Semirams living in that which many arguments might be made. But Age, when Ambition was strong in youth: as she ruled long, so she performed all those and purpofing to follow the Conquest which memorable Acts which are written of her by her hulband had undertaken, gave that the name of Semiramis, and fubfcribed that beauty and strength to Babylon which it had.

of the end of Ninus; and the beginning of Semiramis Reign.

T'His she did after the death of her husband Ninus; who, after he had mastered Bactria, and subjected unto his Empire all these walls were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the reft, and firength, no lefs admirable for foveraign power for one day. Diod. Sieclius, But this City(built in the Plains of Affria, days. In which time (moved either with deand on the banks of Tygris, and in the region fire of Rule, or licentious liberty, or with the of Eden) was founded long before Ninus memory of her hufband Menon, who perifitime; and (as antient Historians report, and ed for her) she caused Ninus her husband to more lately, Nanclerus) had the name of be flain. But this feemeth rather a fcandal

Howsoever Ninus came to his end, Semi-For these works of Babylon and Ninive be-

This report I take also to be feigned, for Letter which she sent to the King of India (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son Ninias had fuch a stature at his fathers death, as that Semiramis (who was

in ione aterno; alterum in regno aterno; The body that gave answer and advice. one in eiernai fire; the other in Good cerman and because risms and removes that the first in fire from the dead by the power of God; then, when the dead by the power of God; then the dead by the power of God; then the dead by the power of God; then the dead by the power of God; should be drawn up again by a Devil.

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Angulfine dearth at all: Credere debenus (faith Cyril) (or whosoever wrote that Book before ciningen. earth at all: Greatre accomms (natury). The state of the state diving commendari; We must believe, when lutely forsaken Saul, that he refused to anthe souls of holy men are departed from their swer him, either by Dreams, by Vrim, or by 1.3. the jouls of noty men are acquired to the divine his Prophets: it were sottlish to conceive, Goodness, as into the kands of a most dear Fa- that he would permit the Devil, or a wicked ther. If then they be in Heaven, the power Witch, to raife a Prophet from the dead in 12 of the Devil connot fretch fo high: if in Hell, | Saul's respect; it being also contrary to his a King a Ab interno nulla est redemptio; From Hellthere divine Law, to ask counsel of the dead : as 34. is no redemption For, there are but two ha- in Deut. 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it nim mayer bitations after de h: Unum (aith Augustine) was the Devil, and not the Soul of a dead and death one in eternal fire; the other in Gods eternal But because Helias and Helizeus had raised quanter

CHAP. XI.

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Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnea In tenebris metuurit: sic nos in luce ti-

all: For, though the Devil would willingly We fear by light, as children in the dark. ्र १ देव भी वर्षका अस्ति । स्टब्स् - (१) वर्षका १८ - (१५) basa । स्ट 

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### CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his Wife Semiramis, and of other ber Acis.

§. I.

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Ut to come back to Ninus, the amplifier and finisher of Ninive: whe of the end of Ninus; and the beginning of Sether he performed it before or after the overthrow of Zoreaster, it is uncertain. As for the City it felf, it is agreed by all profane Writers, and by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence, For those Regions between it and the Mediterpod la. it had in compass 440. stadia, or furlongs; sidden the walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had fuch a breadth, as three Chariots might pass on the Rampire in front: these walls were garnished with 1500.

CHAP. XII.

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his own name. mind. 1.1. gun by Nimrod in Chaldea, and in Allgria, Ni- Rule of the Allgrian Empire: of which Ninath. nus and Semiramis made perfect. Ninus fi- nus was faid to be the first Monarch, because derate, they neither thought how to invade her beginning without murmure or offence others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to take on her fo great a charge) prefented themselves and their people, without either Walls or Towers; and how they might difcharge the earth of Woods, Briars, Bush- difference. ments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But Semiramis living in that Age, when Ambition was strong in youth: had.

ş. II.

miramis Reign.

THis fhe did after the death of her huf-L band Ninus; who, after he had mastered Bactria, and subjected unto his Empire all cepted) and finished the work of Ninive; he left the world in the year thereof 2019 after he had reigned 25. years. Plutarch reporteth, that Semiramis delired her husband Ninus, Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to that he would grant unto her the absolute the reft, and firength, no left admirable for foveraign power for one day. Diod. Siculus, out of Athenaus, and others, speaks of five But this City(built in the Plains of Affria, days. In which time (moved either with deand on the banks of Tygris, and in the region fire of Rule, or licentious liberty, or with the of Eden) was founded long before Ninus memory of her husband Menon, who perishtime; and (as antient Historians report, and ed for her) she caused Ninus her husband to more lately, Nauclerus) had the name of be flain. But this feemeth rather a feandal

Howfoever Ninus came to his end, Semi-For these works of Eabylon and Ninive benished Ninive, Semiramis Babylon: wherein he changed his seat from Babylon in Chalden, Alimbis. to Ninive in Affria. Justine reports, that se 7 cc Dideed, in the first Age, when Princes were mo- miramis (the better to invest her felf, and in to build Towns and Villages, for the use of her self to the people in person of her Son form and proportion without any fensible

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as the ruled long, so the performed all those and purpofing to follow the Conquest which memorable Acts which are written of her by her hulband had undertaken, gave that the name of Semiramis, and subscribed that beauty and strength to Babylon which it Letter which she sent to the King of India (her last challenge and undertaken conquest) by her own name. And were it true that her Son Ninias had fuch a stature at his fathers death, as that Semiramis (who was

any fuch fubrilty (for fo long the reigned at- fecond fall being fundred from the body. ter the death of her husband :) but it may be true, that Ninias, or Zameis (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleafed with his mothers profperous government and undertakings.

#### 6. III.

Of Semiramis Parentage and Education, and Metamorpholis of her Mother.

COme Writers (of which Plutarch is one) make this famous woman to have been of base Parentage calling her after the name of her Country, a Syrian. Berofus calls her after the name of her City wherein she was born, Semiramis Afralonitis, of Afralon, the antient City and Metropolis of the Philiftims. Others the report thereof to the envious and lying report her to be the Daughter of Derceta, Grecians. For delicacy & ease do more often a Cartiz in Afcalon, exceeding beautifull, accompany licentiousness in men and wo-Others fav. that this Derceta or Dercetis, the men, than labour and hazzard do. And if mother of Semiramis, was fometimes a Re- the one half be true which is reported of this cluse. and had profest a holy and a religious Lady, then there never lived any Prince or life to whom there was a Temple dedica- Princess more worthy of Fame than Semirated leated on the bank of a Lake adjoining mis was, both for the works she did at Babyto Ascalon; and afterward falling in love lon, and elsewhere, and for the Warrs she with a goodly young man, the was by him made with glorious fuccefs: all but her last made with child, which (for fear of extreme enterprise of India, from whence both Strapunilhment) she conveyed away, and caused bo and Arianus report, that she never rethe same to be hidden among the high turned: and that of all her most powerfull Reeds which grew on the banks of the Army, there furvived but onely twenty Lake: in which (while the child was left to the mercy of wilde Beafts) the fame was fed in the River of Indus, dead of the Faby certain Birds, which used to feed upon, mine, or slain by the Sword of Stauroor neer those Waters. But I take this tale to | bates. But, as the multitude which went be like that of Lupa the Harlot that fostered out are more than reason hath numbred; Romulus. For some one or other adjoining so were those that returned, less than could to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge have escaped of such an Army, as consisted of this child, who being perchance but some of four Millions and upwards. For these nour and breach of Vow; notwithstanding | Foot-men three Millions; of Horse men one which, the was cast from the top of her Million; of Chariots, armed with hooks on Temple into the Lake adjoining, and (as the each fide, one hundred thousand; of those Poets have feigned) changed by Venus into which fought upon Camels as many; of Caa Fish, all but her face, which still held mels for burthen, two hundred thousand; of the same beauty and humane shape. It is raw Hides for all uses, three hundred thouthought, that from this Derceta, the invention | fand; of Gallies with brazen heads, three of that Idol of the Philistims (called Dagon) was taken: for it is true, that Dagon had a Mans face, and a Fishes body; into whose diers: which Gallies were furnished with Temple when the Ark of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground: and at the fecond fall there remained only the trunk of bers, which no one place of the earth was Dagon, the head being broken off: For so able to nourish (had every Man and Beast

very personable) could be taken for him; blus, Pagninus, and Junius, write it by Dagon vet it is very unlikely that she could have onely, which significth a Fish, and so it held the Empire from him 42. years after by onely appeared: the head thereof by the

CHAP. XII

For my felf, I rather think, that this Dagon of the Philistims, was an Idol representing Triton, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under Neptune. For this City being maritimate(as all those of the Philistims were and fo were the best of Phanicia) used all their devotions to Neptune, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

#### 6. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.

But for her Pedigree, I leave it to Affyrian Heralds; and for her vicious life, I alcribe base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonant Dercetaus (saith Suidas) did consist of 45.10.5. thousand, by which she might transport over Indus at once, three hundred thousand soul-Syrians, Phanicians, Cilicians, and men of Cyprus. The incredible and impossible num-S. Hierom hath converted that place. Vata- but fed on grass) are taken from the Autholous reports: fo Diodorus himself hath nothing of certainty, but from Xerxes Expedinary clouds. tion into Greece and afterwards; whose Ar- By beholding the ruines of this Tower, my (though the fame was farr inferiour to have many Travellers been deceived; who that of Semiramis) yet it had weight efough to over-load the belief of any reasonable rod's Tower, when it was but the soundation man. For all Authours conlent, that Xerxes, tion of this Temple of Bel (except this of Bel transported into Greece, an army of 1700000. were founded on that of Nimred.) There and gathered together (therein to pass the were burnt in this Temple, one hundred Hellespont) three thousand Gallies, as Hero-thousand talents of Frankingense every dong out of the several Provinces whence year (faith Herodotus.) This Temple did

the number. ken, and overthrown by staurobates, upon foil; which Alexander is faid to have retremium; She sang her last song; and (as An- I deny not that it might have been in his de-ำ เด็ก ก in their Enfigns.

#### §. V.

and of the Pyramides of Egypt.

Tower; and so eight in all, one above ano- steps.

rity of Ctestus whom Diodorus followeth. But ther, upon the top whereof the Chaldwan as the one may be taxed with many frivo-

those Gallies were taken, hath collected Nebuchodonofor adorn with the spoils of Hierusalem, and of the Temple of Solomon : all But of what multitude foever the Army which veffels and ornaments Cyrus re-deliof Semiramis consisted, the same being bro- vered. This Temple Xerxes evened with the the banks of Indus, Canticum cantavit ex- paired, by the persuasions of the Chaldeans. tiquity hath feigned) was changed by the fire to to do; but he enjoyed but a few years gods into a Dove (the Bird of Venus) whence after Babylon taken, and therefore could it came, that the Bahylonians gave a Dove not perform any fuch work. The Egyptians Prod in ( (aith Procles ) inhabiting a low and level Times ground, and given to the same superstition of lib 1. the Stars that the Chaldeans were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis; the Pyramides by Memphis, which were conficient and the Pyramides of Fourth of the Pyramides of Fourth thefe Pyramides, Bellonius, a carefull obser-A Mong all her other memorable and more ver of Rarities (who being in Egypt, mount-than magnificent works (besides the ed by steps to the top of the highest) wall of the City of Babylon) was the Temple maketh this report : Le meilleur archer qui Bellon Li. of Bel, erected in the middle of this City, scroit a sa sommite, & tirant une steche in invironed with a wall carried fourfquare of I air, a peine pouroit I envoyer hors de fa base quarter of a mile; and upon it again (taking ficulty shall be able so to force the same, but, a Bass of a less circuit) the set a second that it will fall upon some of the days even

### Finis Libri primi.

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THE

# FIRST PART

## ISTORY

### WORLD:

Intreating of the TIMES, from the Birth of Abraham, to the Destruction of Solomon's Temple.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAP. L.

Of the Time of the Birth of Abraham: and the use of this Question, for the ordering of the Story of the Affyrian Empire.

6. I.

Of some of the Successours of Semiramis : with a brief transition to the Question, about the time of the Birth of Abraham.



calleth Thuras; but that he reduced again want assurance.

Fter the death of Semi-|Stone, and some Engines for the Warr: I ramis, Ninias, or Zameis, will, for this present, pass them over, and a succeeded her in the while follow Abraham, whose ways are war-Empire, on whom Be rantable (till we meet these Asyrians again rosus Annianus bestows in this Story) by whom, and by whose if the conquest of Baŭria, sinces, we shall best give date to the Kings and the overthrow of of Babylon: Abraham living at once with Zoroafter; contrary to Ninus, Ninias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and Diodorus, Justine, Orosius, and all other approved Writers. For Ninius being esteemed seek to prove things certain by the uncerno man of Warr at all, but altogether fetain, and judge of those times, which the minine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, Scriptures set us down without errour, by there is no probability in that opinion. Now, the reigns of the Affgrian Princes; we shall because there was nothing performed by but patch up the Story at adventure, and this Ninias of any moment, other than that leave it in the same confusion, in which, to out of jealousie he every year changed his this day, it hath remained. For, where the Provincial Governours, and built Colleges Scriptures do not help us, Mirum non est in for the Chaldwan Priests, his Astronomers: rebus antiquis, Historiam non constare; No Plutore. nor by Arius his fuccessour, whom Suidas marvel if then in things very antient, History in These.

the Bactrians and Caspians, revolted (as it The better therefore to find out, in what fecmeth) in Ninias his time: nor of Aralim, Age of the World, and how long, these Afthe successour of Arius; but that he added firm Kings reigned, as also for other good fumptuofity, invented Jewels of Gold and causes, we must first assure the time of A- brakam's Birth, and in what year the fame | bred, the later Chronologers gather these artime there is much jangling between those Chronologers, which follow the Hebrew acmatter often disputed, but never con-

Archilothus de temporibus (as we find him regard of Nahor and Haran. in Anneus) makes but 250. years from the Floud to Ninus: then feeing that Abraham were not the eldest Son, then there can be gustine, it followeth, by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of Abraham's Birth, was in the year after the Floud 293. or, as the most part of all Chronologers gather, the year 292.

Now, fince I do here enter into that never resolved Question, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give Reason for my own Opinion: and with fo much the greater care and circumspection, because I made a father at 100. years. walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Envie casteth at Novelty, than to go on fafely and fleepily in the easie ways of ancient mistakings: feeing to be learned in many errours, or to be ignorant in all things, hath

6. II.

little diversity.

A Proposal of Reasons or Arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292. after the Floud, and not in year 352.

Those who seek to prove this account Floud and Abraham's Birth, ground themfelves; first, on these words of the Scripture:
so Terah lived 70, years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: Secondly, upon the Opinion of Josephus, Saint Augustine, Beda,

happened after the Floud. Now, fince all guments. First, out of the words as they agree that the three and fourtieth year of lie; That Terah, at 70. years begot Abraham, Ninus, was the birth-year of Abraham; by Nahor, and Haran: and that Abraham beproving directly out of the Scriptures, in ling the first named, Abraham being the worwhat year after the Floud, the birth of A-thieft, Abraham being the Son of the Probraham happened, we shall thereby set all mise, ought in this respect to be counted the the reft in fquare and order. But of this eldeft Son of Terah, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, it was of Abraham that Moles had respect in count, and others: the most part making whom the Church of God was continued, who was heir of the Blefling; and not of count, and other section of the Bleffing; and not of 293. or 293. years, others 353. years between Abadam's Birth and the Floud: a Nator and Haran: for the scope of this Chapter, was to fet down the Genealogie of Christ, from Adam to Abraham, without all

It is thirdly objected, that if Abraham was born in the three and fourtieth year of no certainty of his age, and so are all future Ninus, according to Eusebius and Saint Au- times made doubtfull. For it cannot then be proved, that Abraham was born more affuredly in the 130. year of Terab his age, than in the 131, 132, &c. Moses having no where fet down precifely that Abraham went into Canaan that very year, in which his father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that Terah begat Abraham at 130 years: feeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to be

6. III.

The Answer to the Objections proposed, shewing that Abraham matte but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan; and it, after his fathers death.

O answer all which Objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long fince, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now, for as much as the state of the Question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of Abraham's journy into Canaan be first considered of, before I descend unto the particular examination of these Arguments, I will make bold with order and me-

But it is conceived, that Abraham made two journeys into Canaan: the later after his fa-Islance, and many of the ancient Hebrews there death, the former prefently upon his before them: Authorities (while they are calling; which he performed without delay, flightly looked over) feeming of great not staying for his fathers death at Haran: a conjecture drawn from a place in the From the place of Scripture last remem- Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is written, Y 2 Eg

God to go out into a place which he should after- facritice; all which discomforts he patiently ward receive for inheritance : and he ment out, and confrantly underwent. not knowing whither he went. This Supposition (if it be granted) ferves very well to up- felves, which Abraham had to passover; the hold the opinion that can ill stand without length whereof was 300. English miles; and

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credit to the Supposition it self. ran, or Haran, after the death of Terab his Fa- vel through the dangerous & barren Defarts ther, the same is proved, without the admissi- of Palmyrena, and to climb over the great on of any distinction by these words of Saint and high mountains of Libanus, Hermon, or AlistA. Stephen: And after his father was dead, God Gilead: and whether these were easie walks brought him into this land, where ye now dwell, for Abraham to march twice over, containwhich place, so direct and plain, what force ry reasonable man judge. For, if he travelled hath any mans fancy or supposition, perswa- lit twice; then was his journey in all, 1800. ding, that Abraham made two journeys into miles from Ur to Haran; and from Haran Canaan; one before Terahs death, and ano- twice into Canaan. But were there no other ther after: no such thing being found in Scri- argument to disprove this fancy; the man-

this Land. And as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must it be inferred, that Moses omitted the other: and whence had Stephen, faith Beza, the knowledge of Abrahams coming into Canaan, but out of Moses? For, if Stephen had tooken any thing of those times, differ-Indeed, we shall find small reason to make us both in Religion and Nation. think, that Abraham passed and re-passed those ways, more often than he was enforced turn to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, so to do, if we consider, that he had no that without warrant from the Scriptures other guide or comforter in this long and wearisom journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promises: In which, if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborn Nations: a Nation of valiant it be not over-troublesome. They say, that and resolved Idolaters. He was besieged Abraham was in Haran at his father's death, with famine at his first arrival, and driven to or some time after, being then, by their ac-

His u. 8. Expairb Abraham (when he was called) obeyed | munded him to offer him up to himself for

Secondly, let us confider the ways themit. Let us therefore see whether we may give through Countreys of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport him-Surely, that Abraham first departed Char- Self over the great River of Emphrates, to trathat was, out of Haran into Canaan. Against ing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let eveprures, nor any circumstance, probability or ner of Abrahams departing from Haran reason to induce it? For, if any man out of hath more proof (that he had not animum this place before alleged can pick any argu- revertendi, not any thought of looking backment, proving, or affording any strong pre- | ward) than any mans bare conjecture, be he fumption, that Abraham past into Canaan, and of what antiquity or authority soever. For then returned unto Haran, from whence he thus it is written of him, Then Abraham took Genta, departed a second time: then I think it rea- Sara his wife, and Lot his brothers Son, and all fon, that he be believed in the rest. But, that their substance that they possest, and the souls he performed the Commandment of God af- that they had gotten in Haran: and they deter his Fathers death, leaving Or & Haran for parted to go to the land of Canaan, and to the Canaan, it is as true as the Scriptures them- land of Canaan they came. Now, if Abraham selves are true. For after his Father was dead brought all with him that was dear unto (faith Martyr stephen) God brought him into him; his wife and kinfmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in fo warm, dangerous, and barren a Countrey as one, and Stephen afterwards remembred the that was: or, if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely, that he would have then returned, when he was yet unfettled, and prest with extreme samine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he ing from Moses, he had offered the Jews, his might have hoped from him to receive more adversaries, too great an occasion both of assured comfort and relief, than among the scandalizing himself, and the Gospel of Christ. Egyptians, to whom he was a meer stranger,

What the cause might be of Abraham's rehave fent him back thither, about the time of his fathers death: fo they, perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without fuch a fecond voyage, their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if flie into Egypt for relief. His wife was old, count, 135. years old, or a little more. How and he had no Son to inherit the Promise, then did it happen, that he left quite undone And when God had given him Isaac, he com- the business, which, as we read, was within

bind with a very solemn oath, his principal that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, fervant, in whom he reposed most consi- and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but dence, to travel into those parts, and seek the Prophecy which thereupon he heard by children; rather than have left all at ran- the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the dom to the confideration of a fervant, that Lord had laid any fuch injunction upon Aneither knew any, nor was known of any, in braham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I that Countrey. But, let it be supposed (if it cannot say; many things do argue it promay be believed) that either Abraham forgot bably: That he never returned, all circumhis business when he was there, or that some- stances do (to my understanding) both what happened, which no man can devise; strongly and necessarily conclude. What might be the reason, that Abraham's 35,36,000 man, in doing his Masters errand, was fain to ham is but an imagination; and that imaginalay open the whole Story of his Masters pro- tions of men are rather valuable among chilfperity, telling it as news, that Sarah had born dren, than that they can perswade those of to him a Son in her old age? If Abraham himfelf, a more certain Author, had so lately been ent, that S. stephen hath directly taught us, among them, would not all this have been an that Abraham left Haran, his father being idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawfull for Abraham to have returned back to they do. For all the travels of Abraham are

Haran, would, perhaps, be a question hardly his Parents, to take a Wife of his own linage; not without Gods especial approbation, by whose bleffing he prospered in that journey; yet he lived there as a fervant; suffered many injuries; and finally, was driven to convey himself from thence by flight. For although it from either of them, to the Posterity of the all be believed, that he would in those his

four or five years after that time, his greatest, Hebrews. When Hezechias was visited with or (as may feem) his onely care? Did not he an honourable Embaflic from Babel, it feems : King.10. out a Wife for Isac his Son? and doth it not Esay, made him to know, that the counsel of appear by all circumstances, that neither he God was not agreeable to such thoughts; nor his fervant were fo well acquainted in which more plainly appeared in a following Melopotamia, that they could particularly generation, when by the Waters of Babylon Pfal 137. nepoporamia, that they could particularly they fat down and wept. Concerning Fgypt Ning 14. delign any one woman, as a fit match for they fat down and wept. Concerning Fgypt 15. and Is and Neco, Kings of Fgypt, 1King.11. person so lately, as within four or five years brought calamity upon Israel: also that their 2.29. before, he would not have forgotten a mat- confidence in the Exptian fuccours, was the ter of fuch importance; but would have caufe of their destruction. Where they were trusted his own judgment, in choosing a wo-forbidden to return into Egypt, I do not reman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other defirable qualities, to be linked in marriage in Deuteronomy, that God had fald, They with his onely Son, who was then five and should no more return that may; which is thirty years old; before which age, most of given, as the reason, why their King might the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten not cause the people to return to Egypt, sor

But, because this double passage of Abrajudgment or understanding : I take it sufficidead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to prove it, I will believe as precifely fet down in the Scriptures: as first answerable; considering how averse he was from Ur, or Camerina in Chaldaa to Haran, or from permitting his son to be carried thither, Charran: and then from Haran (after his faeven though a Wife of his own kinred could thers death) to Sichem; from Sishem he renot have been obtained without his personal moved to a mountain between Bethel and presence. Jacob indeed was sent thither by Haie: thence into Egypt; from Egypt he returned thither again, where Lot and he parted because their flocks and heards of Cattel were more then could be fed in that part: from thence the second time he removed to Mamre, neer Hebron: and thence, having purfued Amraphel, and rescued Lot, he after inhabe not a sentence written, yet out of all writ- bited at Gerar, in the border of Idumea unten Examples it may be observed, that God der Abimelec : and after, neer unto it at Beralloweth not in his fervants any defire of re- [abe, at which time he was ready to offer up turning to the place, from whence he hath his Son Isaac on the mountain Moriab. But taken, and transplanted them. That brief say- this fiction of his retreat to Haran, or Charing, Remember Lot's Wife, contains much mat- ran, appeareth not in any one Story, either ter.Let us consider Mejopotamia, from whence divine or humane. Now, if it may be sup-Abraham was taken, and Egypt, out of which posed, that Abraham had made any former the whole Nation of the Ifraelites were deli- journey into Canaan, as Levita his Cabala vered : we shall find, that no bleffing iffued hath feined, it should in reason be therewith-

first travels have provided himself of some certain feat, or place of abiding: and not have come a second time with his Wife, kinfmen, family, goods, and Cattel, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But Abraham. when he came from Charran, patied through the North part of Canaan, thence to Sickem, Gen. 13. 6. and the plain of Aleriab; where, finding no

place to inhabit, he departed thence to Behim and his the name of Hebrai.

I give this Land, shewing it him, as unto a therefore Sarah langked, &c. stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknown. For, Abraham, without any other Sarah after the manner of women, it appeareth provident care for himself, believed in the that the wonder was wrought on her, and not Word of the living God: neither fending o Abraham. For Abraham by his second wife before, nor comming first to discover it; but Keturah, had many Sons after Sarahs death, being arrived, he received a fecond Pro- as Zimron, Jockshan, Medan, Ishbak, and mise from God, that he would give those shuah: and the eldest of these was born 37. Countreys unto him and his feed to inha- years after Isaac; and the youngest 40. years bite and inherite.

Laftly, what should move any man to think, that Moses would have omitted any such double journey of Abraham's, feeing he lettein down all his passages elsewhere, long died in the year of the world 2145. and Isaac and fhort? as when he moved from Sichem, and feated between Haie and Bethel, the diflance being but 20 miles: and when he moved thence to the Valley of Mamre, being but 24. miles; and when he left Mamre, and fat down at Gerar, being less than six miles; to the Story of Abraham: shutting up all between the Creation and the Floud in fix Ages after Ahraham, begat Sons at 100. years, Chapters; which Age lasted 1656. years: but or neer it, it cannot be marvelled at, that Tehe bestoweth on the Story of Abraham, four- rah begat Abraham at 130. and Abraham oteen Chapters, beginning with his Birth in thers at the same age, and seven years after. the eleventh, and ending with his Death in the five & twentieth; and this time endured but 175, years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Moles forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abraham's travels, or other actions: or that he would fet downthose fmall removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For fuch a journey in going and coming would have ministred some varich of matter, or accident, worthy the inferring and adding to Abraham's Story.

CHAP. 1.

6. IV.

The Answer to another of the Objections propofed, shewing, that it was not unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth year.

Ow, touching the Objection, where it is faid, that it was very unlikey that thel, and Haie: and fo from Nation to Nati- Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred on, to discover and find out some fit habita- and thirtieth year, seeing Abraham himself tion: from whence again, as it is written in thought it a wonder to have a Son at an Genefis the eleventh, He went forth, going hundred; this is hardly worth the answering, and journeying towards the South: and all This wonder is indeed mif-caft, and mifways unfettled. By reason of which wander- taken: Abraham having respect onely to ing to and fro, some say, the Egyptians gave Sarah his Wife, when he spake of their many years. For when the Angel faid unto A-Further, to prove that he had not former- braham in his Tent door at Mamre; Loe, Saly beeen in the Countrey, we may note, rah thy Wife shall have a Son, it followeth in that ere he came into Bethel and Haie, and the next Verse, Now, Abraham and Sarah at his first entrance into Canaan, God ap were old, and stricken in age, and it ceased to peared unto him, faying, Unto thy feed will be with Sarah after the manner of women:

So then, in that it is faid it ceafed to be with

after. What strangeness then, that Terah, being 130.years old, should beget Abraham, will they fay, may be gathered from this supposed despair of Abraham at 100. years? For Sarah was born in the year 2109, and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sarah was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. Origen. there remaineth 36. And therefore if Abra- hom. 11, ham begat 5. sons 36. years after this supposed in Gen. wonder, and when Abraham was 137. years civit. Dit. No. Moles past over all the times of the first old; it is not strange, that his father Terab 1.16.634. Age with the greater brevity, to haften him should beget Abraham at 130. And if Booz, Esja. 6. Obed, and Jejje, who lived to many years and Gen.

The Answer to two more of the Objections: shewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams age from the Scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldert Son; and that there was great cause, why in the Story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

T follows now, to speak something to the Objection, which brings Ahrahams age altogether CHAP. I. together in doubt, except we allow him to the fifter of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor albe the eldest Son of Terah, and born when so, who remained at Charran, gave his Sons Terah was 70, years old. For Abraham's age daughters to Ifaac, & Jacob, his own kinfmen: being made uncertain, all fucceding times he himself having also married in his own are thereby without any perfect rule or Family; not thinking it pleafing unto God,

him the eldest Son, is falle. For it is plain in doubted. For, when Laban had seen the serthe Scriptures, that when Terab was 205. vant of Abraham standing at the Well beside which was the year of his death; then was Charran, he invited him to his Fathers houle of times, either preceding or fucceeding, by Oc. And when this fervant of Abraham's de-31 knowing that Abraham departed Haran manded an answer as touching Rebeits Athen arthat age: I answer, That S. Stephen hath answered Laban and Eestwel, and fairly This the death of his father Terah; and Terah died it was the will of the true God it should be at 205, fo as the 75, year of Abraham was the fo; wherein he acknowledged Gods provi-205, year of Terab; which known, there can dence. Likewife in the following yerie, it is be no errour in the account of times suc- written; Take, 50, that she may be thy Masters ceeding. Now, to come to the Objection, sons wife, even as Jehovah hath faid. This where it is faid, That Mofes had no respect their often using of the name of Jebouah, unto Nabor and Haran, because they were which is the proper name of the true God, is out of the Church, but to Abraham onely, a fign that they had the knowledge of him. with whom God established the Covenant. and of whom Christ descended according to softom, and some late Writers, as Cajetan, Ola the flesh, &c. I answer, that Moses, for many lafter, Mujeulus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, great and necessary causes had respect of that Laban was an Idolater, because he re-Nahor and Haran. For the succession of tained certain Idols, or houshold-gods, Gods Church is not witneffed by Abraham which Rachel stole from him; yet, that he alone, but by the iffues of Nahor and Haran, believed in the true God, it cannot be dewere they Idolaters, or otherwise. For Na- nied. For he acknowledgeth the God of her was the father of Bethuel, and Bethuel of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abra-Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael; and Haran was bams fervant, blefled of Jebovab, as aforefaid. the Parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; and Sarah was mother to Isaac, and Grandmother men were out of the Church, who, fure I am, to Jacob : Milcah also, the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Jacobs great Grandmother; and the age of sarab, the Daughter of Haran is especially noted in that it pleased God to give her a Son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet, because both Nahor and Abraham married the Daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the grand-child of Nahor; and Jacob, Lea, and child also of Naber; is was not superfluous in strength, by which, those that strive to shor-Rachel, the Daughters of Laban, the grand-Moses to give light of those mensitimes and ped strange gods, as it is, 50.24. 1. yet I in the 70. year of Terabs life's grounding see no cause to think, that they still continued Idolaters. For they believed and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their natural Countrey and City of Ur in Chaldea, as Abraham die and removed thence all, except Haran, who died before his father Terab, ere they left Chalded; but Lot, his Son, followed Abrahaminto Canaan; and Sarah, the first named in Scriptures was therefore

to mix themselves with strangers and Idola-But this Proposition, That we cannot be ters. And that these men at length believed certain of Abraham his age, unless we make in the God of Abraham, it can no way be

which was the year of insurant; then was controlled in this maner, Come in thou bieffed of Jehovah, Gen. 14. artist age. Launwei, and departure followed ithing is proceeded of Jehovah: meaning, that 6m. 24.

Now, although it be the opinion of Chry-So as, for my felf, I dare not avow, that thefe were not out of the Faith.

6. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. v. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest; together with divers reasons, proving that Abraham was not the eldeft son of Terah.

O the main Objection; which I anwer last, because it seemeth of most ten the times, endeavour to prove that Abraham was the eldest Son of Terak, and born the Scripture; And Terah lived seventy years, central and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: To this I fay, that although Abraham in this verfe be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born Son of Terah. For it is no necessary consequent, that

formerly remembred.

years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and at70. years old, then must Abraham have been Taphet: shewing that at the 500, year of his 135, years when he first set his foot in Canaan. age, he began to beget the first of those three seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and Aug quest. Sons. For, according to S. Augustine, speaking so 70.added to 135, make 2c5, the true age super son. generally, Nee attendendus est in his ordo na-of Terah; which is contrary to all those places tivitatis, sed senificatio futura dignitatis: in of Scripture before remembred. For he enqua excelluit Abraham: The order of nativity tred at 75 he refcued Lot at 82 he had Ifmael is not here to be respected, but the signification of at 86. he had Isaac at 100. proved by the the future dignity; in which Abraham was pre- former places. ferred. And therefore, as in the order of the Sons of Noah, so is it here; where it is said, of Terah, and born in the 70 year of his age: That Terah lived 70. years, and begat Abra- then had Terah lived till Isaac had been 35. ham, Nahor, and Haran: For it was late ere years old, and Ishmael 49. both which must Terah began to beget Sons, himself being be- then have been born in Mesopotamia, and gotten by his father Nahor, at 29. as other his therein fostered to that age : unless we Ancestors were at 30. The like also hapned should either deny credit to S. Stephen, who

to Noah; for whereas Adam begat Seth at faith that Abraham departed from Mesopota-133. Enosb Kenan at 90. Kenan Mabalaleel mia after his fathers death: or else believe at 70. Mahalaleel Jared at 60. Noah was yet the interpretation of Daniel Angelogrator, 500. years old when he began to beget the who in his Cronologia antoptica, faith it was first of his three Sons, as aforesaid. And Saint about his fathers death; because the Greek Augustine, in the place before cited, rather in- word war may be translated by the Latine clineth to the Opinion, that Abraham was the fub, as well as by post: which, though eliwhere youngest of Terah's Sons, than otherwise: it may be, yet cannot be so in this place. though for his excellency he was worthily For it were most improperly spoken, to say, named first. His own words are these: Fieri that those things were done about Terah's enim ut potuit posterior sit generatus Abraham: | death, which were 60. years before. Wheresed merito excellentia, qua in scripturis valde fore, supposing Abraham to have been born commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might in the 70. year of Terah; we must give those be, faith he, that Abraham was begotten later; times and places of birth to Abraham's chilbut was first named in regard of his excellenty; for which in Scripture he is much commended. So as the naming first or last proveth nothing nor in Hanan, nor in ten years after his arrival as touching his election or spiritual blefling; promife, and the eldest and first in Godi favour. Pietas ergo, vel ipfa potius electio divina, que comitem secum trahit pietaten, & Dei timore primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa. & Abrahamo in liberis Thare: Prety, faith he or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it. Piety, and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to Sem

among those of Thare. For the rest, it is manifest, that Abraham nor born in the 70, year of Terab's age. entred Canaan in the 75, year of his age. And

eldest in bloud and birth; neither doth it when Abraham had lived 86, years. It was ar appear, that it pleased God to make especial Gerar (the fourth border of Canaan) that Sarah geras choice of the first Sons in nature and time: bare Isaac, when Abraham had confumed 100 for seth was not the first-born of Adam; nor years. It was from the valley of Mamre in Ca-Ifaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; nor naan that Abraham rose out, when he rescued Juda and Joseph of Jacob; nor David the Lot, & overthrew Amraphel; and he had then eldeft of Teffe; nor solomon of David; as is but the age of 83. years: and it is as manifelt, that he parted from Haran after his father ding But it is written of Noah: Noah was 500. Terah was dead. But, if Terah begat Abraham Gir. 14

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest Son

dren, which no Authority will warrant ; For Abraham had no children in Ur of Chaldea, who was first or last born; either in those if into Canaan. For the year of Terah's death, in fues of Noah, or in these of Terah: Neither which Abraham left Haran, was the year of hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, the World, 2083; and the year of Ismael's birth was the Worlds year, 2094, which mafor Mefes nameth first the children of the keth ten years difference. And that Haac was born in Canaan, and was to be offered upon the mountain Mariah therein, 29. miles from Berlabe, where Abraham then inhabited : and that three Angels first of all appear d to Abrabam in the vally of Mamre, no man doubteth. And therefore it cannot be, that any of Abrahams Sons were born in Mesopotamia; nor while Terab lived : nor in less than ten years after Teral's death; and then confequently among the children of Noah, and to Abraham

Thirdly, whereas Abraham came into Ca- Ger 11. Gen. 12. 4 it was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Islamael, naan at 75. if Terah had begotten him at 70.

was not Abraham the eldeft Son of Tarah,

CHAP. I. then had Terab lived but 145. for 70. and tus de tribus filis. Thare, tamen nominatur 75, make 145, which must also have been the primo, propter ejus dignitatem: & ponendus full age of Terab; but Terab lived 205. years, er it capit firpis & generation's sequentis: & and therefore was not Abraham born in the quia primo facta est ei repromissio expressa de 7c. year of Terab.

make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if Abraham himself, it followeth, that he was not not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sa- ten years old when he begat Sarah: And thererab, or Iscah, wanted but ten years of Abra- fore it seemeth better to be said, that Abraham ham's age : Isac being born when Abraham was the last born of the three Sons of Thare, was 100. and Sarah 90. years old. It followeth then, that if Abraham had been

the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have stock and generation following, and because the begotten Sarah at nine years old : for granting that Haran was born but one year after Abraham, and Sarah within ten years as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her, when he had lived but nine years; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Iscah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, faithhe, bearing the fame fignification; and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word Iscah of Jishcah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? For, to speak of any thing superfluous, it is not used in Gods Book: and if Ifeah had not belonged to the Story, it had been but an idle name, to no purpose remembred.

Now, if it had been true (as those of the contrary opinion affirm) that Mofes had no respect of Nahor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the Parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Israel, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Iscah in this place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an end herein, than to manifest the Worlds stoidle name, of whom there is nothing else first or last?

thip of Abraham; for Lot was called an old man, when Abraham was but 83. years old: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abrabam, and Haran were father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; Abraham marrying one of Haran's Daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten years as old as Abraham; it may appear to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest Son of Terah, and not Abrabam; who also died first, and before his fa- in nature. So did Josephus, together with Nither left Ur in Chaldea. Also Lyra reasoneth cholas Damascems (thinking thereby to gloagainst this opinion of Ahraham's eldership, upon the same place of Genesis; drawing arguments from the age of Sarah, who was but ten years younger than Abraham himself. Lyrahis words are these: Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram: imo nec octo, co. and afterward, O idei melius vide-tur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimò na-from him his Wife Sarah: Such Fables argue

Christo, seut supra dictum est de Sem, Oc. If Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah therefore (faith Lyra) Haran was younger than nevertheless, he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained head of the Promise of Christ was first made unto him, as before it is faid of Sem.

#### s. VII.

A Conclusion of this Dispute, noting the Authours on both lides; with an Admonition, that they which shorten the times, make all antient Stories the more unprobable.

T therefore agreeth with the Scriptures,

with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldeft Son of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was born in the 130. year of Teral's life, and not in the 70. year. For Abraham departing Charran after Terab died, according to S. Stephen, and that At. 1. 4. journey by Abraham performed, when he was 75. years old; these two numbers added, make 205, years, the full age of Terah: feeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entred Canaan. For my felf, I have no other Gen, 12, 43 ry. I reverence the judgments of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in par-The age also of Lot disproveth the elder-ticulars. Saint Augustine was doubtfull, and coud not determine this controversie. For, whatsoever is borrowed out of his sixteenth Book de Civitate Dei, cap. 15. the same may be answered out of himself in his five and twentieth Question upon Genesis. But S. Augustine herein followed fosephus and Isidor; and Beda followed S. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the Hebrews and Josephus sought to make Abraham the first born : as if God had had respect to the eldest rifie the Jewish Nation ) make Abraham a King, entitling Sarah by the name of Queen Sarah; and faid, that Abraham was followed with 318. Captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; trecentor & octodecim præfectos habuit, quorum singu-

that Josephus is not to be believed, but with ment to our felves, which of those two ac-

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discreet reservations. This account of times, allowing no more of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new than 292 years from the Floud to Abraham, plantation, and the continuance of Gods is upheld by many of the Hebrews. But how Church: either that of Josephus, and those should we value the opinion of such Chrono- which follow him who makes but 292. years, lovers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod & Surely, or thereabouts, between the Floud and Birth if their judgment in such matters were wor- of Abraham: or this other account, which thy to be regarded, it would have apeared make 352, years between the one and the in letting down the succession of the Perstan other: the one making Abraham to be the Kings under whom they lived, whose History first-born of Thare, in the 70, year of his life; was not so far remote in time, as these Anti-the other a younger Son of Thare, and born quities, nor wanting the light of many good when he had lived 130, years. And, if we Writers. Yet grolly have they erred there- look over all, and do not hashily satisfie our in, and fo familiar are their mistakings in all understanding with the first things offered, things of like nature, that we feldom find and thereby being fatiated do flothfully and their opinion rehearted without the confu- drowfily fit down; we shall find it more atation treading on the heels of it. They of greeable, rather to allow the reckoning of the Roman Religion, are also generally on the Septuagint, who, according to some Edithe same side; it being a thing usual among tions, make it above 1072. years between the them, to maintain whatfoever they have Floud and Abraham's Birth; than to take abeen formerly known to hold and believe. way any part of those 352, years given. For, Contrariwife, of the more antient, Theodoret, if we advisedly consider the state and contiand some following him; of later times, Be-nuance of the World, such asit was in Abraroaldus, Peucer, Calvin, Junius, Ecza, Brough- bam's time, yea, before Abraham was born, ton, Doct. Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of we shall find, that it were very ill done the Protestants, hold Abraham to have been of us, by following opinion without the born in the 130, year of his father Terah. guide of reason, to pare the times overing Beroaldus an arch-heretick in Chronology, a Priest of the Congregation of S. Paul, a judicious, diligent, and free Writer, whose Annals are newly fet forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already detestant Writer, as being, perhaps, unwilling ans, divine, and prophane, labour to investi-

counts give the best reputation to the Story From these (as in a case not concerning any deeply between Abraham and the Floud: point in Religion) divers of the same Reli- because in cutting them too neer the quick, gion, and those, nevertheles, good Authours, the reputation of the whole Story might, as Bucholcerus, Chitreus, Functius and others, perchance, bleed thereby, were not the are very averse herein, especially Josephus testimony of the Scriptures supreme, so as Scaliger with his Sethus Calvisus, proclaim- no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this Precept of and condemning this opinion of his as poi- S. Augustine, That wheresoever any one fonous. Contractivise, Augustinus Torniellus, place in the Scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is, by ignorance of interpretation, mif-understood. For, in Abraham's time, all the then known parts of the World were peopled: all livered; not alleging Beroaldus, nor any Pro- Regions and Countries had their Kings. Egypt had many magnificent Cities; and so had to owe thanks to Hercticks. For my felf, I do Palastina, and all the bordering Countries. neither missike the contrary opinion, because yea, all that part of the World besides, as far commonly those of the Romish Religion la- as India; and those not built with sticks, but bour to uphold it; nor favour this later ac- of hewn stone, and defended with walls and count of times, because many notable men of rampires; which magnificence needed a Pathe Protestant Writers have approved it; but rent of more antiquity, than those other men for the truth it self. To strengthen which, have supposed. And therefore, where the after all these former reasons, and testimo- Scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing nies of Scripture, I will add thus much more with reason and nature, to what end should to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or judgment, that the best approved Histori- draw all things into wonders and marvels? giving also strength thereby to common cagate the truth of times, thereby to approve villers, and to those mens apish brains, who the Stories, and fore-past actions of the onely bend their wits to find impossibili-World; and not the truth of Histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgal and Man-kind.

#### 6. VIII.

A Computation of the times of the Affyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the story of Abraham.

IN this fort therefore, for the reasons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general Floud, to the birth of Abraham, 352. Ed As years were confumed; and taking the Affyriactival. A Hiftory with us, the fame number of years were spent from the Floud to the 43. year of of Chus, the Son of Chum. Ninus: in which 43. year of Ninus, Abraham

World. 2009. give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinaar, as to those Chus, ere he begat Seba; of which, though 52. year complete of Abraham's life. the Scriptures are filent, yet, because those of their first Sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For Eber begat Peleg at 34. Peleg Regu at 30. Regu Serug at 32. Raama and Sabtecha: and Raama begat Shedug de frin. pei. appeareth, Gen. 10. which S. Augustine ap-

proveth. Giving then 30. years more to Raama ere he begat Sheba, and five years to the been this Nimias, the Son of Nimia, and Semifive elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be ga- ramis, whose 23 years, as aforelaid, being the thered, that 65, years were confumed ere 75, year of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings Nimred himself was born; and that Raama might have received this overthrow in the had that age before any of his Sons were be- 85. year of Abraham, and the 33. year of his gotten, it may be gathered by example and own reign: after which he reigned five years, comparison: for Peleg the fourth from Noah, which make in all 38. But the truth is, that

of his life. be brought forth or else we shall hardly find naar, whereof there are fix years remaining) on; which were to condemn all antient His we may give them for their travels from the sforians for Fablers. An a falute East; because they were pestered with wo-

bamanige men, children and cattel: and, as some ancient menical writers have conceived, and Becanus of later pair cettle. Writers have conceived, and the mountain fides, fine prime times, they kept always the mountain fides, capit reg. for fear of a fecond floud. Now, if we take num valy; this number of 131.out of 352.there remains 10 Sa- 221.0f which number, Berofus bestoweth 65. turno patre on Belus, and 42. on Ninus before Abraham Jouis Beli. quimpera born: both which, S. Augustine approveth: which two numbers taken again out of 221.

the Floud to Abraham's birth; which number of 114. necessity bestoweth on Nimrod. And if it be objected that this time given to Nimrod is over-long; fure, if we compare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appear over fhort. For Nimrod, by this account, lived in all but 179. years, whereof he reigned 112. whereas Sale, who was the Son of Arphaxad, the Son of sem, lived 403. years: and of the fame age of the World was Nimrod the Son

Now, after Abraham was born, was born; which hapned in the year of the Nims reigned 9. years, which added to 43.

Now, of this time of 352. years, we must Nimus dieth, and leaveth Semiramis his Suc-

Semiramis governed the Empire of Baby- Of the that flayed in the East, to wit, 30. years to lonia and Asyria 42. years, and died in the

Ninias, or Zameis succeeded Semiramis, the same time had that age when they begat and ruled 38. years; in the second year of 1059 must whose reign, Abraham left Mesopotamia. hose reign, Abraham lett Mejopotamia.

When Abraham was 85. years old, he redil. 1083.

feued his Nephew Lot, and overthrew by Now, after Seba, Chus begat Havilah, Sabta, furprife Amraphel, King of Shinaar, or Babylonia. Ninias reigned 38. years, and Abraba and Dedan, before Nimrod was born, as it ham came into Canaan but 23. years after his age; fo that Amraphel may feem to have as Raama was, begat Reu in the same year | the reasons to the contrary, urging that this Let us then allow 60. years more after the answered. Howbeit, for the times of the Affibirth of Nimrod, for two other generations to rian Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have fet down, according to the times noted people to build Babel; for fure we are, that it by Moles in the Story of Abraham, it is most was done by hands, and not by miracle: be- certain; unles we will either derogate from cause it displeased God. These two numbers the truth of Moses his computation, which of 65, and 60. make 125. The rest of the time were implety, or account the whole Histoof 131. (in which year they arrived in Shi- ry of Ninus and Semiramis to be but a ficti-

#### 6. IX.

That Amraphel, one of the four Kings whom Abraham overthrew, Gen. 14. may pro-bably be thought to have been Ninias the Son of Ninus.

A Nd now, touching this Amraphel; whom Moses makes King of Shinaar, or Babylothere remaineth 114. years of the 352. from nia, in the 85. year of Abraham's life, that is,

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was, and how he could be at this time King of Babylonia: Ninias Zameis then reigning there. To this doubt, the answer which first offerethit felf as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this Nimias or Zameis, was no other than our Amra- and Tidal; the one King of Ellaffar, the other phel; who invaded Traconitis, or Basan, and of the Nations. For Ellassar, Aquila, and Hieoverthew those five Kings of Pentapolis, or rem, write Pontus: so Toftatus thinketh that the Valley of Siddin. For the Scriptures tell it should be Hellesport: which opinion Pereus that Amraphel was King of Shinar, which rise favoureth. But this is onely to defend is Babylonia; and the times before accounted the Latine translation. For as Pontus, so is make him to be the successor of Ninus and semiramis: and it falleth out with the 85. year fend any Armies into Arabia Petraa, or into of Abraham's life, wherein he refcu'd Lot flew Idumea; which Countries these four Kings Chedorlaomer, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest Monarch; for Chedorlaomer commanded in chief, though Amraphel be first named by Moles in the first Verse of the fourteenth Chapter of Genesis. For the Kings of into Asia the less as Commanders; but used the Valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or the five Cities, were the vasfals of Chedorlaomer, and not of Amraphel; as it is written, Twelve years were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the Kings that were with him; and therefore was Chedorlaomer the principal in this enterprise, who was then King of Elam which is Persia: Now, Persia being seated over Tygris, and to the East of Amraphel's Countrey; and the other two Kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being feated to the West of Shinaar, or Babylo- ter: namely, Lords of Cities and small Tenia: Amraphel, who held Babylonia it ritories adjoining; of which Canaan had felf, feemeth at this time to have had three and thirty, all slain or hanged by no great scope or large Dominion. For, Josua. Neither can the other Countries, had Amraphel been so great a Prince as which in the Text they are said also to prophane Historians make Ninus or Semi- have invaded, be imagined to have been ramis, whom he succeeded, he should not at that time of any great power; and therehave needed the affiftance of three or four fore to call in Kings from Pontus, or Helfour Kings (as it is manifest that he was: Persia. For these little Kings of Sodome, Gomora, &c. were his vassals and not Amraphel's) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but | Pompey against Cafar; yet these same exthat this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it amples, without like occasions and circummay be, that the great and potent Empire stances, do neither lead nor teach. For of Affria had now (as we shall shew more there was no cause to fear the greatness of plainly in that which followeth) received these petty Kings, or of the other Couna down-right fall at the time of this Warr: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdoms between India and the Phænician Sea; to wit, in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

in the 33. year of the reign of Ninias Zameis

the King of the Allyrians, the Son of Ninus

and Semiramie, it is hard to affirm what he

CHAP. 1.

6. X.

Of Arioch, another of the four Kings, and that Ellas, whereof he is faid to have been King. lies between Colofyria and Arabia Petraa.

Ow, the two other Kings joined with Amraphel and Chedorlaomer, were Arioch Hellespont farr distant, and out of the way to chiefly invaded: Besides that, it is certain, that the Allyrians (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in Alia the less. For at fuch time as the Assirians feared the invafion of the Medes and Persians, they sent not all the art they had, to invite Crasus to their affiftance; perfwading him, that nothing Xemples, could be more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the success of the Medes against the Assyrians. But examine the enterprise, what it was. These con. 14 Kings (faith the Text) made warr with Bera, Kingdom of Sodom, Birsha King of Gomora, Shinab King of Admath, and Shemebar King of Zeboim, and the King of Bela, which is Zoar. All which five Kings had not fo much ground as Middlesex; being such a kind of Reguli, as Josua found in the Land long af-Kings for this Expedition. But though Che- lespont, had maniscated a great impotence dolarmer were the first and greatest of those and weakness in the Kings of Babylon and

> And though it be alleged for an Example, that divers Kings farr off, came to affift tries: But the eyes of the World were fixed on Calar; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no less doubtfull than fearfull: But the whole Countrey by these four Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the half Tribe of Manasse,

Manasse, Gad, and Reuben; a narrow Val- Arioch, who commanded under Neinecho-

of the History of the World.

of the Affrian Empire, if the same had re- us, Arioch, Areta, or Aretas) had the Go-

World, without the affiftance of any of the was in Nebuchodonofors time. But this A-

Affathe less. But as the Vulgar, and Aquila, fon be taken for the King of Arabia, the Son convert Ellassar by Pontus: So Symmachus of Arius, the Confederate of Ninus, whose

makes Arioch, a King of the Scythiam, a Sons held league, as their fathers did, be-

any at that time. The Septuagint do not change the word of Ellassar at all, but as they keep the word Ararat, on the Mountains whereof the Ark firmeth. did rest; so do they in this place retain the word Ellassar, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himfelf remembreth other opinions farr more probable than this of Pontus, or Hellespont: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latine Translation hath it otherwise. For Stephanus de Urbibus, a Græcian Comographer, findeth the City of Ellas in tions. The Hebrew writes it Gojim, which the border of Celosyria: and Saint Hierom Vatablus takes to be a proper name: Lyra calleth Ellas the City of Arioch, as in truth of mixt People; Calvin of Runnagates on the border of Arabia, of which Arioch were Nations, which were a mixt People: was King; who formerly joined with Ninns namely, of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phasin all his Conquests, being of the same Fa- nicians. Nam tales sunt qui Galilæam hamily, and descended from Cham and Chus: bitant; Such are the Inhabitants of Galile, after whom the name of Arius was by the faith Strabo; and therefore was Tidal cal-Hebrew written Arisch; and afterward a- led King of these Nations, as they suppose. gain Aretas; as in the Machabees: the Kings And so it may be; but the authority of Atrabo of Arabia holding that name even to the is nothing in this Question. For Galilea trayed by the Lievetenant of Aretas, com- the time of Strabo. For, when Abraham manding in Damascus. They were Princes, came into Canaan, the Canaanite was then for the most part, confederate and depend- in the Land, howsoever they might be afthat we find in Daniel; that in the time of are many petty Kingdoms adjoining to Pha-

his Army, and the principal Commander nea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcidice, Cafunder him, who was a King of Kings: which liotis, Chalibonitis, and all these do also makes it plain, that Arioth here spoken of, join themselves to Mesopotamia on the Son of that Arioth Confiderate of Ni-North; and to Arabia on the East. And mus, was no King of Pontus; nor of September 1981. thia, Regions farr removed from the Affiri-ans and Babylonians. The name also of bablest conjecture.

ley of ground, lying between Jordan and donofor, is mentioned in Judith, by the name the Mountains of Sen; nelofed by the River of Arnon on the South fide, and by Ly- on of Persians, bordering Allgria, accordbanns on the North, confifting of two small ing to Stephanus, though Pliny sets it be-Provinces of Traconitis, or Eslan, and the tween the Sea-coast and Media: and if Region of the Moabites; a conquest farr un- any brother of the Arabian Kings, or other valuable, and little answering to the power of that House (known by the name of Arimained in any comparable effate with the vernment of that Persian Province, called manned in any comparative create with the fellowing of that repair flowings and semiramis, who sub- Elymais (as it seemeth they had, by the jested all the great Kingsof that part of the places of Daniel and Judith) yet the same Kings of Hellestont, or any other part of rioch here spoken of may with more rea-King indeed, as farr fetched to join with ing the next bordering Prince of all on the Affirians in this Warr, as the World had that fide towards the Welt unto Babylonia, and Chaldea; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own House and Bloud; which Diod. Siculus also con-

6. X I.

of Tidal, another of the four Kings.

The fourth King by Abraham overthrown, was Tidal, King of the Nas it was. Now, although the same be seated without habitation. Pereries out of straby Stephanus in Calofria, yet it standeth bo, finds that Calilea was inhabited by diwas not Peopled at this time, as it was in one in the was not Peopled at this time, as it was in one in our ing upon the Affirian Empire. It is true terwards mixt; which I know not, But there Nebuchodonosor, one Arioch was General of nicia and Palestina; as Palmyrena, Bata-

#### 6. XII.

That Chedorlaomer, the chief of the four kings, was not of Assyria, but of Persie; and that impaired.

Kings ware on their heads.

us that those things which are set up hastily, tentious peril enjoy. or forced violently, do not long last. Alexannot to over-look what it felf had brought himself: all whose chief Commanders became Kings after him. Tamberlain conquered Alia and India, with a storm-like, and terrible fuccess: but to prevalent fury. God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things Nature her felf worketh in hafte, she taketh before.

Ninus, being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, infolent and cruel. Semiramis taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and wounds and wrongs, by their continual purchase their former liberty. fmart, put the Patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other: fo those antientest Historians, that Arius the Son of Kings adjoining (whose subjection and cala- Ninias, or Amraphel, invaded the Bactrians,

the more grievous) could not fleep, when the advantage was offered by such a successiour. For, In regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit; This king thined little (faith Nauclerus of Nithe Affyrian Empire at this time was much nias) in the Babylonian Kingdom. And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men, having been never before galled with the yoak of Aftly, whereas it is conceived that Che- forein dominion, nor having ever had expe-L Altly, whereas it is conceived that the derlacement was the Affrian Emperor, and rience of that most miserable and detested that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or condition of living in flavery; no long de-Provincial Governour of Babylonia, and that feent having as yet invested the Affirian with the other Kings named, were fuch alfo, I can- a right; nor any other title being for him prenot agree with Pererius in this. For Moses was tended, than a strong hand; the foolish and too well acquainted with the names of Affur effeminate Son of a tyrannous and hated faand Shinaar, to call the Affgrian a King of ther, could very ill hold so many great Prin-Elam: those Kings being in the Scriptures ces and Nations his vasials, with a powerless evermore called by the name of Chaldaa, mastering, and a mind less industrious than Shinaar, Babylonia, or Assyria; but never by his father and mother had used before him. Elam: and Chedorlaomer, or Kedarlaomer was And he that was so much given over to licenfo called of Kidor, from Cidarim, which in tious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign the Hebrew fignifieth Regale: for fo 2. Curti- 12, years, and thereof the greatest part we calleth the garment which the Persian after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that he so much pre-Neither do I believe, that the Affyrian, or ferred case before honour, and bodily plea-Babylonian Empire stood in any greatness at sures before greatness, as he neither endeathe time of this invafion; and my reasons are voured to gain what he could not govern, these: First, example and experience teach nor to keep what he could not without con-

These considerations being joined to the der became Lord of all Asia, on this side of Story of Amraphel, delivered by Moses, by Indus, in a time of fo short a life, as it lasted which we find that Amraphel King of Shinaar was rather an inferiour to the King of Perlia. forth. His fortunes were violent, but not than either his superiour, or equal; make it perpetual. For his Empire died at once with feem probable, that the Empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken afunder, and restrained again to Babylonia.

For conclusion, I will add these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at fuch time as it pleafed God to impose that great travel upon Abraham, from Ur in Chalthe least care of their continuance. The fruit dea to Charran, and then to Canaan, a passage of his Victories perished with him, if not of 700 miles, or little less, with women, children, and carriages; the Countries through which he wandred were then fettled, and in peace. For it was the 23. year of Ninias, when Abraham obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. years after the death of Semiramis, the Strab Lis. neighbour Princes had recovered their liambitious than her Paramour; enlarged the berty and former estates, For Semiranio Ar-Babylonian Empire, and beautified many my of four millions, with her felf, utterly conplaces therein, with buildings un-exampled. fumed in India, and all her armies and engins But her Son, having changed Nature and of war, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and Condition with his Mother, proved no and opportunity even to the poorest souls less feminine than she was masculine. And as and weakest hearted of the World, to re-

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and mities incident, were but new, and therefore and Caspians, and again subjected them: which needed not, if they had not been re- | Laomer, if he were King of Perfit alone, thould volted from Ninias, alter Ninus death. And pass through so great a part of the World, as voited from the countries of Afgria, Chaldra, Atelopotamia, of Balaneus, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest syria, and part of Arabia, and Canaan, to subrevolted, to their former obedience. Of due those five Towns, whose very names whom it is faid, that he conquered from Fgypt how they should come to his ear, being difto India 3 and therefore was called Xerxes, joined by fo many great Naions of different to mana, and therefore was cannot across pointed by a many great Matons of different idel. Filder & triumphator, A conqueror and Languages, a wife man could hardly conriumpher; which undertakings had been no jecture. And if all the Countries bordering other than the effects of madness, had not | Perfia together with the Eabylonian himself, those Countries freed themselves from the yearthe Kingdom of Lligfar and that of Tidal, tione committees from Now, if we shall make lie far off removed, were become his depenany doubt thereof, that is, of the conqueft of dences; what reason can we find that might Annual Merker, both which lived after Ni- have induced him to hearken after Sodoni nus and Niniar, we may as well think the reft and Gomerah? and when he should have of Nimus and Semiramis to be but feined; fought the establishment of his new gotten but if we grant this conquest, then it is true, Empire, by rooting out the Posterity of Nithat while Ninias or Amraphel ruled, the Africa Sninus had dealt by Tharnus of Media, firian Empire was torn afunder, according and Zoroaster of Bastria) then to employ the to that which had been gathered out of forces of Amraphel, and those other Kings, Mofes, as before remembred.

#### 6. XIII.

That it is not unprobable that the four kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their Colonies planted themselves; and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came which if so, we need not say, that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble our selves with man, other difficulties.

they do, that these four Kings, Amraphel send to reclaim them; was it not more than of Shinaar, Chedorlaomer of Elam, and their madness in them, when his terrible Army apfellows, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are, or feem intituled; doth almost inforce us to think that the history must dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people) fo be understood, as I have delivered. But, if against the power of all the Nations between in this place, as often elsewhere in the Scri- Euphrates, yea, between themselves and the or gathered out of fundry Regions; then may we otherwise conceive of this History: removing thereby fome difficulties, which because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had been a strange conje-Cture, to think that Arioch was drawn to affift the Perfian against the Sodomite, as far as from Pontus, where it is very unlikely that Chedorlaomer was known, and almost impossible, that the vale of siddim should have been once named: fo in true estimation, it is field? Now, the Scriptures do not of this ina thing of great improbability, that Chedor- valion (supposed so great) make any fearful

against five petty Towns, leaving Tyrus and Sidon, and the great City Damasco, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unsubdued? Now, as these doubts, which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of suddim, are exceeding vehement: so are the objection, to be made against his conquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea, and more, as being grounded upon the Text it felf. For first, what madness had it been in that small Province, to rebel against so powerfull a Monarch? Or if it were to, that He consent of all Writers, whose works they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to have come to my perufal, agreeing as be forgotten, than that he should come or proached, still to entertain hope of evalion; yea, to make resistance (being themselves a ptures, the names of Countries may be fet for River Indus? Likewife, on the part of Che-People of those Lands, or if (as Hierom hath | dorlaomer, we should find no great wisdom, it) Chedorlaomer was King of the Elamites, as if he, knowing the weakness of this People, Tidal was faid to be of the Nations, that is, of had raifed such a world of men against People, either wanting a fixed habitation, them: whom by any Lievtenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little Countrey, was not fufficient to countervail ene Months men, perhaps, have been unwilling to find, charges of fo huge an Army. How finall then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the walting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prifoners, and the pillage of the Countrey, although he had broken their Army in the CHAP.

CHAP. II.

equally matcht, faying they were four Kings of his Ancestors being by his sloth decayed. against five; yea, if the place be literally he might well be interiour to the Persian expounded, we shall find that Abraham slew | Chedorlaomer: or if this do not satisfie, we all these Kings; of which great slaughter no may say that Amraphel was an under-king.or History makes mention: Neither will the Satrapa of Shinaar, under Ninias; who may reign of Ninias, who lived four or five years be supposed to have had his Imperial sear longer, permit that he should have died so in his fathers City, Ninive; and to have prefoon; neither would Histories have forgot- ferred it before Shinaar and Babylon the Citen the manner of his death, if he had so ty of his mother, whom he hated as an usurfirangely perished in Syria. Whereby it apper of his right. But, if it were possible that pears, that these four Kings were not the in a case not concerning any mans Salvation. fame that they are commonly thought; nor and wherein therefore none hath cared to their forces fo great as opinion hath made take great pains, all might erre; then can I them. It may therefore well be true, that think that the opinion, that those four Kings these Kings were such as many others, who in were Leaders of Colonies, sent out of the that age carried the same title; Lords and Countries named in the Text, and not Kings ing place where to fettle himfelf and them, as and to the Scripture. And hereto add, that was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troup of Persians, Amraphel (whose Kingdom undoubtedly was between fome people out of Shinaar, and Tidal others Syria and Arabia) having been a man of gathered out of fundry places, might confort action, or being a worthy mans Son, was together, and make the weakest of the very well pleased to give passage and astribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first Book of Thucydides, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in the infancy of Greece; or the manner of the Saracens invading Africa and Spain, with almost as many Kings as several Armies, or the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new discoveries, passages, and conquests in the West-Indies; may easily per-ceive, that it was neither unusual for the he find any that shall seem better than leaders of Colonies to receive title from the thefe. But of what countries or people fowas fuch, as might well give occasion to such mane reason must subscribe, then we may and first Kings thereof. hold our felves to the former conjecture,

matter; but compose the two Armies as Amraphel was Ninias; and that the power Commanders every one of his own compa- of the Countries themselves, is most confony, which he carried forth as a Colony, feek- nant, both to the condition of those times. Chedorlaomer feems rather called a Perlian King, than King of Persia: And that Arioch Countrey which lay about them, to pay them fiftance to these Captains or petty Kings. These, and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may frand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it; especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Reader's pleasure, to follow people whom they conducted; nor to make ever these four were Kings, this Expedition aliances together, and break them again, di- is the onely publick action that we know of sturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes performed by Abraham. And as for other helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Am- things belonging to this Story, and of his raphel and his affociates were fuch manner Sons, and of his Nephews, Elan and Jacob, as of Commanders, it may feem the more like- they are registred by Moses, because it is not ly, by the flothfull quality of Ninias then our purpole, either to stand upon things gereigning in Afgria; whose unmanlike temper nerally known to all Christians, nor to repeat what hath been elfe-where already undertaking spirits, as wanted the employ-ments whereunto they were accustomed in that may hereafter in due place be rememthe reign of semiramis, rather to feek ad- bred, we pass them here in silence. And beventures abroad, than to remain at home un- cause in the Story of Abraham and his Posteregarded, whilst others, more unworthy than rity, there is much mention of Egypt: by themselves, were advanced. If the con- which it appears, that even in the time of fent of the whole stream of Writers upon Abraham, it was a settled and flourishing this place, make this conjecture disagreeable Kingdom; it will not be amis in the next to the Text, to the authority whereof all hu- place to speak somewhat of the Antiquities



#### CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Egypt, from the first Peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the delivery of the Israelites from thence.

A Brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt; with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

polletion of the Countrey; in which they but in States that have greatly flourished, built many Cities; and began the Kingdom witness that their Princes were of marvelous one hundred ninety one years after the Deluge. The antient Governours of this King- were not altogether falle. A fecond cause of dom, till fuch time as Ifrael departed Egypt, our ignorance in the Egyptian History, was are shewn in the Table following. ...

1	In. Mundi.	An. dil.		ì
1	1847.	191.	Cham.	t
1	2008.	352.	Osiris.	١
1	2269.	613.	Typhon Z	1
1	,		Hercules. S	1
1	2276.	620.	Orus.	1
1	239 I.	735•	Sesostris the great.	١.
ì	2424.	768.	sefoftris the blind.	ŀ
١	2438.	782.	Bustis, or Osiris the se-	١
١	.,		aond	1
١	2476.	820.	Acenchere, or Thermutis,	l
١	. "		or Meris.	١
1	2488.	832.	Rathoris, or Athoris.	١
	2497.		Chencres drowned in the	١
	177	1	Red Sea.	1

fought into all Antiquities, and had read Herodotus, Diodorus, and fuch others. the Books of Varro, which now are loft, vet omitted the fuccession of the Egyptian kings, which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the Sicyonians, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the Egyptian Story, war the ambition of the Pricits: who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with

Oon after the confusion at Babel (as the names of many Kings, that never reigned. it feems) Cham, with many of his if- What ground they had for these reports of fue and followers (having doubtlefs known the fertility of Egypt before the Floud) came thither and took Buildings in Egypt, such as are never found the too much credulity of fome good Authours, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of fundry Egyptians, and publishing in their own names such as pleased them best, have confirmed them, and, as it were, inforced them upon us by their Authority. A third and general cause of more than Egyptian darkness in all antient Histories, is the Edition of many Authors, by John Annius, of whom (if to the censures of fundry very learned, I may add mine) I think thus; that Annius having feen some fragments of those Writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Histories, where approved Writers confirm him; but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass, that the account of Authours, either in the The Table, and especially the Chronologie, Chronologie, or Genealogie of the Egyptian is to be confirmed by probabilities and con- Kings, runs three altogether different ways. jectures, because in such obscurity, manifest The christian Writers, such as are antient, and reftless truth cannot be found. For Saint for the most part, follow Eusebius: Many Angustine, a man of exceeding great judge-ment, and incomparable diligence, who had his Authours; The profane Histories follow

#### 6. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Cham's reign in Egypt began in the year after the Floud, 191.

Oreconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the antient Kings about many leafings, and recounted unto strangers whom is most controversie, the best mean is

by help of the Dynasties; of whose conti- | And to this summ of 191. years, if we add nuance, there is little or no disagreement. the 161, years of the 15, first Dynasties, as The account of the Dynasties (besides the they are numbred in common account, we authority of approved Authors) hath this shall fall right with the year of Abraham's good ground, that it agreeth for the most birth, which was An. Dil. 352. And hereto part, if not altogether, with the Histories of omitting many other reasons, which might the Afgrians, Trojans, Italians, &c. and others. be brought to prove that these first Dynasties The beginning of the 16. Dynastie, is joined must needs have been very short, and not by general confent, with 43. year of Ninus; in containing in the whole fumm of their fewhich Abraham was born. The twelve first veral times above 161. years; Let it suffice, Dynasties lasted each of them seven years, un- that had they lasted longer, then either must der the twelve which were call'd the greater | Egypt have been peopled as soon as Babel afgods: fo that all the years of their continu- ter the Floud, or the Dynasties (as Mercator ance were 84. The 13. Dynastie endured 14. thinks) must have been before the Floud. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. That the arival at Babel, was many years be-These three last, are said to have been under | fore the plantation of Egypt after the Floud, the three younger gods. So the fifteen first enough hath been said to prove; and that Dynasties lasted 161. years. As I do not the Dynasties were not before the Floud, the therefore believe that the continuance of number of the long-lived generations bethese Dynasties, was such as hath been men- tween Adam and the Floud, which was less tioned because Annius in such wise limits out than the number of the Dynasties, may suffitheir time: so I cannot reject the account ciently witness. Or, if we will think, that upon this onely reason, that Annius hath it one life might (perhaps) be divided into fo; considering, that both hitherto, it hath many Dynasties, then may this have been as passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened | well after the Floud, as before; considering by many good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the fixteenth trie erect fuch form of Policy, as had been Dynastie, in the year of Abraham's birth, as used in the same ere the Deluge; but such aforefaid, the reckoning is eafily cast; by as the disposition of the people, the authoriwhich the summ of 161. years, which, ac- ty and power of the Conductor, together cording to our account, were spent in the with many other circumstances, did induce fifteen former, being subducted out of the fumm of 352. years, which were between the Floud and Abraham's birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynastie, which was the beginning of Chams reign in Egypt, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the fame may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into Shinaar arrived at Babel. Anno à Diluvio 131. In building the Tower were confumed

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that the Sons of Noah did not in every Counor enforce them to.

#### 6. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents. oft-times many under one King.

He fhort continuance of the Dynasties, doth fhew that they were not feveral 40. years, as Glycas recordeth; whose report I races of kings, as the vaunting Egyptians were have elswhere confirmed with divers proba- wont to stile them. What they were, it canbilities. That Chani was long in passing with not certainly be warranted. For in restitutihis company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, ons of decayed Antiquities, it is more easie and Substance through all Syria then deso- to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, late, and full of Boggs, Forests, and Bryers partly upon good circumstance, partly up-(which the Deluge, and want of culture, in on the furest proof, That it was the manner one hundred seventy one years had brought of the Egyptian Kings, to put the Governupon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To ment of the Country into the hands of some this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in Egypt, we allow twenty years; and raignty to themselves, as the old Kings of these summs being added together, to wit, France were wont to the Masters of the Paone hundred thirty one years after the lace, and as the Turk doth to the chief Vifer. Floud, before they arrive at Babel, fourty | This is confirmed, first, by the number of years for their stay there, and twenty for the Dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, Cham's passage into Egypt, and settling there, and more than one under Osiris, or Mizraim; make up the fumm of 191. years; at which and must therefore have been successions, time we find that Cham began his reign in not of Kings, but rather of Counsellours, Egypt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such

Philiftim in his dealing with Abraham and Is- to another. How stangers have mistaken ac about confederation, did nothing without in this kind, the example already cited of Thicol. Captain of his Hoft; though in taking Joseph's brethren, doth sufficiently witness, Abraham's Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleafure. Likewife of rus, and Herodotus; each of whom, clting Abimelech, the Son of Gideon, it was faid: Is their relations, as good Authority. fav; Dinot be the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul is his odorus, and Sefostris was the nineteenth King Officer & Alfo Ifhbofheth, the Son of Saul, feared after Menas; Herodotis, that he was the 332. Abner the Captain of the Hoft. Yea, David after Menas; which could not have been if himself hating Joab for his cruelty, did not Menas had been Adam. Therefore we may punish him in regard of his greatness, which well conclude, That the Dynasties were not was fuch, as was feared even of Hadad the fo many Races of Kings, but fuccessions of Edonite, living then in Egypt. Thirdly, this Regents, appointed by the Kings of so many is confirmed by the temper and disposition sundry Linages or forts of men. Now, by of Cham, who was lewd, as appears by the whatfoever means a Dynastie, or Regencie Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his continued; whether in one Family, as beown idlenessand pleasure, to have laid the ing made an hereditary Office; or in one burthen of the Government upon others; order of men, as held by faction: fure it is, and upon jealousie, the companion of unthat was the Kings gift and free choice, that worthiness, to have changed his Lievtenants gave the Office. But the Crown royal always often. Above all other proofs is the advance- passed by descent, and not by election; ment of Joseph by Pharaoh. For Pharaob faid to Joseph; Onely in the Kings Throne will I be Scriptures also prove. For whereas Joseph above thee : behold, I have fet thee over all the Tyr. Land of Egypt. William Archbishop of Tyre, the Crown had passed by election, then who flourished about the year of our Lord, ment by Viceroys, was in his time practifed in their fathers Land, though not his Eftate, subjects unto the Caliphe; who residing in a the antient King. most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making Warr and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the Soldans hands. He that shall read in William of Tyre, the state of the Caliphe, or Meulene Edhadech, with the form of inferiour in Wisdom.

gents, or Lievtenants, as Joseph was, have crept circumstances. For I think it is no where into the List of the Egyptian Kings, were no frange imagination. For Joseph's brethren call him, The man that is Lord of the Land, of Ham. Further, it is found in Diodorus Priests would as easily report him a King to deorum omnium junior : also sum Saturni fili-

Princes borderers to Fg.ppt, as are mentioned had passed, whilest that the King himself, in the Scriptures, of whom Abimelech the intending his quiet, had given his Office The reports of Priests do appear in Diodowhich (befides confent of Authours) the bought all the Land of Fgrpt for Pharaoh, if should Pharaoh's children hereby, either Egypt, having there been in use (as he be- have been more mighty than the King: as lieved) ever fince the time of Joseph. He plainly shews, that the soldam of Egypt were not Lords of the Countrey, however they Exed. 12. that God finote the first-born of have been fo deem'd; but that they acknow- Pharaoh, that was to fit on his Throne. And ledg'd and humbly performed the duty of in Efay, it is faid of Pharaoh, I am the Son of Efa. 19.

#### s. IV.

of Cham, and his son Mizraim, or Ofiris.

T Hat the succession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath Pla 78.51 shewed from Cham to Chencres, now it fol- 105 23. his Court, shall plainly behold the Image of loweth to shew. Egypt is called in the Scrithe antient Pharaoh, ruling by a Lievtenant, pture the Land of Ham. That this name is as great in authority as Toleph was, though far not given to it, because the Posterity of Cham did reign there, but for that himself To think that many names of such Re- did first plant it, we may gather by many and the Lord of the Countrie; besides, it is not Siculus, that Osiris calleth himself the eldest unlikely, that the vain-glorious Egyptian Son of Cham, faying, Mihi pater Saturnus Li. posterity, as ignorant men & strangers deem us antiquior germen ex pulchro & generoso orhim such, under whose hand all dispatches of tum; which must needs be understood of importance, and royal managing of the State | Cham; for this Saturnus Agyptius was Cham:

by help of the Dynasties; of whose conti- And to this summ of 191. years, if we add nuance, there is little or no disagreement. the 161. years of the 15. first Dynasties, as The account of the Dynasties (besides the they are numbred in common account, we authority of approved Authors) hath this shall fall right with the year of Abraham's good ground, that it agreeth for the most birth, which was An. Dil. 352. And hereto part, if not altogether, with the Histories of omitting many other reasons, which might the Afgrians, Trojans, Italians, &c. and others. be brought to prove that their first Dynafties The beginning of the 16. Dynastie, is joined must needs have been very short, and not by general confent, with 43. year of Ninus; in containing in the whole fumm of their fewhich Abraham was born. The twelve first veral times above 161. years; Let it suffice, Dynaflies lasted each of them seven years, un- that had they lasted longer, then either must der the twelve which were call'd the greater Egypt have been peopled as soon as Babel afgods: fo that all the years of their continu ter the Floud, or the Dynasties (as Mercator ance were 84. The 13. Dynastie endured 14. thinks) must have been before the Floud. years; the fourteenth, 26. the fifteenth, 37. That the arival at Babel, was many years be-These three last, are said to have been under fore the plantation of Egypt after the Floud, the three younger gods. So the fifteen first chough hath been said to prove; and that Dynasties lasted 161. years. As I do not the Dynasties were not before the Floud, the therefore believe that the continuance of number of the long-lived generations bethese Dynasties, was such as hath been men- tween Adam and the Floud, which was less tioned because Annius in such wise limits out | than the number of the Dynasties, may suffitheir time: so I cannot reject the account ciently witness. Or, if we will think, that upon this onely reason, that Annius hath it one life might (perhaps) be divided into fo; considering, that both hitherto, it hath many Dynasties, then may this have been as passed as currant and is greatly strengthened | well after the Floud, as before; considering by many good reasons. For, whereas Euse- that the Sons of Noah did not in every Counbius placeth the beginning of the fixteenth trie erect such form of Policy, as had been Dynastie, in the year of Abraham's birth, as used in the same ere the Deluge; but such aforefaid, the reckoning is eafily cast; by as the disposition of the people, the authoriwhich the fumm of 161. years, which, ac- ty and power of the Conductor, together cording to our account, were spent in the with many other circumstances, did induce fifteen former, being subducted out of the or enforce them to. fumm of 352, years, which were between the Floud and Abraham's birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynastie, which was the beginning of *Chams* reign in *Egypt*, was in the year 191. As also by other probabilities the fame may appear: For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of man-kind which came into Shinaar arrived at Babel. Anno à Diluvio 131. In building the Tower were confumed upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of these summs being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one years after the Floud, before they arrive at Babel, fourty

The fecond Book of the first Part

#### §. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers Families of Kings, but rather Successions of Regents, oft-times many under one King.

"He short continuance of the Dynasties, doth shew that they were not several 40. years, as Glycas recordeth; whose report I races of kings, as the vaunting Egyptians were have elswhere confirmed with divers proba- wont to stile them. What they were, it canbilities. That Chani was long in passing with not certainly be warranted. For in restitutihis company, their Wives, Children, Cattel, ons of decayed Antiquities, it is more easie and Substance through all Syria then deso- to deny than to affirm. But this may be faid, late, and full of Boggs, Forests, and Bryers partly upon good circumstance, partly up-(which the Deluge, and want of culture, in on the furest proof, That it was the manner one hundred seventy one years had brought of the Egyptian Kings, to put the Government of the Country into the hands of some trusty Counsellor, onely referving the Sovehimself in Egypt, we allow twenty years; and raignty to themselves, as the old Kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turk doth to the chief Visier. This is confirmed, first, by the number of years for their stay there, and twenty for the Dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, Cham's passage into Egypt, and settling there, and more than one under Osiris, or Mizraim; make up the fumm of 191. years; at which and must therefore have been successions, time we find that Cham began his reign in not of Kings, but rather of Counsellours, Egypt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. and Regents. Secondly, by custom of such

in the Scriptures, of whom Abimelech the intending his quiet, had given his Office Philifim, in his dealing with Abraham and IJa- to another. How stangers have mistaken ae about confederation, did nothing without in this kind, the example already cited of Phicol, Captain of his Hoft; though in taking Joseph's brethren, doth sufficiently witness, Abraham's Wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleafure. Likewise of rus, and Herodotus; each of whom, citing Abimelech, the Son of Gideon, it was faid: Is their relations, as good Authority, fay; Dinot be the Son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul is his officer ? Also Ishbosheth, the Son of Saul, feared Abner the Captain of the Host. Yea, David himself hating Joab for his cruelty, did not punish him in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Edomite, living then in Egypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition fundry Linages or forts of men. Now, by of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appears by the whatfoever means a *Dynastie*, or *Regencie* Scriptures: therefore likely, both by his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the ing made an hereditary Office; or in one burthen of the Government upon others; order of men, as held by faction: fure it is, and upon jealousie, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his Lievtenants gave the Office. But the Crown royal always often. Above all other proofs is the advance- passed by descent, and not by election; ment of Joseph by Pharaoh. For Pharaoh faid to Joseph; Onely in the Kings Throne will I be above thee : behold, I have fet thee over all the Land of Egypt. William Archbishop of Tyre, the Crown had passed by election, then who flourished about the year of our Lord, was more thousand one hundred eighty, affirms have been intralled among the reft of the 615,16, that the like, or very fame form of Govern-people, to the next successor: or enjoying ment by Vicerojs, was in his time practifed in their fathers Land, though not his Estate, ledg'd and humbly performed the duty of in Efay, it is faid of Pharaoh, I am the Son of Efa. 15. subjects unto the Caliphe; who residing in a most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not onely of civil Government, but the power of making Warr and Peace, with the whole Office and Authority royal, into the Soldans hands. He that shall read in William of Tyre, the state of the Ca-

inferiour in Wisdom. gents, or Lievtenants, as Joseph was, have crept circumstances. For I think it is no where into the Lift of the Egyptian Kings, were no frange imagination. For Joseph's brethren call him, The man that is Lord of the Land, of Ham. Further, it is found in Diodorus him such, under whose hand all dispatches of tum; which must needs be understood of importance, and royal managing of the State | Cham; for this Saturnus Agyptius was Cham:

Princes borderers to Fgypt, as are mentioned | had passed, whilest that the King himself, The reports of Priests do appear in Diodoodorus and Scioftris was the nineteenth King after Menas; Herodotus, that he was the 332. after Menas; which could not have been if Menas had been Adam. Therefore we may well conclude, That the Dynasties were not fo many Races of Kings, but fuccessions of Regents, appointed by the Kings of formany continued; whether in one Family, as bethat was the Kings gift and free choice, that which (befides confent of Authours) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas Joseph bought all the Land of Egypt for Pharaoh, if Egypt, having there been in use (as he believed) ever fince the time of Joseph. He Land-lords of all Egypt, and the King himplainly shews, that the soldam of Egypt were self their Tenant. Likewise we find in not Lords of the Countrey, however they Exed. 12. that God smote the first-born of have been fo deem dibut that they acknowthe antient King.

#### ş. IV.

of Cham, and his son Mizraim, or Ofiris.

T Hat the fuccession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hath pla 18.51 liphe, or Meulene Edhadech, with the form of his Court, shall plainly behold the Image of loweth to shew. Egypt is called in the Scri. 17 166. 11. the antient Pharabb, ruling by a Lievtenant, pure the Land of Ham. That this name is as great in authority as Toseph was, though far not given to it, because the Posterity of Cham did reign there, but for that himself To think that many names of fuch Re- did first plant it, we may gather by many and the Lord of the Countrie; besides, it is not Siculus, that Ofiris calleth himself the eldest unlikely, that the vain-glorious Egyptian Son of Cham, faying, Mihi pater Saturnus 1.1. Priests would as easily report him a King to deorum omnium junior : also, Sum Saturni filiposterity, as ignorant men & strangers decm us antiquior germen ex pulchro & generoso or-

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as it is faid, that on the Monument of Ninus was an Inscription, wherin Cham was called Saturnus Agyptins. Likewife the Temple of of the time when Oficis reign ended; and that Hammon, not farr from Egypt, doth testifie, that Ham refided in those parts: And S. Hierom, in qualitonibus Hebraicis, faith, that the Farptians themselves did in his days, call their Countrey Ham; as in four feveral places in the Pfalms this Countrey is called the that I know is made thus: Lehabim the Son Land of Cham. And Ortelius, noting out of of Mizraim, called Hercules Lybius, made war Plutareb in Ofiride, that in the facrifices of the in Italy, to revenge his fathers death on the Egyptians this Countrey of Fespt was called affociates of Typhon, in the 41. year of Baleus Chemia, expounds it for Chamia, ut puto King of Assyria; before which year he had (faith he) a Chamo Noes filio, to which also made many great wars in Egypt, Phanicia, Tyhe addeth out of Isidore. Egyptum ufque hodie gris, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia, & Spain; and having Aesptiorum lingua Kam vocari; that Egypt ended his Egyptian Wars, left the Kingdom unto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is to Orus. Thus farr Berofus, or Authours folcalled Kam. For the beginning and con- lowing Berofus. That Orus, lafe of all the tinuance of Cham's reign, the same reasons gods (as they were stilled) held the Kingmay fuffice to be alleged, which I have althe 15. first Dynasties: Neither is it strange, that the reign of Cham thould last so long were named onely, according to the feveral Ofiris, yet before Joseph's advancement. feats of the Kings.

Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the Son of Ofiris.

The death of Ofiris, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The onely conjecture dom of Is, Diodorus Siculus plainly faith; Diod Sic. ready given in proof of the time spent in and Plutarch as much, to which all Histories Plan. Lite agree. Krentzhemius hereupon inferrs, that Ifd. o fix years may be allowed to the Wars, which as 161. years; considering that sem lived Hereules made in so many countries, after the soc. Appeachad and Shelah cach above Egyptian Wars were ended: so should the 400. But strange it had been; if one Saltis death of Ofiris have been the 24. of Baleus, created by Manetho, had in those long-lived when himself had reigned 297, years. I think generations reigned there 19. years, and that Krentzhemius was a greater Scholar with Eson, Apachnas, Apochis, and others of than Souldier. For furely in those days, when the same brood, obscured the same and glo- commerce was not such as now, but all Naviry of Ofiris, orus, and Sefofiris. Remeccius in gation made by coasting, a farr longer time Histor. Julia, placeth Mizrain next, other- would have been required, to the subduing wife calledoffris, according to Diodorus; who, of fo many Countries. An allowance of more faith he, was the Son of Hammon: Krentzhe- time, though it would alter his computation, mins faith, that Mizrain and Ofiris, are words yet would it well agree with his intent; of neer affinity and found in the Hebrew which was (doubtless) to find the truth. If tongue. Howloever it be, we know that according to his account the death of Ofiris Mizraim the Son of Cham, was Lord of had been the 34. of Baleus, then must Ifrael Egypt, and Reineccius, citing good authori- have come into Egypt but 7. years before the ty in this case, affirmeth that Egypt is now death of Osiris; and have lived there in the called by the naturals in their own language, reign of Typhon: A thing not easily believed. Mezre, Neither do I fee cause of doubt whe- For it was the same King who advanced Jother Ofiris were the same with Mizraim. It is feet, bad him send for his sather, and gave him more necessary, and hard to thew manifest-, leave to go into Canaan, to the performance ly, how long Mizraim, or Ofiris, reigned. For of his fathers Funeral; as may eafily be gawhereas the year of his death is no where thered out of the Book of Genefis. Whereas precifely fet down, we must be fain to fol- therefore the reign of Osiris cannot be exlow probabilities. That he is not vainly faid | tended by any pollible allowance in account by Annius his Berofus, to have begun his of times, beyond the 7. year of Ifrael's coming reign at the birth of Abraham, when the Dy- into Egypt, we must needs cut off 23. years naftie of the Thebei began, it appeareth, first, from that number, which Krentzhemius conby the authority of Eusebius, who avouch- jectures his reign to have continued; nameeth as much; next, by Diodorus, who faith, ly, feven which he fhould have lived after that he inhabited Thebes; which habitation Jacob's coming into Egypt; nine, in which Joof Ofiris there, that it might be cause of that fepb had there flourished, ore his fathers Dynastie, I can well believe; affenting so coming; and other seven in which Typhon farr to Reineccius, who thinks the Dynasties and Hercules had reigned after the death of

> Neither will this disagree with the time of Hercules Lybius his Wars. For the War which Hercules

well give not only fix years, as Krentzhemine able to the holy Text. doth, but 23, more to so many Wars, in so many, and so farr distant countries as are named before; yea, by this proportion, we may attribute unto Orus the 13. years, which pailed between the time of Joseph's being fold into Egypt, unto his advancement, confidering that Poliphar, who bought him, and whose daughter he may feem to have married, continued all that while chief Steward unto Pharaoh : a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in Fgypt, as the tyrannous usurpation of Typhan mult Daniel Angelocrator giveth three years to needs have brought in. If citing fome fragment of a lost old Authour, I should confidently fay, that Potiphar, for his faithfulness to Orus the Son of Ofiris, was by him, in the beginning of his reign made his chief Scewards at which time, buying Joseph, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into Toseph's hands, than unto any of his Egyptian followers (many of whom he had found either falf-hearted, or weak and unlucky in the troublefom days of Typhon) (know not what could be objected against cannot collect (as Krentzhemius doth) out this. Perhaps, I might proceed further, and of Eerofus, that Hercules reigned after Ftay, That when the laying of Joseph pleased phon , yet, seeing Acceptinus, a follower of Pharaoh, and all his fervants; then Potiphar, Prieft of On, being chief Officer to Pharaob, in the reign of Typhon and Hercules, 7, years did acknowledg in Joseph the antient graces were spent, howsoever divided between of God, and his injurious imprisonment; them, I gather out of Krentzhomius onely, whereupon he gave him his Daughter to who placeth the beginning of Orus feven Wife; and being old, refigned his Office of years after the death of Office; forgetting to chief Steward unto him, who afterward, in fet down his reasons, which in a matter so proregard of Potiphar, did favour the Priefts, Wars of Hercules, in which, by this reckoning, he should have spent 42. years after he lest From that Svocation of Abraham Fest, ere he began in Haly, it is a circum-time to the Edeparture out of Festpt stance which (the length of his Halian Wars confiered, and his former enterprifes and at-which fumm divers other ways may be colchievments proportioned to them) doth not lected. Since therefore to the departure out

Hercules made in Italy, is faid to have indured agreeing nor to be reconciled in fuch obscuten years: After which proportion, we may rity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answer-

#### €. V I.

of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, and the two Schoftres, fuccepively reigning after Mizraim : and of divers Errors about the former Scholtres.

Oncerning the reign of Typhon, and of Hercules I find none that precifely doth define how long either of them continued. Typhon, omitting Hercules. But he is fo peremptory without proof, as if his own word were fufficient authority, in many points very quettionable, alleging no witness, but as it were faying Arite me agio; yet herein we may think him to speak probably, for as much as the leaned Krentzhemius affirmeth, that Hercules did very foon undertake his fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving Fgrpt to his brother he followed other Warrs in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I Berofus, hath it fo, I will also believe it. That bable, I think he wanted not. Now, wherewhen he bought the Lands of all other ashe alloweth 90, years of the 18. Dynafte Egyptians. This might appear to some a tale to Offris, Typhon, Hercules, and Orus; it seems not unlike the Friarly book of Aknath, Pot; that the reign of Orus lafted 115. years From phar's Daughter; but, unto fuch as confider the death of Orus, to the departure of Ifrael that God works usually by means; and that out of Fgypt, there passed 122. years by our Poliphar was the Steward of that King, under whom Jacob died; it would feem a mar- others) think that Abraham was born in the ter more probable, had it an Author of fuf- 130, year of Terah, and thereupon reckon ficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the thus: From the end of the Floud to the birth of Abraham 75

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make against us, but for us: or, if it were of Fgspt, there do remain (as is aforesaid) against us, yet could it not so weaken our onely 122. years from the death of Orus; we supposition, as these probabilities collected are now to consider, how many of them are out of the indisputable truth of Scripture do to be allowed uno sessions, or sesonchosis, confirm it. Nevertheles, I freely grant, that who is placed next unto Orms, by authority all these proofs are no other, than such as of the Scholi-sfee Apollonii; not without good may be gathered out of Authours, not well probability. For this great King or Conto have entred into India: likewife with another fleet on the middle Earth Seas, to have passed into Europe, and subdued many Nati-Vexoris; For Justine placeth Vexoris in Ages before Ninus; whereby it would follow that Selostris if he were Vexoris, was more antient then was Oliris (otherwise Mizraim) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after Pharaoh came into the land of Canaan (which lieth in the way from Egypt into Asia) till the father-in-law of Solomon, Pharaoh Vaphres, we may read more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after which time, Sesac opprefled Rehoboam, and Necho fought paffage through the Land of Ifrael, when he made his Expedition against the Chaldeans. Of King neither of them was the great King seloftris. he came into Judea with a great Army. Reihis own opinion, that he himself placeth sefostris next to Orus, following the Scoliastes Apollonii. But further answer may be made, rael abode in Egypt.

led Menas, Which name as also Menaus and Menis, were titles of Dignity; though miftaken by fome, as proper names. Krentzhemius doth very probably gather, that Menus was Mercurius Ter-maximus, the Hebrew

querour, is by many Histories recorded to | word Meni fignifying an Arithmetician: have over-run a great part of Aka; to have which name Ter-maximus might well be built a flect of Ships on the Red Sea: and so attributed to Osiris, who was a great Conqueror, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Laws, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowefs and great underons. This is he (as Reineceius judgeth) whom takings, sefoftris was no whit inferiour to Ofi-Julline, erring in account of his time, calleth | ris . For he fought victory not for gain, but honour onely; and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themseves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into Egypt. Soon the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, no one upon his return, he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was being by his own brother purposely fired; which nevertheless, he is said to have escap'd took Gerar, and gave it to his Daughter (as and to have reigned in all 30. years; after well time, he chose rather to die than to live; because he fell blind. Both Herodotus and Diodorus affirm, that Selostris left a Son, whose name was Pheron, or Pherones; who afterwards took the name of Sefoftris, but was no-Vaphres, and Necho, it is out of question, that thing like to his father in glory; for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness, He-Of Sefac, it is doubted by fome, for as much as rodotus attributes to his affaulting the River Nilus with a Javelin; which tale Diodorus neccius propounding the doubt, leaveth it having likewisc heard, yet reports as a fable, undecided; unless it be sufficient proof of saying, that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his father. How long this man reigned, it is no where expressed; yet, for as much as Orus the fecond (otherwife Bufiris) to flew that they were not one.For,as Jufine who fucceeded him, began 14, years after that witnefleth, sefofris, otherwife Vexoris, made this sefofris had been King, it must need see War on people far removed, abstaining from that this reigned 14 years at least. That Buhis neighbours. Sefac came up purposely a- firis began not untill these 14. years at least gainst Hierusalem. Sesoftris, as Diodorus wit- were expired, the very account of time from nesseth, had but 24000. Horse, Sesac had the first Busiris, to the departure of Israel out 60000. Selostris had 8020. Chariots, selac of Egypt, plainly shews, being almost general-1200. seloitris made his Expedition for no ly agreed upon to have been 75. years. That private purpose, but to get a great name : Se- none came between sesostris the second, and fac, as most agree, had no other purpose than Busiris, or Orus the second, it stands onely upto succour Jeroboam, and give him counte- on probabilities, which are these: After Senance in his new reign; whom he had fa- lostris had reigned some while, he fell blind; voured even against Solomon: therefore after certain years, he recovered his sight, as Sesostris must needs have reigned whilest If- is said, which may have been true, but is more like to have been a Fable; furely the Whereas Krentzhemius collecteth out of manner of his recovery, as it is fet down, is Herodotus, and Diodorus, that one Menas, or very fabulous; namely, that by looking up-Menis, was next to Orus; because those Histo- on a woman, or washing his eyes with her rians affirm that he reigned next after the water, who had onely known her own hufgods; it moveth me nothing. For Ofiris did | band, he got his fight again. As the time of succeed those fifteen gods; namely, the his reign, before his blindness, and when he twelve greater, and three leffer; himfelf also was well again (if ever he were) may have (as the learned Reineceius noteth) being cal- taken up a good part of 14. years: fo his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very fhort. His works are largely fet down by Herodotus and Diodorus; a part of which may feem to have been the finishing of that

CHAP. II. which his father had begun, about the chan- blindness of scoffris the second, how great nels and fluces of Nilus; whom, I think, he rather frighted (as his father had done) with Spades and Shovels, than with Darts and Javelins; and by his diligent over-fight of that work, was like enough to lofe both his eye-fight and his peoples love; whom his father had very bufily employed in excessive labour about it.

#### . VII.

of Buliris, the first oppressor of the Israelites and of his successour, Queen Thermutis that took up Mioles out of the Water.

Nd herein (if I may presume to conje-A cture) Eustris, who was afterwards King, is like to have dealt with him, as Jeroboam did with the Son of Solomon. For that Busiris himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of Ifrael in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great Sefostris, as Jeroboam was by Solomon, in the overlight of those bufinefics, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the King by industry; and afterward with the people, by incenfing them against their new King, as Jeroboam did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers; unless he have either an equal spirit, or a feet, and shotty after, King in deed and title furer foundation. If moreover he fought to derive all the pain and labour of publick the blind King selostris the second oppressed works from the Egyptians to the Israelites: he furely did that to his own people which wicked Tyrant shewed his evil nature, even was very plaufible; who (as appears in Exo-Busiris sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, Exod. 1. that the King who knew not Joseph, was a King of a new Family. That Busiris was of a new Family, Reineccius doth shew; who alfo thinks him an Author of the bloudy Edict. Nevertheless, true it is, that Busiris, according to all mens computation, began hisreign five years after the birth of Moses; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more, that the perfecution began; which Bunting thinks to have lasted 87. yesrs, ere the departure out of Egypt. Let us therefore confider, besides the

was; and how great confidence the King did put in them, seeing Joseph ruled with such full power, that he bought all Egrpt, and all the Egyptians for bread; giving at the fame time, the best of the Land to his own father and brethen for nothing; seeing also that when the Eerptians cried out upon Pharaoh for bread, Pharaoh faid to all the Egyptians, Go to Joseph, what he faith to you do ye. If to a stranger born, lately fetcht out of prifon, a King well able to have governed himfelf, would give fuch trust, and soveraign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not onely the good (fuch as Joseph was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore, perhaps, the King did (as many have done)refign his Kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun till the death of sefoftris. But whether Busiris did usurp the Kingdom, or protection of the Land by violence; or whether the blind King refigned it, keeping the Title ; or whether Business were onely Regent whilest the King lived, and afterwards (as is acknowledged by all)King himself; it might well be said that Pharaoh's Daughter took up Moses, and that Pharaoh vexed Israel; feeing he both at that time was King in efboth. It were not abfurd for us to fay, that Ifrael: But, for as much as it may feem that the when he first arose; I think it more likely, dus ) were nothing flack in fulfilling the that Ensfirit did it, using at first the power of Kings cruelty. Now, that Oras the fecond, or a King, and shortly after the stile. Thus of Buffris, was the King that first oppressed If the 122. years which passed between the berael, and made the Edit of drowning the ginning of selostric his reign, and the depar-Hebrew children, which (faith Cedrenus) last-ture of Ifrael out of Egopt, 47. being spent; ed ten Moneths: it is a common opinion of the 75, which remain, are to be accounted to many great and most learned Writers, who Bustris, or Orm the second, and his children. alfo think that hereupon grew the Fable of Buffris himself reigned 30. years, according to Eusebius; whom very many judicious Authours herein approve. After him his daughter, who took Mofes out of the Water, is faid, by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was Thermutis Pharis, or Muthis, according to Cedrenus: Eusebius calls her Acencris; and out of Artabanus his History, Meris: Joseph calls her both Acenchre, and Thermutis. Epiphanius in Panario, faith, that she was honoured afterward of the Egyptians, by the name of Thermutis the Daughter of Amenoph, the Son of Pharaoh. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken; for the Scriptures call her not

CHAP. III.

Daughter. Amenophis indeed, is fet next be- others, accounted as one, and his reign faid fore Buffris, or Orus the second, by Eusebius to have been five years. His name is called and others; but whether he were a King, or onely a Regent, I cannot conjecture. For Herodotus, Diodorus, and the antient Historians, Julia. name the Son of Sefoltris, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis; and his Daughter by the Egyptians called rather the Neece or Grand-child than the Daughter of Pharaoh because of the glory of sefostris and the dif-reputation of his Son. If so, and if that Busiris, or Orus the second, marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conecture strengthened, and then was she both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto Pharaoh; and surviving him, Queen of the Land, 12. years. But if the were Daughter of Orus the second, and fifter of Athoris, or Rathoria, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

#### 6. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis; and what King it was, under whom Moses was born; and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.

CHe had two brethren; the one was Raring the reign of Chencres, Eusebins faith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus upon Io; of which Hiftory elfewhere he reporteth other-

Pharaoh's Son's Daughter, but Pharaoh's Armais: these two Kings are by Eulebius and Armeus, otherwise Danaus; and his Pedigree thus described by Reineccius in Histor.

Telegonus: Epaphus: Lybia, who had Agenor, Belus, and Busiris.

Agyptus or Ramesses, Danaus or Armeus, exwho gave name to the Country, having expell'd his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lynceus, married to Hypermineftra.

pelled by his brother Egyptus, after he had reigned five years, became King of Argos in Greece: was father to Hypermnestra.

How it might come to pass, that the Nephews Sons of Epaphus should have occupied the Kingdom after Cherres, it is hard to fav: confidering that Epaphus himfelf is reported by Eusebius, to have been born in the time of Chencres. But for as much as the History of Epaphus his birth, is diversly related by Eusebins, it may suffice, that Belus the father of Danaus and Agyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Ramesses, was equally distant thoris, or Athoris, who succeeded her; from Busiris, or Orus the second, with Cherres the other Telegonus, who is onely named by the Grand-child of Chencres. And that the Eusebius; but his linage and off-spring de- Posterity of Telegonus did marry very young, scribed by Reineccius. Rathoris, after his it appears by the History of these two brefifters death, reigned nine years; after whom thren, Danaus and Agyptus; of whom the Chencres, thought to be his Son, reigned ten former had fifty Daughters, the latter years, and then perished in the Red Sea. Du- fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers women; yet furely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the general confent of Writers wife. After the death of Chencres (whom is, that Armens, or Danaus, did succeed Cherfome call Acencheres, but all or most do stile res; and (according to Eusebins, and good Sebμαχ, a fighter against God ) Acherres Authours approving him) reigned five years. reigned 8. years; and then Cherres 15. This Ramesses followed, who reigned 68. years. descent seems from Father to Son. In the This Ramelles, or Agoptus, is that Armele-11. year of Cherres, it is faid by Eusebius, that miamum, or Armesesmiamus, under whom, in Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt, the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that built Memphis. This is an argument of that follows Mercator, Moses was born; and the which otherwife was not unlikely; viz. That cruel Edict made of drowning the Hebrew Egypt was greatly brought out of order by children. The length of his reign feems to the plagues which God had laid upon it, and me the chief, if not the only ground of Merthe destruction of her King and Army in the cator's opinion. For, whereas the Lord said Red Sea; else could it not have had two to Moses, Go, return to Egypt, for they are all reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, dead which went about to kill thee: Mercator or his Posterity, seems to have taken all from hereupon conceives, that it was one and the Cherres, the Grand-child of Chencres. For fame King under whom Moses was born, and whereas Armais is faid to have reigned four under whom he flew the Egyptian at the 40. years after Cherres; and Armesis one after year of his age; and fled into the wilderthis Ramesfer, who reigned so long; where- Works: yet my affent herein is with-held fore, desirous rather to hold a true Para-from him by these Reasons. First, I see all dox, than a common Errour, he placeth other Writers agree, that Cheners was King, one Alisfragmuthosis (whose name is who was drowned in the Red Sea. Secondfound in the Lift of Egyptian Kings, but ly, the place, Exod. 4. All are dead, &c. may the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in better be understood of Busins, and all his an Age 112. or 113 years, more antient children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his Successions from Thenosis (whom Enseins calls Amasis) down-when Mases was 120. years old, which was wards, with no other variation of the length this Armessmann, being then King of of each mans reign than is the difference be- Egypt. Atter Ramesses, Amenophis reigned tween Manetho and Eusebius, he finds Moses 19. years; who is thought by Mercator, and born under Armesofmiamum, and Israel deli- peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be vered in the days of his Son Amenophis. The the King that perished in the Red Sea; of very name of Alisfragmuthosis feems to him which our Opinion being alreay laid open, with little alteration to found like Phara- I think it most expedient to refer the Kings rates, of which name one was thought to enfuing to their own times (which a Chronohave flourished, either as a King, or a logical Table shall lay open) and here to wife Man, about the time of Ifaac. For (faith speak of that great deliverance of Ifrael out he) from Alisfragmuthosis to Phragmuthosis, of Fgypt; which for many great considera-tions depending thereupon, we may not great. Mercator was a man of excellent lightly over-pais.

 $\mathrm{nefs}$ , and there abode for fear: all which Learning and Industry; and one to whom circumstances could agree with none, but the World is bound for his many notable

CHAP. III. Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

#### §. I.

of the time of Moses Birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.

time of Mofes his Birth, who in Egypt. Instrument of this, and other great Works mon, in his Greek History, the first Book; was the excellent and famous of the Highest, the different opinions are that Moses was born while Apis the third very near as many, as the men that have writ- King ruled Argos. ten of that Argument.

gustine, cites very many of their conjectures: that Moses lived after the Trojan war, is himas that of Porphyrie out of Sanchoniato, that felf of opinion, that Mofes was farr more an-Moses lived in the time of Semiramis ? But, tient, proving it by many arguments. if he did mean the first semiramis, it was but Syria, and all the parts the parts thereof abrerum natura.

Rue it is, that the History it | Appion, taken from Ptolemy, a Priest of Menfelf is generally and well des, who faith, that Mofes was born while known; yet concerning the Inachus did rule the Argives, and Amelies

The third Opinion is taken out of Pole-

A fourthisborrowed from Tatianus Assy-L. Vives, in his Annotations upon S. An- rins, who, though he cite some Authorities,

Fifthly, he fetteth down the testimony of a fond conceit; for befides that the same is Numinius the Philosopher, who took Mucontrary to all Stories, divine and humane; Jeus and Moses to be one; confirming the while that Semiramir lived, the collinanded fame out of Artapanas, who confesset that Mofes was called Musaus by the Grecians; folutely ; neither were the Ammonites, or and who farther delivereth, that he was ad-Moabites, or Edomites, while she ruled, in opted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the Daughter of Egypt; the same which Eupolemus cal-A fecond Opinion he remembreth out of leth Meris; others (as Rabanus Maurus)

CHAP, III.

vir Deo conjunctifinus, is called Alusens more, after Joseph; between whose death, Judeorum, Eusebius, in his Chronologie, finds and the birth of Moses, there were consumed that Moses was born while Amenophis ruled fixty four years, some of which time, and Prop. 5. Fgppt. The antient Manethon calls that Pha- eighty years after, they lived in great servior Thmofis: the same, perchance, which Ap- dus: They fet task-masters over them, to keep pion the Grammarian will have to be Amo- them under with burthens; and they built the fis, and elfe-where Amenophis, the father Cities Pithom and Rameles, &c. And by cruof sethofis: to whom Lyfmachus, and Cor- elty, they caused the children of Ifrael to serve, nelius Tacitus, gave the name of Bocchoris. and made them weary of their lives, by fore To me it seems most probable, that while labour in Clay and Brick, and in all work of the Saphrus, called also Spherus, or Ipherens, go-field, with all manner of bondage. All which laid verned Affiria, Orthopolis, Sicyonia; and upon them by a mastering power, and strong

Ang. 118. gypto populum Dei novillimo tempore Cecro- year of Moles, and untill he wrought his civil Det pis Atheniensium Regis; Moses (taith he) led miracles in the field of Zoan, which he 2514. this fort therefore is the time of Mofes birth, man, or after our account, 2513. And beabout the end of Cecrops time. Now, Saphrus ruled twenty years; his successour Mamelus thirty years; Sparetus after him fourty years: in whose fourth year Cecrops began to govern in Attica: Ascatades followed Sparetus, and held the Empire one and fourty years. So as Moses being born while Saphrus ruled Affgria; Orthopolis Sicyonia, and Criasus Argos (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, faith Saint three years of Cecrops his fifty years: then gyptian and Jewish Idolatry. take nine years out of the reign of Ascatades, who was Sparetus successor, those nine years Metropolis of the lower Egypt, in which their

people of Ifrael out of Egypt.

Thermothes. Fuseburs also affirmeth, that by ginning some eight or nine years before the Fuseburs, in his first Book, de Bono, Moses, birth of Moses, and fifty four years, or rather raoh, which lived at Aloges birth, Thumofis, tude and misery. For, as it is written in Exo-Exst. 1. Criafus the Argives; that then (sefostris the hand, they endured to the time by the wiffecond ruling in Egypt ) Mojes was born. dome of God appointed; even from fifty For, if we believe Saint Angustine, it was four years, or not much more, after the about the end of Cecrops time, that Mofes led Ifrael out of Egypt. Educati Mofes ex Æled Ifrael out of Egypt. Educati Mofes ex Æwhen it had lafted 2370, to the eightieth 2370. the people of God out of Egypt, about the end performed in the Worlds age 2514. to-2514. of Cecrops time, King of the Athenians. In wards the end thereof, according to Codoand of his departure out of Egypt best pro- cause those things which we deliver of Eved, Saint Augustine affirms (as before re- gspt, may the better be understood, I think membred) that Moles was born, Saphrus it necessary to speak a few words of the governing Affria; and that he left Egypt principal place therein named in this Difcourfe.

#### 6. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elfe-where in the Scriptures.

THis City, which the Hebrews call Zoan, was built seven years after Hebron. E-Augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed zekiel calleth it Taphnes, and so doth Hiere Nom. 31 Extit. 30. Egyft) it will follow that the birth of Mofes my; the Septuagint, Tanan; Josephus, Protaidis, Hin. regift) it will follow that the older affection after the name of an Egyptian Queen; An- 43.44.16. was in the nineteenth year of the Affection Saphrus; for take one yeare remaining of tonins gives it the name of Than's Hegesty twenty (for so long saphrus reigned) to pus, Thanna; and William Tyrius, Tapius. It rives is twenty (for 10 1010g Saparas regued) to pass, Laurana, and remains a frame, and which add the thirty years of Mamelus, and adjoyneth to the Land of Golen, and is the gallets. the fourty years of Sparetus, these make se- same, wherein Hieremy the Prophet was stoventy one, with which there were wasted ned to death, for preaching against the E-Zoan, or Taphnes , was, in Moses time, the

added to seventy one, make eighty, at which Pharaohs then commonly resided; and not age Moses lest Egypt; and add these nine unlikely to be the same City, where Abrayears to the three years of Cecrops formerly ham in his time found him. But Eufebius out fpent, there will remain but four years of of dragonus affirmeth, that Abraham did Cecrops his fifty, and so it falleth right with read Astronomy in Heliopolis, or On, to Pha-S. Augustine's words, affirming, that towards retates King of Egrpt. Alex, Polyhistor, out of the end of Cecrops his time, Moses led the Eupolemus, hathit otherwise, saying, that Abraham instructed the Egyptian Priests, and Now, the time in which the Hebrews were not the King; both which authorities Enoppressed in Egypt, scemeth to have had be- seiteth. The Septuagint and the Vulgar Edition, for Zoan, write Heliopolis. Pagnin, Gilles of that name; the one on the fronier anticipation, because it was so called in of the lower Egypt, toward the South; the other fomewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of Nelus, falling into the Sea at Pelusium. And it may be, that Heliopolis, to the South of the River Trojan, was the fame which Vatablus and our English call Aven. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certain knowledge; the same which Fomp. Mela and Plinie call Solis oppidum; Tyrius in the Holy Warr, Malbec; the Arabians, Bahalbeth ; and Simeon Sethi, Fons Solis. Of this Heliopolis, or On, was Potiphar Prieft, or Prince, whose Daughter Joseph married. In the Territory adjoining, facob inhabited, while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of this City, Onias, the High Priest of the Jews, built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferiour to that of Hiern- any thing ferve to retain, what we read, falem (Ptolemy Philopater, then governing in Egypt) which stood in the time of Vestalian, and Descriptions do. In which respect I 333. years after the foundation by Onias, am driven to digress in many places, and whom Josephus fallly reporteth herein, to to interpose some such Discourse; otherwise have fulfilled a Prophecie of Esay, Chap. 19. In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terre rity, after many others more antient, that Egypti ; In that day shall the Altar of the Lord be in the midft of the Land of Egypt. Antio- in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, chus Epiphanes, at the time of the building hath these words : Si enim absque locorum tyrannizing over the Jens, gave the occa- observatione res geste narrentur, ant sine To-

There is also in that City of Noph, remembred by Esay and Ezechiel, the same which Fact, 14. Hofea the Prophet calleth Moph; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, fo called; which Mountain Herodotus remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called Memphis; and so the Septuagint write it. It is known to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldaans name it Alchabyr : and Tudalensis Mizraini.

on of Egypt.

Pelusium, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, the septuagint they decreased not in numbers: in so much call Sais; and Montanus, Lebna; is not the as Pharaob, confidering the danger of diffame with Damiata, as Gul. Tyrius witnesseth. contented poverty, and the able bodies In the time of Baldwin the third, Pelulium of an oppressed multitude, how perillous was called Belbeis. Belbeis (faith Tyrius) que olim dicta est Pelusium; Belbeis that in times past was called Pelusium.

The City of No, the Septuagint call Diof-Exech. 30. Latablus, Junins, and our English call it polis. Of which name there are two or three on; and frolemie, Onium. There are two in Egypt. Hierom converts it Alexandria, by the future.

Bubaftus ( for fo Hierome and Zeigler do Exech 30. write it) is the same which the Hebrews call 17.

Piheleth. To make the Story more perceivable, I have added a Description of the Land of Gosen, in which the Isralites inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture : as of Taphnes, or Zoan, Heliopolis, or Bethfemes, Ballephon, Succoth, and the rest; together with Moses passage through the Delarts of Arabia the Stony. For all Story without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed. as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, fo it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the Reader; neither doth in our memories; fo well as these Pictures feeming impertinent; taking for my authogreat learned man; Arias Montanus; who, sion for the creeting of this Temple in Egypt. pographia cognitione Historia legantur, adeo Lastly, there it was that our Saviour Christ confusa atque perturbata crunt omnia, ut ex Jesus remained, while Joseph and the Virgin is mibil non obscurum, nibil non difficile eli-Mary feared the violence of Herod: near ci possit; If narration (faith he) be made of which (faith Brochard) the Fountain is still those things which are performed, without the found, called Jesus Well, whose streams do observation of the places wherein they were afterward water the Gardens of Eassamm, done; or if Histories be read without Topograno where else found in Egspt. And here- phical knowledge; all things will appear so inof see more in Brochard, in his Descripti- tricate and consused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

#### 6. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt; and of Moses his preservation and Education.

DUt to return to the Story it felf. It ap-Deareth, that not with standing the labour and flavery which the Ifraelites endured, yet they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Devil, resolved to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as foon as B b 2

Daughter. Amenophis indeed, is fet next be- others, accounted as one, and his reign faid fore Eufiris, or Orus the second, by Eusebius to have been five years. His name is called and others; but whether he were a King, or onely a Regent, I cannot conjecture. For Herodotus, Diodorus, and the antient Historians, name the Son of Selottris, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis; and his Daughter by the Egyptians called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the Daughter of Pharaoh, because of the glory of Sesoftris. and the dif-reputation of his Son. If so, and if that Buliris, or Orus the fecond, marrying her. pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both Daughter, Grand-child, and Wife unto Pharaoh; and furviving him, Queen of the Land. 12. years. But if the were Daughter of Orus the second, and fifter of Athoris, or Rathoris, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it feem, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

#### 6. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis; and what King it was, under whom Moses was born; and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.

Pharaoh's Son's Daughter, but Pharaoh's | Armais: these two Kings are by Eusebins and Armeus, otherwise Danaus; and his Pedigree thus described by Reineccius in Histor.

Telegonus : Epaphus: Lybia, who had Agenor Belus and Buliris

Ægyptus or Ramesses, Danaus or Armeus, exwho gave name to the Country, having expell'd his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lynceus, married to Hypermine-

pelled by his brother Ægyptus, after he had reigned five years, became King of Argos in Greece: was father to Hypermnestra.

How it might come to pass, that the Nephews Sons of Epaphus should have occupied the Kingdom after Cherres, it is hard to fay; confidering that Epaphus himfelf is reported by Eusebius, to have been born in the time of Chencres. But for as much as the History of Epaphus his birth, is diverfly related by Eusebius, it may fuffice, that Belus the father of Danaus and Egyptus, otherwise called CHe had two brethren; the one was Ra- Armens and Ramesses, was equally distant thoris, or Athoris, who succeeded her; from Busiris, or Orus the second, with Cherres the other Telegonus, who is onely named by the Grand-child of Chencres. And that the Eusebius; but his linage and off-spring de- Posterity of Telegonus did marry very young, scribed by Reineccius. Rathoris, after his it appears by the History of these two brefifters death, reigned nine years; after whom thren, Danaus and Agyptus; of whom the Chencres, thought to be his Son, reigned ten former had fifty Daughters, the latter years, and then perished in the Red Sea. Du- fifty Sons; perhaps, or rather questionless, ring the reign of Chencres, Eusebins faith, by divers women; yet furely they began to that Telegonus begat Epaphus upon Io; of beget children in their first youth: Howsowhich History elsewhere he reporteth other- ever it were, the general consent of Writers wife. After the death of Chencres (whom is, that Armens, or Danaus, did succeed Cherfome call Acencheres, but all, or most do stile res; and (according to Ensebius, and good Stepuze, a fighter against God ) Acherres Authours approving him) reigned five years. reigned 8. years; and then Cherres 15. This Ramesses followed, who reigned 68. years. descent seems from Father to Son. In the This Ramesses, or Agyptus, is that Armesef-11. year of Cherres, it is faid by Eusebius, that miamum, or Armesesmiamus, under whom, in Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt, the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that built Memphis. This is an argument of that follows Mercator, Moses was born; and the which otherwise was not unlikely; viz. That cruel Edict made of drowning the Hebrem Egypt was greatly brought out of order by children. The length of his reign feems to the plagues which God had laid upon it, and me the chief, if not the only ground of Merthe destruction of her King and Army in the cator's opinion. For, whereas the Lord said Red Sea; else could it not have had two to Moses, Go, return to Egypt, for they are all reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, dead which went about to kill thee: Mercator or his Posterity, scems to have taken all from hereupon conceives, that it was one and the Cherres, the Grand-child of Chencres. For fame King under whom Moses was born, and whereas Armais is faid to have reigned four under whom he flew the Egyptian at the 40. years after Cherres; and Armesis one after year of his age; and fled into the wilderPharmutholis, or Phararates, the change is not tions depending thereupon, we may not great. Mercator was a man of excellent lightly over-pass.

CHAP. III.

pels, and there abode for fear: all which Learning and Industry; and one to whom circumstances could agree with none, but the World is bound for his many notable this Ramesfes, who reigned so long; where- Works: yet my assent herein is with-held fore, defir ous rather to hold a true Para- from him by these Reasons. First, I see all dox, than a common Errour, he placeth other Writers agree, that Chencres was King. one Alisfragmuthofis ( whose name is who was drowned in the Red Sea. Secondfound in the List of Egyptian Kings, but ly, the place, Exod. 4. All are dead, &c. may the time uncertain wherein he reigned) in better be understood of Bustis, and all his an Age 112, or 113, years, more antient children, than of one King alone. Thirdly, than others left him in: and so continuing S. Cyril in his first Book against Julian the the Catalogue of his Successor from The
Apostate, saith, that Dardanis built Dardania, mosts (whom Eusebius calls Amasis) down- when Moses was 120. years old, which was wards, with no other variation of the length this Armefoliamum, being then King of of each mans reign than is the difference beEgypt. After Ramefolia, Amenophis reigned tween Manetho and Eufebius, he finds Moses 19. years; who is thought by Mercator, and born under Armesesmiamum, and Israel deli- peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be vered in the days of his Son Amenophis. The the King that perifhed in the Red Sea: of very name of Alisfragmutholis feems to him which our Opinion being alreay laid open, with little alteration to found like Phara- I think it most expedient to referr the Kings rates, of which name one was thought to enfuing to their own times (which a Chronohave flourished, either as a King, or a logical Table shall lay open) and here to wise Man, about the time of Isaac. For (saith freak of that great deliverance of Israel out he) from Alisfragmuthosis to Phragmuthosis, of Fgypt; which for many great considera-

CHAP. III. Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

5. I.

Of the time of Moses Birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.

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gulling cites very many of their conjectures; that Moles lived after the Trojan war, is himas that of Porphyrie out of Sanchoniato, that felf of opinion, that Mofes was farr more an-Moses lived in the time of Semiramis: But, tient, proving it by many arguments. if he did mean the first Semiramis, it was but | Fifthly, he setteth down the testimony of a fond conceit; for befides that the fame is Numinius the Philosopher, who took Mucontrary to all Stories, divine and humane; few and Moses to be one; confirming the while that semiramir lived, the commanded same out of Artapanas, who confesseth that Syria, and all the parts the parts thereofab. Moses was called Musaus by the Grecians; folutely; neither were the Ammonites, or and who farther delivereth, that he was ad-Moabites, or Edomites, while she ruled, in opted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the Daugh-

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For, if we believe Saint Angultine, it was four years, or not much more, after the about the end of Cecrops time, that Moses death of Joseph, who left the World when Aug 1.18 gypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecro- year of Moses, and untill he wrought his Civil. Dei. pis Atheniensium Regis; Moles (faith he) led miracles in the field of Zoan, which he of Cecrops time, King of the Athenians. In wards the end thereof, according to Codothis fort therefore is the time of Moles birth, man, or after our account, 2513. And beand of his departure out of Egypt best proved Saint Augustine affirms (as before remembred) that Moles was born, Saphrus it necessary to speak a few words of the governing Alignia; and that he left Egipt principal place therein named in this Difabout the end of Cecrops time. Now, Saphrus ruled twenty years; his fueceflour Mamelus thirty years; Sparetus after him fourty years: in whose fourth year Cecrops began to govern in Attica: Ascatades followed Sparetus, and held the Empire one and fourty years. So as Mofes being born while saphrus ruled Affiria; Orthopolis Sicyonia, and Criasus Argos (for these three Kings lived at once at his birth, faith Saint the fourty years of sparetus, these make se- same, wherein Hieremy the Prophet was stoventy one, with which there were wasted ned to death, for preaching against the Ethree years of Cecrops his fifty years: then gyptian and Jewish Idolatry. take nine years out of the reign of Ascatades, who was Sparetus successor, those nine years Metropolis of the lower Egypt, in which their added to seventy one, make eighty, at which | Fharaohs then commonly resided; and not age Moles left Egypt; and add these nine unlikely to be the same City, where Abrayears to the three years of Cecrops formerly | ham in his time found him. But Eusebius out spent, there will remain but four years of of Artapanus affirmeth, that Abraham did Cecrops his fifty, and so it falleth right with read Aftronomy in Heliapolis, or On, to Pha-S. Augustine's words, affirming, that towards retates King of Egrpt. Alex. Polyhistor, out of the end of Cecrops his time, Moles led the Eupolemus, hath it otherwise, laying, that Apeople of Ifrael out of Egypt.

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#### 6. II.

Of divers Cities and Places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elfe-where in the Scriptures.

"His City, which the Hebrews call Zoan, was built feven years after Hebron. E-Angustine, as Cecrops did when he departed zekiel calleth it Taphnes, and fo doth Hiere- Nam. 33. Egipt ) it will follow that the birth of Moses my, the Septuagint, Tanais; Josephus, Protaidis, Hier. 2. was in the nineteenth year of the Affyrian after the name of an Egyptian Queen; An- 43.44.46. Saphrus; for take one yeare remaining of tonius gives it the name of Thanis; Hegefip- 1919bil. twenty (for so long saphrus reigned) to pus, Thamna; and William Tyrius, Tapius. It rir.de Bel. which add the thirty years of Manelus, and adjoyneth to the Land of Gosen, and is the sail. 19,

Zoan, or Taphnes, was, in Moses time, the braham instructed the Egyptian Priests, and Now, the time in which the Hebrews were not the King; both which authorities EnEstablished Edition, for Zoan, write Heliopolis. Pagnin, Fitality, Junius, and our English call it polis. Of which name there are two or three 15, 16, On; and Ptolemie, Onium. There are two in Fgypt. Hierom converts it Alexandria, by

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of the lower Egypt, toward the South; the the future. other fomewhat lower on the Eafter-most branch of Nilus, falling into the Sea at Pe-Infium. And it may be, that Heliopolis, to Pibefeth. the South of the River Trojan, was the fame which Vatablus and our English call Aven. have added a Description of the Land of Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures Gosen, in which the Isralites inhabited; with take certain knowledge; the same which those Cities and places so often remembred Pomp. Mela and Plinie call Solis oppidum; in the Scripture : as of Taphnes, or Zoan, He-Tyrius in the Holy Warr, Malbec ; the Arabi- liopolis , or Bethfemes , Balfephon , Succoth . ans, Bahalbeth; and Simeon Sethi, Fons Solis. and the reft; together with Mofes paffage Of this Heliopolis, or On, was Potiphar Pricft, through the Defarts of Arabia the Stony. or Prince, whose Daughter Joseph married. For all Story, without the knowledge of the In the Territory adjoining, Jacob inhabited, places wherein the actions were performed. while he lived in Feypt. In the confines of as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, God; not much interiour to that of Hiern- any thing ferve to retain, what we read. falem (Ptolemy Philopater, then governing in in our memories, fo well as these Pictures Egypt) which stood in the time of Vestalian, and Descriptions do. In which respect I have fulfilled a Prophecie of Esar, Chap. 19. feeming impertinent; taking for my authobe in the midft of the Land of Egypt. Antio- in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, tyrannizing over the Jems, gave the occa- observatione res geste narrentur, aut sine Toon of Egypt.

bred by Efay and Ezechiel, the same which Exch 34. Holea the Prophet calleth Moph; which later name it took from a Mountain adjoining, fo called; which Mountain Herodotus remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called Memphis; and so the Septuagint write it. It is known to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldwans name it Alchabyr ; and Tudalenlis Mizraim.

100.0.17. and our English, write Sin; the Septuagint they decreased not in numbers : in so much call Sais; and Montanus, Lebna; is not the as Pharaoh, confidering the danger of dif-

paft was called Pelufium.

The City of No, the Septuagint call Dief Freeh 30. Gives of that name; the one on the fronier anticipation, because it was so called in

> Bubaltus ( for fo Hierome and Zeigler do Egech, 30, write it) is the same which the Hebrews call 17.

To make the Story more perceivable, I this City, Onias, the High Priest of the Jews, so it no way enricheth the knowledge and built a Temple, dedicated to the Eternal understanding of the Reader; neither doth 333. years after the foundation by Onias, am driven to digress in many places, and whom Josephus fallly reporteth herein, to to interpose some such Discourse, otherwise In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ rity, after many others more antient, that Egypti ; In that day shall the Altar of the Lord great learned man, Arias Montanus ; who, chus Epiphanes, at the time of the building ; hath these words : Si enim absque-locorum fion for the creeting of this Temple in Egypt. pographia cognitione Historia legantur, adeo Lastly, there it was that our Saviour Christ confusa atque perturbata crunt omnia, ut ex Tefus remained, while Joseph and the Virgin iis nibil non obscurum, nibil non difficile eli-Mary feared the violence of Herod: near ci possit; If narration (faith he) be made of which (faith Brochard) the Fountain is still those things which are performed, without the found, called Jesus Well, whose streams do observation of the places wherein they were afterward water the Gardens of Ballamum, done; or if Histories be read without Topograno where else found in Egypt. And here- phical knowledge; all things will appear so inof see more in Brochard, in his Descripti- tricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence There is also in that City of Noph, remem- anythnowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

#### 6. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt; and of Moses his preservation and Education.

But to return to the Story it felf. It ap-Pelusium, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, and flavery which the Israelites endured, yet same with Damiata, as Gul. Tyrius witnesseth. contented poverty, and the able bodies In the time of Baldwin the third, Pelulium of an oppressed multitude, how perillous was called Belbeis. Belbeis (faith Tyrius) que they might be to his estate, by suggestiolim dicta est Pelusium; Belbeis that in times on of the Devil, resolved to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as foon as Bb 2

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for Sephora and Thura, women the most famous and expert amongst them, Que preerant ( faith Comestor) multitudini obstetri-

witness both the wickedness of the Egypti-

within his Dominions.

to the Laws of Heaven and of Nature) he and the reign of Josua. ftretched out his bloudy and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The fame prevention Herod long after practifed. when fearing the spiritual Kingdom of christ, as if it should have been temporal he caused all the male children at that time born, to be flaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kind of foreknowledg of the future fucces, it may be gathered by his own words, in the tenth Verse of the fifth of Exodus: Come, let us work wifely with them, left they multi-

they should be born. To which end he sent | dom of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkened understanding. For even cum, who had command given them over all by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter Mid-wives; by whom(as it feemeth)he gave of this Tyrant, was that great Prophet and order to all the rest for the execution of his Minister of Gods marvellous works taken Edici. For, to have called all the Mid-wives out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in of Egypt together, had been a strange Parlia- an Ark of Reeds, a sucking and powerless ment. Now, whether these two (before na- Infant. And this Princess having beheld the med) were of the Hebrews, or of the Egypti- child his form and beauty, though but yet in ans, it is diversly disputed. S. Augustine calls the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as she them Hebrews, because it is written Exodus 1. did not onely preserve it, and cause it to be Jeigh and the Hebrews, because it is written Expans 1. did not onely preserve it, and cause it to be leigh and. The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives fostered; but commanded that it should be of the Hebrew women, &c. But Josephus, Abn- esteemed as her own, and with equal care to lensis, and Pererius believe them to be Egypti- the Son of a King nourished. And for means. Whosoever they were, when it pleased mory that it was her deed, she called the God to frustrate the execution of that se- child Moses, as it were, extrastus, or erentus. cret murther, to the end the World might taken out, to wit, out of the Water; or after Tolephus and Glycas, Moy, a voice expressing Sugar ans, and the just cause, thereby made mani- Water, and Hises, as much as to say, as that fest, of his future indignation and revenge: which is drawn out of Water, or thence Pharaob finding these Women filled with taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of opinipiety, and the fear of God, commanded on, that Moles was circumcifed before he others of his people to execute his former was put into the Ark of Reeds, and that Amintent; and publickly, or howfoever, to rum his father had named him Joachim. In destroy all the male Hebrew children born his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of Pharaohs Daughter, and Now, besides the doubts, which Pharaob by men of the most understanding, taught had of the multitudes of the Hebrews, the and instructed : Quem regio more educavit, greatest part of whom be might have prafestis ei sapientibus Ægyptiorum Magiaffured, by affording them the justice stris, à quibus erudiretur, saith Basil; unto which every King oweth to his vassals, and whom she gave Princely education, appointing Phil. de the rest he might have employed, or sent over him wife Masters of the Egyptians for his Josephus and Philo) other cause of his rage against them, namely, he became excellently learned in all the do-That it was prophetically delivered him by Ctrine of the Egyptians; which also the Maran Egyptian Priest, that among the Hebrews tyr Stephen in the seventh of the Ads conthere should be born a child, who growing firmeth; And Moses was learned in all the to mansestate, should becom a plague and wisdom of the Egyptians. Which Wisdom or terror to his whole Nation. To prevent Sapience, such as it was, or at least so much which (and prefuming that he could relift thereof as Six. Senensis hath gathered, we the Ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary have added, between the death of Moles,

#### 6. IV.

of Moses his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certain antient Historians of his war in Athiopia; and of his marriage there: Philo his judgment of his Pastoral life; and that of Pererius of the Books of Genesis and Job.

Hen Moses was grown to mans estate. ply; and it come to pass, that if there be Warr, Josephus and Eusebius, out of Artapazzai.5.10 they join themselves also unto our enemies, and mus, tell us of ten years Warr that he made fight against us, and get them out of the Land. against the Æthiopians; of the belieging of But we fee, and time hath told it us from seba, afterward, by Cambyfes, called Meroe; the beginning, how God derideth the wif- and how he recovered the City by the fapretty tale of Moses, how after the end of and being separate from the preass of the that Warr, Tharbis resisting his return into Egspt, Moles, most skilful in Astronomy, caused two Images to be engraven in two precious Stones, whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulness: These he set in two Rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his Wife Tharbis, referving the other of memory for himfelf; which Ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, the began to neglect the love fhe bare her Hufband: and fo Moses, without danger, returned into Egypt. But leaving admodure bellicofa ingenia praexercent fe in these fancies to the Authours of them: It is true, that about the fourtieth year of Moses in militia, & bello perfedira sunt ; bruis praage, when he beheld an Egyptian offering violence to one of the the oppressed Hebrews, pacis tempore. At vero prafectura mansueti pemoved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the tis; ideoque Reges cognominantur Pastores poother, in the contention he flew the Fgyptian. pulorum, non contumelia, sed bonoris gratia; Soon after which fact, finding a disposition The art of keeping Sheep is as it were, an introin some of his own Nation to accuse him, for duttory exercise unto a Kingdom, namely, the whose defence, he had thus greatly endan- rules over men, the most gentle flock: Even as gered his own life: by the ordinance and warlike natures do before-hand exercise themadvice of God, whose chosen servant he was, selves in hunting, practifing on wild beafts those he fled into Arabia Petraa, the next border- things which after they will accomplish in waring Countrey to Egypt; where wandering fare: those brute beafts affording matter whereall alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a into train themselves, both in time of war and place unknown unto him, as among a Nation of peace. Ent the government of gentle cattel. of barbarous strangers; and who in future hath a kind of resemblance unto a Kingly rule times, were the irreconcileable enemies of over subjects; therefore Kings are stiled Sheepthe Hebrews : it pleased God (working the herds of the people, not in way of reproach, but greatest things by the weakest worldly for their honour. means) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the affifting of the Daughter of Raguel the Madianite, an occasion whereby to provide him a Wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Countrey nearest Egypt, fittest to return from; necessary to be known, because interjacent between Egypt and Judaa, through I cannot deny the reason of Pererius conjewhich he was to lead the Ifraelites; and cture, That by the example of Jobs patience wherein God held him, till the occasion he might strengthen the oppressed Hebrews: which God presented best served. And lastly, and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isawhere the glory of the world shined least, ac, and Jacob, put them in assurance of their amidst mountainous Desarts, there the glory delivery from the Egyptian slavery, and of of God, which shineth most, covered him the Land of rest, and plenty, promised. over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings Son, or an adopted child of great Pharaoh's Daughter, but as a meek and which he performed, thereby to perswade humble Shepherd, fitting at a mountains Pharaoh, that he was the messenger of the

confumed 40. years; and though (as Philo in the Story of Moles life observeth) he did it is to be noted, that when Moles defired to viz.14. not neglect the care of those flocks, commit- be taught of God, by what name he should & 15. ted to his charge, but that he excelled all make him known, and by whom he was fent;

Beafts onely.

your of Tharbis, a Daughter of Æthiopia, others in that Pastoral knowledge; yet in whom he took to Wife. So hath Comeftor a that folitary Defart, he enjoyed himself: world, and the troublesome affairs thereof; he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himfelf all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles: the fame Authour also judging that his Pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. Eft enim (faith Plato) ars Pastoralis, quali preludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemvenationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea bentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam coris habet quiddam simile cum regno in subdi-

of the History of the World.

That Moses, in the time of his abode at Madian, wrote the Book of Job, as Pererius fupposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that fob was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to Pererius opinion, Perer is That Moses, while he lived in that part of c.z. Exod. Arabia wrote the Book of Genesis; although

Of his calling back into Egypt by the Angel of God, and the marvels and wonders foot, a keeper and commander of those poor most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen Chapters of Exodus; and there-In that part of Arabia near Madian, he fore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first,

CHAP. III.

comprehend of his infinite and ever-being before, he first yielded but to the departure Nature. Out of which he delivered him in of the men; then of the men, women, and the first part of his Answer, a name to be con- children, referving their bestial; but he was fidered of by the wifeft; and in his second, now content for the present, that the Israelits to be understood by all. For, there is no- should not onely depart with all their own, thing that is, or hath being of it felf, but the but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Eternal: which truly is, which is above all, Jewels of his own people: of which (the which is immutable. The bodies of men are fear being paft) he fuddenly repented him, changed every moment; their substance as his pursuit after them proved. For, when walteth, and is repaired by nutriment; ne- every one of the Hebrews had (according ver continuing at one stay, nor being the to direction from Aloses received) slain a fame fo long as while one may fay. Now. Lamb, without foot or blemith, for the Pass-Likewife, whatfoever is confumed in the over (a Sacrament of the most clean and unlongest continuance of time, the same, in spotted Saviour) and with the bloud thereevery shortest piece of time suffereth decay; of coloured the post and lintern of the neither doth any thing abide in one state. doors; the Angel of God in the night smote Una est Dei, & sola natura qua verè est: id every first-born of Egypt, from the Son of enim quod subststit, non habet aliunde, sed suum the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit; It is the being more than ever amazed, yielded, as agreeth: Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut in- other harms. anis, aut fallax : The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull: in comparison of whom (faith Esay) all Nations are nothing, less than nothing, and meer vanity.

Of the ten Plagues wherewith the Egyptians were strucken, the first was by changing the Rivers into bloud; God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers the water fay, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the bloud of given them blond to drink.

Flies, or stinging Wasps; by the death of

he received from God to much as man could force) flood upon no condition; whereas eft. Cutera one creata funt, etiamli videntur the children of the Ifraelites excepted. At esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & which terrible judgment of God, Pharaoh one and onely nature of God, which truly is: before is faid, to their departure. The Egyfor he hath his being of himself, and not from Ptians (faith Epiphanius) did, in after-times, Evich !! any thing without kim. Other things that are imitate this colouring with bloud, which the cont. He created, although they feem to be, yet they are Ifraelites used after the Pasover; ascribing reli not; for sometimes they were not; and that an exceeding virtue to the Red Colour: which hath not been, may again want being, and therefore they did not onely mark their And with this, in respect of the divine Na- Sheep and Cattel, but their Trees bearing ture, the faying of Zeno Eleates excellently Fruit, to preserve them from lightning, and

#### 6. V.

of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites; and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farr as Succoth.

7 Ow, when the people were removed, and on their way(his heart being hardhad thrown, and in which they had drown- ned by God) he bethought him as well of ed, the innocent children of the Hebrews. the honour loft, as of the shame remaining To which this place of the Revelation may after fo many Calamities and Plagues, in sufbe fitly applied: And I heard the Angel of fering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despight of himself. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readiness, he consulted with thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou himself, what way the Israelites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest The rest of the Plagues by Froggs, Lice, passage was through the Countrey of the Philistims. But because these people were their Cattel; by leprous Scabs; by Hail and very ftrong, and a warlike Nation, and (in Fire; by Grashoppers; by Darkness; after all probability) of his Allies, he suspected which, Pharaoh forbad Moses his presence : that Moses meant to find some other out-let, moved the hardened heart of the unbe- to wit, through the Defart of Etham; and lieving King, no longer than the pain and there, because the Countrey was exceeding peril lasted; till such time as his own first- mountainous, and of hard access, and that born, and the first-born of all his Nation Mojes was pestered with multitudes of Woperished. He then, while he feared his own men, Children, and Cattel, he thought it life (a time wherein we remember God per- impossible for the Ifraelites to escape him and 147 thered together all the Chariots of E- of the Passover, he appointed a general Afthe antient manner to fight in thoseChariots. armed with broad and tharp hooks on both fides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kind of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the Britains used against the Romans, while they made the Warr for the ture, or to destroy them in Gosen; and reit is written in the first of Exodus, he doubted two things, either that the Hebrews might Land; or, being so multiplied, as they were, Enemy at hand. Now, as Atofes well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all ditch, crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becoming a wife man, and a valiant and skilfull Conductor; as by his death, well appeared.

enraged against him, and commanded him them and other Nations, in ordering the acnot to dare to come thenceforth into his count of time.

that way. In the mean while, having ga-| presence: after that he had warned thrack east, and fix hundred of his own, and Cap- fembly, or Kendez-cons of all the Hebrews rouse over them; he determined to fet up- at Ramefes, in the Territory of Cofen; a The Terri on them in the plains of Gofen, which way City standing indifferent to receive from Gofen was foever they turned themselves. For it was all parts of the Countrey, the dispersed alterward Hebrems; and gave commandment, that meles after every Family should bring with them such the nan ftore as they had of Dough, and Paste, not of this Ci-fraying to make it into Bread; knowing peaceth in then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his Gen. 47.00 way towards them. Which done, and ha- Ramb. 33. conquest of this Land. Of this Army of ving considered the great strength of Pha-Tharaoh, Josephus affirmeth, that it consist- raoh's Horse-men and Chariots, of which ed of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; kind of defence Moses was utterly unprowhich, were it true, then it cannot be vided (though, as it is written, the Ifradoubted, but that Pharaeh intended long elites went up armed) he marched from before to affail the Hebrews at their depar- Rameles East-ward, towards the Defarts of Etham, and encamped at Succoth; which fuled them pallage, till such time as he had he performed on the fifteenth day of the prepared an Army to fet on them. For, as Moneth Abib; which Moneth, from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first Moneth of the year. Whejoin themselves to his enemies within the ther in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other might leave his fervice, and get themselves Moneth, following the manner of the Egymight leave his tervice, and get themselves primes, and were now re-called by Mofes to Evolusis thence at their pleasure. But the plagues primes, and were now re-called by Mofes to Evolusis 16.6-34. which God grieved him withall, enforced the rule of their fore-fathers, it is uncerhim, at this time, to give an affent to their tain. Certain it is, that they had, and redeparture; perchance fore-running his in-tent. But were it otherwise, and *Josephus* year, which was not now abrogated, but partial in this affair, yet, by the words of rather, by some solemnities thereunto anthe Text it appeareth, that he gathered all nexed, was confirmed, and still continued the Chariots of Egypt, which could not be in use. Wherefore in referring things done, done in haste. For Moses made but three or happening among them, unto the bedays march, ere Pharaeh was at his heels; ginning, middeft, or ending of the year; and yet the last day, he went on 16. miles: that distinction of the Sacred and the Poliwhich in fo hot a Countrey, and to drive tick year is not to be neglected. Concerntheir Cattel and Sheep with them, peftered ing the number of days in every Moneth, with a world of Women and Children, was and the whole form of their year, like a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull enough it is, that Moses himself in fourty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given his enterprizes; so he lay not still in the intrust; but that any rule of framing their Kalendar was made publick, before the captivity of Babylon, I do not find. Now, because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach all his actions and counsels, from this day to of order, to shew here, at their first setting forth, what was the form of the He-When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was brew year; with the difference between

6. VI.

12. February.

Of the Solary and Lunary years; and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of interralation.

The Hebrew Moneths are thus named. The First Moneth, Nifan, or Abib. 1. March II. Far, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin. 2. April. 3. Alay. III. Sivan or Sinan, or Siban. 4. June. IV. Tanuz. V. Ab. 5. July. 6. August. VI. Ebul. VII. Tifri, or Ethavin or Ethanim. 7. September. VIII. Marchefuan, or Mechafuan, or Ant. 1.c. 4. Bul, or with Josephus, Morfonane. 38. October. 9. November. IX. Chiflen, or Callen. ic. December. X. Tebeth, or Thebeth. XI. Sebeth, or Sabath. 11. January.

XII. Adar, and I'e Adar.

T 7E Adar, was an intercalary Moneth. added fome years unto the other twelve, to make the Solary and Lunary year agree; which (befides the general into the Winter season, to the great confusion into any certain rule. of all account) was more necessarily to be

his place in the feafon of the year.

on of the Moon, by which they divided the the year into twelve parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29, days and nights, and those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are fenfibly and eafily dif- 32.0 is cerned; fo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moon, containing less time by 11.days. or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sun through the Zodiak, in the space of fixteen years, every Moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the year, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the year, making it to confift of twelve Moneths, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errours. For neither did the Sun determine his yearly revolution by any fet number of whole days: neither did the Moon change always at one hour; but the very minutes and leffer fractions were to be observed by convenience that would otherwise have him, that would seek to reduce their motirifen, by cafting the Moneths of Summer in- ons (which motions also were not still alike)

Here lay much Wisdom, and deep Art. regarded of the Hebrews, because of the di- which could not soon be brought to pervine Precept. For God appointed especial section. Yet, as making an estimate at ran-Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a dom, the Athenians held the year to contain Moneth of the year, and withall on a fet day, thee hundred and fixty days; wherein most both of the Moon, and of the Moneth: as of the Greeks concurred with them. That the Feaft of the First-fruits, the new Moons, three hundred and fixty days filled up the and the like; which could not have so been Grecian year ( besides many collateral kept, if either the day of the Moon had fallen proofs) it is manifest by that which Pliny di-Phin life in some other part of the Moneth, or the rectly affirmeth, telling of the Statues, erect-cap. Moneth it self been found far distant from ed in the honour of Demetrius Phalereus, which were (faith he) 260, whileft as yet Other Nations, the better to observe their the year exceeded not that number of days. Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain By this account, neither did any certain age all reckonings and remembrances (which of the Moon begin or end their Moneths; is the principal commodity of time that is, neither could their Moneths continue many the measure of endurance) were driven in vears in their own places; but must needs like manner to make their years unequal, be shifted by little and little, from Winter to by adding fometimes, and fometimes abating Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as one or more days, as the errour committed the days forgotten to be inferted into the in foregoing years required. The errour Almanack by men, but not forgotten by the grew at first, by not knowing what number superiour bodies in their courses, should ocof days made up a compleat year. For cupy their own rooms in their due turns. though by the continual course of the Sun, Now, because the solemnity of the Olympian caufing Summer and Winter duly to succeed games was to be held at the full Moon, and each other, it is plain enough, even to the withall, on the fifteenth day of the Moneth most savage of all people, when a year hath Hecatombaon (which answereth in a manner passed over them; yet the necessity of or- to our June) they were carefull to take dinary occurrences, that are to be numbred order, that this Moneth might ever begin by a shorter tally, makes this long measure with the new Moon; which they effected by of whole years infufficient for the smaller adding some two days to the last Moneth of fort of more daily affairs. Therefore men ob- every year; those games being held once in terved the Monethly confpicuous revoluti- four years. This intercalation sufficed not

them for times to omit one day in the fourth dies, reduced the year unto the form which year, which was the fecond of the Moneth is now in use with us, containing 365, days Exdromion (agreeing nearly with our Au- and 6. hours, which hours in four years, make enft) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all | up one whole day, that is intercalated eveone) to infert another for it in their fourth | ry fourth year, the 24. of February. The cor-Lunary year, accounting by the Moon, after rection of the Julian y, ar by Pope Gregory a manner that was not yulgar. All this not- the 13. Anno Dom. 1582, is not as yet enterwithflanding, their Moneth of June would tained by general confent; it was indeed every year have grown colder and colder, but as a Note added unto the Work of Casar; had they not fought to keep all upright, by yet a Note of great importance. For whereintercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, as it was observed, that the Sun, which at each eighth year one whole Moneth, which the time of the Nicene Council An. Dom. 234. they called the second Polideon or December; entred the Aguinostial on the 21, day of which was the device of Harpalus, who also March was in the year 1583, ten days sooner taught them to make one Month of 29. days, another of 30 days & fo fuccessively through of the Kalendar ten days following the 4, of the whole year. Thus, with much labour, odoler; to that in fread of the fifth day, was they kept their year, as near as they could, unto the high way of the Planets; but these marks, which they observed, were found at trance into Aries, were again celebrated in length to be deceitfull guides. For it was not fuch time, as at the Nicene Council they had possible so to fashion this eighth years inter- been. And the better to prevent the like alcalation, that it should not deceive them in terations, it was by the Council of Trent or-11. hours and 18. minutes at the leaft or fome dained, that from thence forward, in every ways in 34 hours and 10 minutes, or 36, and hundred year, the Leap-day should be omit-41. minutes; which differences, would in ted, excepting still the fourth hundred; befew Ages, have bred much confusion. The cause the Sun doth not in his yearly course first that introduced a good method, likely take up full fix hours above the 365, days; to continue, was Meten the Athenian, who, but faileth fo may minutes, as in 400, years not regarding the Olympiads and the eighth make about three whole days. years intercalation, devised a Cycle of 19. years, wherein the Moon, having 235, times brews used, was such as neither did need any run out her circuit, met with the Sun in the nice curiofity of hours, minutes, and other fame place. & on the fame day of the year; as in the 19, year before past she had done. This summing up the days of the whole year, neinvention of Meton, was entertained with great applause, and passing from Greece to Rome, was there inserted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called, The Golden Moneth, was at the new Moon; and pecause Number, which name it retaineth unto this that day was Festival, they were very careday. Hereby were avoided the great and full, as well to observe the short year of the uncertain intercalations that formerly had Moon, patling through all the 12. Signs in been used; for by the intercalation of seven one Moneth as that longer of the Sun, which Months, in the 19 years, all was so even that is needfully regarded in greater accounts, no fentible difference could be found. Yet First, therefore they gave it to Nisan, their that error which in one year could not be first Moneth, which is about our March, or perceiv d was veryapparent in a few of those | April, 30. days to Jar, their second Moneth Cycles: the new Moons anticipating in one 29, days, and so successively 30, to one, 29, to Cycle 7. hours, and some minutes, of the pre- another. Hereby it came to pass, that every cife rule. Therefore Calippus devised a new two Moneths of theirs contain'd somewhat e-Cycle, containing four of Metons, that is to venly two revolutions of the Moon, allowing fay, 76. years; and afterwards, Hipparchus, a 29. days 12 hours, and odd minutes, from noble Astrologer, framed another, containing change to change. The spare minutes were four of Calippus his Periods, each of them bestowed among the superstuous, or Epact finding some errour in the former Observa- days which made up seven Moneths in 19. tions, which they diligently corrected. The years; to fix of which feven were commonlast reformation of the Kalendar, was that ly given 30. days, to one of them 29. days, which Julius Casar made, who, by advice of or otherwise as was found requisite. Their

to make the matter even; which caused examining the courses of those heavenly bofound, in that time Pope Gregory Strook out written the fifteenth; by which means the movable Feafts depending on the Sun's en-

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But the Cycle of 29, years, which the Heleffer fractions to help it; neither did in glect the days of the Moon confounding one Month with another For with them it fel out fosthat always the Kalends, or first day of the the best Mathematicians, then to be found, common year (as appeareth by the several

days

CHAP. III.

which fail of the year, wherein the Sun finish- opinion, which prevents such dislocation of eth his course, 11. whole days, with some the Moneths, by setting down a more convefractions of time. But these days, and other nient way of intercalation in the 8. year. For broken pieces, howfoever they were ne- the 6. days remaining after the two former glected in one year, yet in the Cycle of 19. intercalations made in the third and fixth years, were so disposed of by convenient in- years, added unto the 22. days, arising out of commonly on the same hour of the day,

it, 19. years before. Heb. lib 3. of the Hebrew year, with the manner of their intercalations. Sigonius tells us, that every fecond year, they did add a Moneth of 22. days; every fourth year a Moneth of 22. in regard of 11. days and a half wanting in 12. Moons, to fulfill a year of the Sun. But herein Sigonius was very much deceived. For the Moon doth never finish her course in 22. or 23, days; and therefore to have added fo many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fallion of all the Moneths in the years following which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moon. Genebrard faith, that every third year, the intercalation was (if it be worthy of confideration) me thinks they do not probably year; at which time, besides the intercalary

> at the end of the Cycle, makes all even. Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet furely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. year every Moneth were removed from his is, half a quarter of a year and more 5 which turning another way, did frustrate. Second-lowed Me-

Moneth of 29. days, that being intercalated

Moneth, remained fix days, namely, three fur-

days of each Moneth) contained 354. days, | voidable. Wherefore I preferr the common tercalations, that still at the end of the Cycle, the Epads of the 7. and 8. years, do fitly serve both the Sun and Moon were found on the to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing fame day of the year Moneth, and week, yea, of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is fo farr where they had been at the beginning of from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the year enfuing vary the less Divers have diverily fet down the form from the proper season of every Monerh. This may fuffice to be spoken of the Hebrero Moneths and years, by which they guided their accounts.

#### 6. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea; and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

Rom Succeth, in the morning following, Moles led the Ifraelites towards the Defart of Etham, to recover the Mountain foot, by the edge of that Wilderness, though he or second year, as need required, they did intended nothing less than to go out of that intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the way, of all other the nearest. But being afyears end unto the other 12. This I believe fured of the multitude of Horse-men and to have been true; but in which of the years armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himself from being encompassed by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his deliver, who keep all farr from evenness, un- left hand. At Etham he rested but one night, till the very laft of the 19 years. For (to omit and then he reflected back from the enfuch as erre grofly) fome there are who fay, trance thereof, and marched away directly that after three years, when besides the days towards the South; the distance between it front in 36. courses of the Moon, 33. days and Succoth being about eight miles. That are left remaining, that is, 11. days of each he forbare to enter Arabia, being then in year; then did the Hebrews add a Moneth of fight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from 30. days; keeping three days, asit were, in three respects: the first two, natural; the plussage unto the next account. The like, third, divine. For, Pharaoh being then at fay they, was done at the end of the fixth | hand, and having received intelligence of the way which Moses took, perswaded himfelf, that the numbers which Moses led, conmounting that Month, and the Epact of three lifting of above a Million, if not of two Milyears, besides the three formerly reserved. lions of Souls (for it is written, Exed. the 12. Thus they go on to the 18. year; at which Great multitudes of fundry forts of people ment out with them) could not possibly pass over time they have 18. days in hand: all which, those Defart and high Mountains with so It is prowith the Epact of the 19, year, make upa great multitudes of Women, Children, and all those Cattel but that at the very entrance of that Egyptions fastness he should have overtaken them, and and others brought destroyed the greatest number of them. For by the Hethese his own words, They are tangled in the bremstoche Land, the Wilderness hath shut them in, do of the true own place by the diftance of 48. days, that | shew his hopes and intents; which Moles, by God, fol-

inconvenience, by fuch a reckoning, was unally, Moses by offering to enter Arabia that departure

(milling Mofes there ) his pursuit after him fear, Which, faith the Book of Wildom, is the with his Chariots was more difficult, by rea- betraying of those succours which reason offer-Mountain foot on the left hand, they were strength and multitudes. better fecured from the over-bearing violence both of Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, Moles contidence in the All-powerfull God was such, by whose Spirit, onely wise, he was of their passage over the Red Sea; and of the directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multiand Baalzephon towards the South; the same which Orofins calleth Climax: on the top whereof there stood a Temple, dedicated to Baal. And, as Phagins noteth, the word fo compounded, is as much to fay, as, Dominus specula, sive custodia; Lord of the watchrespect of tower. For the Egyptians believed, or at least made their flaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into Arabia, this Idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their Lords and Masters. For the Feyptians had gods for all turns. Egyptii dis facundi; The Egyptians were fruitfull in gods, faith S. Hierom. But Moses, who encamped at the foot of this Mountain with a million of Souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the Watchtower afleep, or out of countenance.

Now, these two passages, leading out of Egypt into Arabia upon the firm Land, Moles refused, as well that of Pelusium and Casiotis, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of Judea, as the other by Etham, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and took the way by the Valley of Pihacheroth, between the Mountains, which made a streight entrance towards the Sea. After whom Pharaoh made so great speed

way, drew Tharaoh toward the East-side of Moses charge, that themselves foresaw those the Land of Gosen, or Rameses: from whence perils in which they were wrapped. And fon of the roughness of the way; and how- eth, made them both despair in God's former Chap. 17. foever, yet while the Hebrews kept the Promifes, and to be forgetfull of their own

#### s. VIII.

Red Sea it felf.

DUt Moses, who feared nothing but God himfelf, perswaded them to be confident tude. confisting of 600000. men, to cast the in his goodness, who hath never abandoned fuccess upon his own understanding, wise those, that affuredly trusted in him; using conduction, or valour. The third day he this comfortable and resolved speech: Fear Exodits. marched with a double pace from Etham to- not, &c. for the Egyptians whom ye have feen 13. wards the Valley of Pihacheroth, fixteen miles this day, ye shall never fee them again. The Lord diftant; and fate down between two ledges fall fight for you. After which, Moses called of Mountains adjoining to the Red Sea, to on God for fuccour, received encouragewit, the Mountains of Etham on the North, ment, and commandment to go on, in these Exad. 14. words; Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speak 16. unto the children of Ifrael that they go forward; and lift thou up thy Rod, and firetch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Ifrael go on dry ground through the midst of the Sea. Moles obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night, finding the fands uncovered, past on towards the other fide and coast of Arabia; two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Eastern Wind, and by Moses Rod, to prepare. Pharaob followed him even at the heels.

finding the same dry ground which Moses trod on. Therefore ss it is written: The Angel of God which ment before the Hoft of Ifrael, removed, and went behind them; also the Pillar of the cloud went from before them, and flood behind Josus 14. them; which is, that it pleased God therein, eitherby his immediate power, or by the miniftry of his Angel, to interpose his defence between the Hebrews and their Enemies; to the end that the Egyptians might hereby be blinded, in such fort, as they could not purfue Ifrael with any harmfull speed. But in the morning-watch, Mofes feized the other bank of Arabia fide; and Pharaoh (as the dawn of the day began to enlighten the obscure air) with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave finding a beginning of the Sea's return, hastthe Hebrews no time at all to rest them after ed himself towards his own Coast: But Mofo long a march; but got fight of them, and les stretched forth his hand, and the Sea rethey of him, even at the very brink and wash | turned to his force, that is the Sea, moved by of the Sea; in so much as the Hebrews being the power of God, ran back towards the terrified with Pharaoh's fudden approach, Land with unrefittible fury and swiftness, began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time and overwhelmed the whole Army of Phawhen it behooved them most to have taken | raoh, so as not one escaped. For, it is writcourage for their own defence; laying it to | ten, that God took off their Chariot wheels,

that is, when the waters began to cover the 1 where with Illands, but afterwards it extendfands, the Feyptians being strucken with fear eth it self 58, leagues from coast to coast and of death, ran one athwart another, and mif- it runneth up between Arabia the Happy, and fing the path by which they had past on after Arabia Petrae on one side, and Athiopia and the Hebrews, their wheels stuck fast in the Egypt on the other, as farr as Sues, the uttermud and quick-fands, and could not be most end and indraught of that Sea; where drawn out; the Sea coming against them the Turk now keeps his fleet of Gallies. The with supernatural violence.

lowing the Opinions or old Traditions of wards Sues, and where Moles past, is called the Hebrews, conceived, that after Moles had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearfull to enter it. Aminadab, Prince, or Leader of it was called Hero, many years. The Arabians the Tribe of Judah, first made the adventure; and that therefore was that Tribe, ever after honoured above the rest, according to the Prophecie of Jacob, Gen. 49.8. Thy fathers Sons shall bow down unto thee. But Hierome, upon Hojea 11. condemns this Opinion, And though it be true, that Judah had the first place in all their miracles in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Van-guard (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet, that Moles himself was the Conducter of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77. Psalm; Thou didst lead thy people, like Sheep, by the hand of Moses and Aaron.

The Hebrews have also another fancie, that the Red Sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every Tribe past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Pfalm, according to the vulgar: Divifit Mare Rubrum in divisiones; He divided the Red Sea in divisions. Also that the bottom of the Sea became a green Field, or Pasture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulensis, and Genebrard, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to confider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the Egyptians. It is written. Pfalm 77. v. 16. Thy way is in the Sea; not thy ways: and in the last Book of Wisdom, vers.7. In the Red Sea there was a way.

Now, this Sea, through which Moles past. Land of Æthiopia, hath not above fix leagues beams, give a kind of redish lustre to the breadth, and the same also filled every waters. Thirdly, those Portngals report, and

Cosmographers commonly give it the name of Lyranus, upon Exod. 14. and others, fol- the Arabian Gulf; but the North part to-Heropolites, of the City Hero, fometime Troy, and of later times Sues. Pliny calls it Cambifu, Plin . .. by which name it was known faith he before 23. call this Sea towards the North, Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it Æleniticum; King Juba, Leniticum; others more properly, Elaniticum, of the Port and City Elana, 701, 4n. which the Septuagint call Elath ; Ptolemy, Ela- 8, cap. :. na; Pliny, Lena; Josephus, Ilana; and Marius Niger, Aila: there is also Ilalah in Affria, to which Salmanaffer carried the Ifraelites captive, 2 King. 8.1 1. which Ilalab in Affiria. the Septuagint call Elea; and in the first of Chro.5. Ala. But, as for the Red Sea, on the parts thereof thus diverfly named, the Moors, and Arabians(Vasials to the Turk) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulf of Meca, after the name of Mahomet's Town Mecca. The Greeks write it the Sea Erythraum, of a King called Erythras, or Erythraus : and because Erythros in the Greek lignifieth Red ; hence it is, that, being denominated of this Erythraus, Arian, de the Son of Perseus and Andromeda, it took sess. the name of the Red Sea, as Q. Curtius con-Strube 1.6. iectureth; which Arianus and Strabo confirm. But it feems to me, by the view of a Discovery of that Sea, in the year 1544. performed by Stephen Gama, Viceroy of the East-India for the King of Portugal, that this Sea was fo called from a reflection of a redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and fands of many Islands and part of the Continent bordering it. For I find by the report of Castro, a principal Commander under Gama (which Difcourfe I gave Mr. Richard Hacluit to publish) and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Chen- that there is an Island called Dalagua, somecres, perished, in the 16. year of his reign, is time Leques, containing in length, 25. leagues, commonly known by the name of the Red and 12. in breadth; the earth, fands, and Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in cliffs, of which Illand, being of a redish conatural colour from other Waters. But, as lour, serve for a foil to the waters about it; Philostratus in his third Book noteth and our to make it seem altogether of the same cofelves know by experience, it is of a bluish lour. Secondly, the same Castro reporteth that colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a nar- from 24. degrees of Septentrional latitude, to row strait, between Arabia the Happy, and 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. Athiopia, or the Land of the Abylins: the miles, lying, as it doth, Northerly & Southermouth of the indraught from the Cape, ly) all the cliffs, and banks are of red earth, which Ptolemy calleth Poffodium, to the other or stone, which by reflection of the Sunare found in the bottom of this Sea, towards Moles past over the Red Sea at a low ebb.upthe shore, great abundance of red stones, on on a great Spring-tyde, and that Tharaoh, which the greatest store of Corral grows, conducted more by furythan discretion, purwhich is carried into most parts of Europe, and ellewhere. There are allo on the Itlands of this Sea, many red Trees, faith Strabo, and those, growing under water, may also be a sider the nature of this place, with other circause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadow of these stones, fands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first rook the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it feemeth to be fuch; which Johannes Barros in his fecond Decade, eighth Book, and first Chapter, confirmeth.

of the History of the World.

The breadth of this Sea, from Elana, or Faion-Gaber adjoining, now Toro, called by the antient Cofmographers, Sinus Elaniticus, which watheth the banks of Madian, or Midian, is for 16, or 17, leagues together, along Northward toward sues, fome 3. leagues, or 9. English miles over, and from this Port of Toro to Sucs, and the end of this Sea, it is in length about 28. leagues, of which, the first 26 have 9, miles breadth, as aforefaid, and afterward, the Lands, both from Egypt and Arabia, thrust themselves into the Sea, and downwards toward the Ocean, leaving all ftrengthen it fo fast, as for 6. miles together, that part towards the Land, as far as the Sca it is not above 3. miles over 3 from thence,up- can ebb, or fall off, to the dry land. Now, ward the Land on Egypt fide, falleth away, Mofes entring the Sea at Migdol under Baaland makes a kind of Bay, or Cove, for fome zephon (if he had taken the advantage and 10. miles together, after which, the Land opportunity of the tide) must have left all grows upon the Sea again, and so binds it in- that end of the Red Sea towards Sues, on his to the very end thereof, at 4. miles breadth, left hand, dry and uncovered. For if a paffage or there about, in which Tract it was that were made by falling away of the water 10. Moses past it over, though others would have or 12. miles farther into the Sea than Sues, it to be over against Elana, or Toro, but with- and between it and where Moses past, who out judgment; for from Ramefes to Pihacheroth, and Baalzephon, there is not above 20. miles interjacent, or 35. miles at most, which Moses past over in three days; and between been by the ebb of a Spring-tide discovered, the Land of Egypt, opposite to Elana, or Tora, the distance is above 80. miles. For Rameles. to which City Moles came (being the Metropolis of Golen) when he left Pharaoh at Zoan, on in his return before the tide, on his right and took his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees hand; and so taken ground again at the 5. minutes of Septentrional latitude; and Min- end of the Sea, at Sues it felf, "or elsewhere. dol, or the Valley of Pihacheroth, at the foot But the Scriptures do truly witness the conof the Mountain Climax, or Baalzephon, in trary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away nine and twenty and a half, which make a from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that difference of five and thirty Enlish miles, the Moses past on between two Seas, and that the way lying in effect, North and South.

6. IX.

That the paffage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low ebb.

"He Egyptians, and of them the Mem- the Sea to return back by a strong East-wind, phites, and other Heathen Writers, who, do rather prove the miracle than that there-

we know it by many testimonies, that there | in hatred of the Hebrews, have objected that fued him fo farr, as before he could recover the coast of Egipt, he was overtaken by the floud, and therein perished; did not well concumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plain, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly Wind, and by the hand and rod of Moles (which authority to men that believe not therein, perfivadeth nothing) I fay, that by the same natural reason unto which they fastened themselves, it is made manifest, that had there bin no other working power from above, or affiftance given from God himself to Moses and the children of Israel, than ordinary ,and casual, then could not Pharaoh and all his Army have perished in that purfuit.

For wherefoever there is any ebbing of

the Sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and run entred the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same Sea; it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleev, or Strait, had when Pharaob found the floud increasing, he needed not to have returned by the fame way toward Egypt fide, but might have gone waters were divided. Otherwise, Pharaoh, by any return of waters, could not have perifhed, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have bin a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the Scriptures, that God cansed CHAP. III.

by was caused an ebb more than ordinary; more, there is no man of judgment, that can

for that Sea did not lie East and West, but, in think, that Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who effect, North and South. And it must have then excelled all Nations in the observatibeen a Well and North west wind, that must one of heavenly motions, could be ignorant have driven those waters away through of the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea, in his their proper Channels, and to the South- own Countrey, on his own coast, and in his east into the Sea. But the East-wind blew own most traded and frequented Ports and athwart the Sea and cut it afunder: so as one Havens; and wherein his people having had part fell back towards the South and main fo many hundreds of years experience of the body thereof, the other part remained to- tides, he could not be caught, as he was, ward sues, and the North. Which being un- through ignorance, nor by any fore-known known to Pharaoh; while he was checkt by or natural accident, but by God's powerfull that Sea, which used in times before to ebb hand only; which then falleth most heavily away, the floud prest him, and over-whelm'd on all men, when, looking through no other him. Thirdly, feeing Josephus avoweth, that spectacle but their own prosperity, they least Moles was not onely of excellent judgment, discernit coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if generally but also, so great a Captain, as he the Army of the Egyptians had been overover-threw the Ethiopians in battels, being taken by the ordinary return of the floud, imployed by Pharaoh, and wan divers Cities, | before they could recover their own coast; feeming impregnable: it were barbarous to their bodies drowned would have been carcondemn him of this grossness, and distracti- ried with the floud, which runneth up to on: that rather then he would have endu- Sues, and to the end of that Sca, and not red the hardness of a Mountainous passage have been cast a-shore on the coast of Araat hand (had not God commanded to take bia, where Moses landed, to wit, upon the that way, and fore-told him of the honour Sea-bank over against Baalzephon, on Arabia which he would there win upon Pharaoh) he side; where it was that the Israelites saw would have trusted to the advantage of an their dead bodies, and not at the end of the ebbing water. For he knew not the contra- Red Sea, to which place the ordinary floud ry, but that Pharaoh might have found him, would have carried them; Which floud and prest him, as well when it flowed, as doth not any where cross the Channel, and when it ebbed, as it feemeth he did. For run athwart it, as it must have done from Ethe people, beholding Pharaoh's approach, gypt fide to Arabia, to have cast the bodies cried out against Moses, and despaired alto- there; but it keeps the natural course together of their fafety; and when Moles prayed wards the end of that Sea; and to which unto God for help, he was answered by God; their carkasies should have been carried, if Wherefore crieft thou unto me? Speak unto the the work had not been supernatural and michildren of Ifrael, that they go forward, and raculous. Apollonius, in the lives of the Falift thou up thy Rod, and stretch out thy hand thers, affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians upon the Sea, and divide it: which proves which stayed in the country, did not follow that there was not at that time of Pharaoh's Pharaoh in the pursuit of Ifrael, did ever after approach any ebb at all, but that God did honor those beasts, birds, plantsor other creadisperse and cut through the weight of wa- tures, about which they were busied at the ters, by a strong East-wind, whereby the time of Pharaoh's destruction; as he that was fands discovered themselves between the then labouring in his Garden, made a god Sea on the left hand toward Sues, from of that Plant or Root about which he was whence the Waters moved not, and the Sea occupied, and so of the rest. But how those which was towards the South on the right multitudes of gods were erected among hand, so that the Waters were a wall unto them, a more probable reason shall be given them on the right hand, and on the left hand, else-where. Orofius, in his first Book and that is, the Waters so defended them on both tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tells us, fides, as the Egyptians could onely follow that in his time, who lived some 400. years them in the same path, not that the Waters froud upright as walls do, as some of the Schole-men have fancied. For,had *Pharaab* wheels were to be seen at a low water, on the Egyptian sands; and though they were and the Egyptians perceived any fuch build- fometime defaced by wind and weather, yet ings in the Sea, they would foon have quit- foon after they appeared again. But hereted the chase and pursuit of Ifrael. Further- of I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

Of the journeying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them; with a discourse of Laws.

6. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of somethings touching Chronologie; with a continuation of the Story untill the Amalekites met with the Ifraelites.

nia, or Peloponness; Criosus, the Argives; everlasting death, into the sweetness of eter-Orus, Egypt; and Deucalion, Thessay. He fled and life. Pliny remembers these bitter Founinto Midian, when he had lived fourty years, tains in his fixth Book, 29. Chapter. From in the year of the World, 2474 and two whence to Delta in Egypt, Selfpiris fift, Dayears after was Caleb born. He returned by prins after him, and lattly, Ptolemy the fecond, the commandment and ordinance of God began to cut an artificial River, thereby by into Egypt, and wrought his miracles in the Boats and small Shipping to Trade and Nafields of Zoan, in the year, 2514. the last vigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities Moneth of the year. On the 14. day of the upon Nilus. From Marab he removed to first Hebrew Moneth Abib, or the 15. of that Elim, the fixth Mansion, a march of eight Exad. 15. Moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sun-miles: where finding twelve Fountains of the celebration of the Passover; & in the dead trees, he rested divers days. of the night of the same day, were all the first Whether this Helim were the name of a born flain through Egypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrews inhabited not. The 15.

And yet the scarcity of waters in that Reday of the first Month of the Hebrews, called gion was such, as Helim, which had twelve Abib, being about the beginning of the year Fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. bly at Rameses, and marched to Succoth. third station at Etham; and journeying from Egypt. Ingressia (faith he) Helim Givitatem Etham, they encamped in the Valley of Piantiquissian, populo straelitico aliquando fa-

Name 33 midnight, they past the Red Sea; Pharaoh ingredientes, in Mare vicinum se contulerunt; 233, and his Army perishing in their return, about Entring Helim, a very antient City, well known End. 14. the first dawn of the day. Moses having re- Sometime to the people of Israel; whither, when Exod. 15. 22. is called Sur, 25. miles from knowledge of Amalech, who repaired to re-

Name, 33, the Sea; where the children of Ifrael, preft fift his passage through part of Arabia. And at Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Mofes the minds of the rest, who encountring with

Ut to go on with the Story of If- staking the branches of a Tree, growing near rael, in this fort I collect the times. a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same Moles was born in the year of the thereinto, made the same sweet : a plain type World, 2434. Saphrus then go- and figure of our Saviour; who, upon the verning Afgria; Orthopolis, Sycio- Tree of the Cross, changed the bitterness of

fetting, in the year of the World, 2514. was fweet water, and threefcore and ten Palmi- Numb. 33.

of the World, 2514. Mofes, with the children William, Archbishop of Tyre, in his History william of Ifrael removed from the general Affem- of the Holy Warr, found at Helim, the ruines Torest. 11. of a great and antient City. And at such cap. 16. And departing thence, they made their time as Baldwine the first past that way into bacheroth, or Migdol, under the Mountain miliarem; ad quem cum pervenisse, loci illins Baalzephon; and in the same night, after incola, Regis adventu precognito, naviculam covered the banks of Arabia, gave thanks he came, the Inhabitants, forewarned of the unto God for the delivery of Ifrael; and Kings approach, took Boat, and shifted themmaking no stay on that coast, entred the De- selves into the Sea lying near them. From Elim farts of Arabia Petrea, called Sur. But find- he returned again towards the South, and ing no water in that passage, he encamped at lat down by the banks of the Red Sea; the Marah, in the Defart of Etham, which in seventh Mansion. For it seemeth, that he had with extreme thirst, murmured against Moses Moses, who had not as yet trained the Hethe second time; first, at Pharaohs approach brews, appointed to bear Arms; nor assured

CHAP.

to their quiet flavery, than either to en- titude of People and Cattel thought it most dure the wants and perils which every for their advantage to fet upon them at Raway accompanied them in that pallage, or phidim, where the want of water, and all oat this time to undertake or fulfain fo dan- therthings needfull for the life of man, engerous an enemy: he therefore made fray | feebled them. On the other fide, Moses perat this Mansion, untill the sisteenth of this se- ceiving their resolutions, gave charge to Jocond Moneth, called Zim, or Jiar; and made Jia, to draw out a sufficient number of the the eighth Mansion in the Defart of Zin: ablest Hebrews, to encounter Amalech, Be-Exolina where the children of Ifrael mutinied against, tween whom and Ifrael the victory remained In the 16. Chapter of Exedus, Moles omitteth this retreat from Elim to the Red Sea. but in the collection of every feveral en-

Exol. 16. them out of Egypt. And though they had their first attempts, will hardly, or never, be great numbers of Cattel and Sheep among brought again to hazzard themselves. them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those; but rethe Children withall, and for Breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim, they made two removes of 20. miles; the one to the manner of Beafts, than to fuffer a cafual, rael, being himself unable to give order in dergo the hazzards and travels which every manly mind feeks after, for the love of God, and private controversie. and their own freedoms. But Mofes, with the fame Rod which he divided the Sea withall, the Madianites, yet he was by Nation a Kein the fight of the Elders of Ifrael, brought nite, as in the fourth of Judges, Verl. 11, 17. waters out of the Rock, wherewith the it is manifest: where it is written, Now Heber whole multitude were fatisfied.

6. II.

of the Amalekites. Madianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battel with the Amalekites. and lethro's coming; who, being a Kenite, was Pricht of Madian.

his approach, and ghessed that he meant to am, speaking of the Kenites: Strong is thy lead the children of Ifrael through their dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the

the least misery, were more apt to return (would be utterly wasted by so great a mul-Mojes the third time, having want of food. doubtfull, for the most part of the day; the Hebrews and the Amalekites contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of Moses Prayers camping, in the 33.0f Numbers, it is set down. to God been of farr greater force, and more Here it pleased God to send so many prevalent than all resistance & attempt made flights of Quails, as the Countrey about their | by the bodies of men; that valiant and warencamping was covered with them. The like Nation had greatly endangered the morning following, it also rained Manna, whole enterprise. For those bodies which being the 16. of their Moneth, which served are unacquainted with scarcity of food, them in stead of bread. For now was the store and those minds whom a service education confumed which the people carried with hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in

After this Victory, Jethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses his Wife, and ferved them, both for the Milk to relieve his two Sons, which either Jethro forbare to conduct, or Moles to receive, till he had by this overthrow of Amalech the better affured himself of that part of Arabia. For it is written in Exod. 18. 1. When lethro. the Priest of Madian, Moses Father-in-law, heard all that God Daphca, the other to Alus, distant from Ra- had done for Moses, & co of which, the last phidim fix miles. Here, being again prest deed, to wit, the overthrow of Amalech, gave with want of Water, they murmured the Jethro courage and affurance, he then refourth time, and repented them of their de- paired to his Son-in-law, Mofes, at Sinai; parture from Egypt, where they rather con- where, among other things, he advised Moles tented themselves to be fed and beaten after to appoint Judges, and other Officers over 1fand sometime necessary want, and to under- all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment

This Jethro, although he dwelt amongst the Kenite, which x as of the children of Hobab. to wit the Son of Jethro.the Father-in-law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and chap. 15. pitched his Tents untill the Plain of Zaanaim, 1. 18. which is by Kedesh. Likewise, in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, left he should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountains of 18. Nd while Moses encamped in this place, Sin Kadesh; and the Amalekites dwelt in 1 Sam. the Amalekites, who had knowledg of the Plains, according to the faying of Bala- co. 15. Countrey (which being barren of it felf, rock. And that saul spared this Nation, he

giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to those of Madian, of whom Jethro was Priest. all the children of Ifrael, when they came up and the other Cities in Moab were the from Fgspt. For thele Kenites were a Nation fame, yet the contrary is more probable. For of the Madianites, and the Madianites were Moses would not have sent 12000. Israof the illues of Madian, one of the fix Sons which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the mother, who (as it feemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent Abraham. For Moses, when he fled out of Egypt into Madian, and married the Daughter of Jethro, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made Jethro's Daughter the mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of Abraham should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from Abraham himself: but by some other Nation, bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For, in the fifteenth of Genefis, verf. 19. these Kenites, or Chustes, are listed with the Of the time when the Law was given; with di-Hittites and Perizzites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergesites, and Jebusites, which

were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites descended from Abraham, had separated themselves from among the rest. which were altogether Idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites; that is to fay, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedest, or did (referring my self to better judgment) rather, because they were more antient,

than by anticipation. And as of the Kenites, so we may consider of the Madianites, parted by Moses into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and Heathens; as those of Madian by the River Zared, afterwards destroyed Amalech, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these Madianites, with the Kenites, affisted Ifrael, and guided them in and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia, called Petraa, were by Ifrael rooted out,

And though it may be doubted, whether that way.

elites, as far back as the Red Sea. from the Plains of Moab, to have destroyed that Madian, where his Wives kinred inhabited : feeing himfelf coming with 600000, able men, was encountred by Amalech in that paffage. Neither could Afoles forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Defarts, wherein himself and Israel had wandered fourty years.

That Jethro, or Jothor, Ragnel, or Revel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the Vulgar, and Septuagint, which call him Raguel, and our English, Revel, Exod. 2.18. cals him Jethro or Jothor Exod. 2.1. and 4.18. & 18.1. & 6.9, 10, 12. & in Numb. 10.29. Hobab. Others take Jethro and Hobab to be the same, but not Raguel.

6. III.

vers commendations of the invention of Laws.

THe rest of the Moneths of this year 2515. were spentin the Defart of sinai, neer the mountain of Sinai, or Horeb, the twelfthManfion. Eusebins thought that Sinai and Horeb were distinct Mountains: Hierom, to be but one of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in Exed. 3. 1. it is called Horeb: and in Exodus 24.19. it is written Sinai. In the 106. Pfalm, verf. 19. Ho-Cadesh. Again, Moses nameth that Nation reb: in Exodus 19. 11. Sinai. And so it of the Kenites, before Midian, or any of is called, Galatians 4. vers. 24. And again, Abraham's other Sons were born; which he Dent. 4. 10. and 15. and Dent. 5. 2. Horeb. And so it is in the first of Kings 8.6. and the fecond of Chronicles 5. 10. and in Malachie 4.4. Finally, in Ecclesiasticus, 48.7. they are named as one. Which heardest (faith Ecclestafticus) the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgment of the vengeance. Somewhat they are dif joined at the top, by the report of Peter Belonius; who, in the year 1588. by Moses. But the Madianites, neer the past out of Egypt into Arabia, with Monsieur banks of the Red Sea, where Moses married de Fumet of France, and travelled to the top his Wife Zippora, and with whom he left her both of Sinai and Horeb: Sinai being by and his children, till after the overthrow of farr the higer hill. From the fide of Horéb (faith he) there falleth a very fair Spring of Water into the Valley adjoining: where he found two Monasteries of Christian Marthe Desarts. But the Madianites in Moab, ronites, containing some hundred Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant Gardens, delicate Fruits, and excellent when those adjoyning to the Red Sea were Wine. These (faith the same Authour) give Pet Bells. entertainment to all strangers, which pass cap. 62.

of water neer Sinai, in Moles time, it is very ditions, or corrections, were commended probable: First, because he encamped there- to all Posterity for men of no less vertue, about almost a year, and drew no water, and no less liberally beneficial to their as in other places, by miracle: Secondly, Countreys, than the greatest and most probecause it is written, Exod. 32.20. that when sperous Conquerors that ever governed Moses had broken the golden Calf to pow- them. The Israelites, the Lacedemonians, der, which Aaron fet up in his absence, and the Athenians, received their Laws from he cast the powder thereof into the water, one; as the Israelites, from Moses; the Laceand made the children of Ifrael to drink demonians, from Lycurgus; the Athenians,

year; and he arrived about the five and chies and Estates. fourtieth day after the egression; the Law being given the fiftieth day.

At this Mantion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of Exodus, to the end of that Book; all of the name and meaning of the words, Law in Leviticus; and all in Numbers, to the 10. Chapter, Whereof (because there is no Story nor other Passage ) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous Men; the name of Laws. yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of The word Law is also taken for the moral every Estate in the World, by which they habit of our mind, which doth (asit were) live and move: the Law, to wit, a just Law, command our thoughts, words, and actions: being resembled to an Heart without affe- framing and fashioning them according to ction, to an Eye without lust, and to a Mind it felf, as to their pattern and plat-form. without passion; a Treasurer, which keep- And thus the Law of the flesh, which the Dieth for every man what he hath, and diftri- vines call legem fomitis, is to be under-

Now, that there was some such Torrent 1 of gods: and the rest, that made either adfrom Solon; the Komans, fometime from On this mountain, the Law by the Angel their first Kings, from their Decem viri, from of God was given to Moses, where he stayed their Senators, from their Lawyers, and a whole year, wanting some ten or twelve from the people themselves: other from the days: for he removed not till the twentieth Prince, Nobility, and People; as in Engday of the second Moneth of the second land, France, and in other Christian Monar-

#### 6. IV.

He word Lex, or Law, is not always taken alike, but is diverfly, and in of the Law, and the kinds and use thereof: an indifferent sence used. For, if we conwherby, if the Reader find the Story any way fider it at large, it may be understood dif-joyned, he may turn over a few leaves, for any rule preferibing a necessary mean, and, omitting this, find the continuation order, and method, for the attaining of thereof. We must first consider that as there an end. And so the Rules of Grammar. can be neither foundation, building, nor or other Arts, are called Laws. Or, it continuance of any Common-wealth, with- is taken for any private Ordinance of Suout the rule, level, and square of Laws: so periours or Inferiours: for the commandit pleased God to give thereby unto Moles ments of Tyrants, which they cause to be the powerfullest man (his miraculous grace observed by force, for their Decrees do excepted) to govern that multitude which also usurp that Title, according to the gehe conducted; to make them victorious in neral acceptation of the word Law: of their passage, and to establish them assured- which Esay, Wounto them that decree wicked ly in their conquest. For, as the North Starr Decrees, and write grievous things. Like-Eft is the most fixed Director of the Sea-man wife, the word is used for the tumultuato his defired Port: fo is the Law of God ry resolutions of the People. For such conthe Guide and Conductor of all in general fritutions doth Ariftotle also call Laws, to the haven of eternal life: the Law of though evil and injufficient: Mala lex eft. Ethic. 1.4. Nature, from God his eternal Law deduced, que tumultarie posita est; It is an evil Law cap. 1 the rule of all his creatures; the Law hu- that is made tumultuously. So as all Ordimane, depending on both thefe, the guard nances, either good or evil, are called by

buteth to every man what he ought to have. Stood. For every law is a kind of pattern of This benefit the Antient, though barbarous, that which is done according unto it: in effectmed to highly, that among them, those which fence, as elsewhere, this moral habit Ges 6. which were taken for the first makers of or disposition of the heart, is called the new 8.7 Laws were honoured as gods or, as the Sons frame or figmentum of the heart: fo in S. Paul

to the Romans it is called a Law; But I fee another law in my members, rebelling against teaching, because every man is thereby the law of my mind, and leading me captive un- taught his duty both to God and Men. The to the law of lin. Again, the nature and in- Greeks call it Nomos, of distributing, because clinations of all creatures, are sometime cal- it distributeth to every man his own due; led (a) lims, fo farr as they agree with the the power of the Law is the power of God: La Conte reason of the Law eternal; as the law of a Justice being an attribute proper unto God

CHAP. IV.

consistent Lion, to be fierce or valiant. Also private contracts among Merchants, The reign of the Lamis the reign of Cod. manna and other Tradef-men, do often put on the name of laws. But law, commonly and pro- lofophers: Lex est vite regula, pracipiens and wherealth perly is taken for a right rule, prescribing a funt sequenda, & qua sugienda; Lam is the it is that necessary mean, for the good of a Common- rule of life, commanding what to follow, and be | 305 wealth, or Civil Community. The reft, to what to flun: or, Lex est omnium divinarum Legal and wit, the commandments of Tyrants, &c. & humanarum rerum Regina; Law is the gedec, as which have not the common good for their Queen, or Princess of things both humane and in the scate end, but being leges iniqua, are by Thomas drvine. But this description is grounded up-Law is of called violentia magis quam leges; rather on the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the tentines compulsions than laws: And whatfoever is very wifdom of Nature: the reason and uncommit not jult, S. singustine doth not allow for laws, derstanding of the prudent; and the rule of howfoever chablished: for he calls them right and wrong. For, as a right line is called, iniqua hominum constituta, que nec jura di- Index sui, & curvi, the demonstrance of it cenda, nec putanda funt; The unjust constituti- felf, and of the crooked; so is the Law, the ons of men which are neither to be tearmed nor 40 E. thought lams. For, faith Ariftotle, Legalia julta

Mis. s. c s. funt factiva, & confervation felicitatis; fuft lams are the workers and preservers of happi- touching the substance & essence, confiss in nell'; because by them we are directed ad vi-understanding: Concludit tamen actum voluntam quietam, to a quiet life, according to Ci- tatis; Tet it comprehends the act of our will. cero: Yea, to life everlafting; according to The word Jus is also divertly taken as somethe Scriptures. For the end of the Law laith time for the matter of the Law, and for Plato is God, and his worship: Finis legis Deus | common right: sometime for the Law it selfs & cultus eins. Lex, or the Law is to called as fus civile, or fus gentium. Isidore distinby the Latines, à legendo, or, à ligando, of guisheth the two general words. Jus and Fas; reading, or binding: Leges quia lette & ad whereof Jus, saith he hath reference to men, were written and published, all men might | To go over another man's field, is permitted read them, and behold in them whereto they by Gods Law, not by Man's; and therefore were bound. The other Etymologie, ligando, in a thing out of controversie, Virgil used is no less agreeable with the nature of a Law: | both these words: as Fas & jura simunt God whence in the Scripture it is called also a and men permit. Har, s. s. yoak, and a band : as confrequent ingum, di-

they have broken the bands. And in the second bidding or commandment : or perhaps from Isalm, Dirumpamus vincula corum & projici- the Greek 2,05, which is the name of Jupiamus à nobis funes ipsorum : Let us break their ter, or of the Latine Genitive case four;

conditional promises of God; and because find it written in Nonius out of the antient, the word 2256xn, a Terrament, or last Will: Authour, and Pattern, and Maintainer of which name it hath, because it is not other- right, so also in his Vicegerents, the Magiwife effectual for our falvation, but in re- ftrates, he is the Pronouncer and Executor spect of the death of the Testator; for with- of right. Of this Tus, the just are denomiout the death of the Testator, the Testa- nated, Justus à jure, and Justitia à justo; The ment is of no force, as Heb. 9. 17. it is faid, Right gives name to the Righteous: and Jultice Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.

The Hebrews call the Law Thorab, of himfelf. Imperium legis, imperium Dei eft;

Law in general is thus defined by the Phijudge and measure of right and wrong.

M. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to

goodness of operation; and though Law, as populum lata, faith Varro; For, arter Laws Fas to God. Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana. 1fd. Es.w.

The word Jus, or Right, is derived or ruperunt vincula; they have broken the youk, taken from the old Sustantive Noun julius, a bands ajunder, and let us cast away their cords | because, as the Scripture speaks, the judg- Dem. 1.17 ment is God's. For, as it is certain that jus- 19.6. The Covenant it is called, because of the jurandum came of Jovis-jurandum (for so we of God's people's voluntary submittion of in which sence the Scripture calls it juramen- Exact 11: themselves unto it: for which word the Se- tum Jehova fo also we may say, that Jus came 11 ptuagint, and the Epifle to the Hebrems wife of Jovis, quia Jovis eft; because as God is the takes her name from the Just.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law

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every kind hath a proper and peculiar rible confusion.

definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and diffinguish them. I mean, those forts of Laws from whence all other particulars are drawn : leaving the individuals DUt, because Laws are manifold, and that of humane laws to their infinite and hor-

The writ- The Law of Moses. ten is al-so double. The Gospel. Eternal or uncreated. (Written. Natural. I Divine . National, or which bath Internal. ( As the Dollrine and Religitwo parts. Laws politive. Laws imposed Unwritten. ) on of the Patriarchs before or imposed, exthe written Law of Mofes, or of addition, common- plicating, and which some call Cabala. ly called post- perfecting the 2 Humane, which is all the state of the stat Which Cicero in his fe- c Ecclesiastiare double: cond Book of Invention ) cal, and Unwritten As the Laws of Custom and

mas. Lex aterna oft aternus divina sapientia Law, and a fit Princes to command and forbid. conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad guber- is the right reason of the most high God. This nationem rerum ab ipso pracognitarum; The eternal Law (if we consider it in God, or as eternal Law is the eternal conceit of God's God) is always one and the fame; the nature Wildom, as it is referred to the government of of God being most simple: but as it is refer-Th. 4.36. things forcknown by himself. Or, Lex aterna red to divers objects, so the reason of man est summa atque eterna ratio divine sapientie: finds it divers and manifold. It also feemeth quaterus res omnes ad destinatos sines ita diri- one law in respect of things necessary, as the git, ut illis juxta conditionem ipfarum modum motions of the heavens, stability of the alignem necessitatis adferat; It is high and earth, Oc. but it appeareth otherwise to cternal reason of divine sapience: as it direct- things contingent: another law to men, aneth all things in such fort to their proper ends, other to other creatures, having life, and to imposing a kind of necessity, according to their all those that be inanimate. several natures, or conditions. Now, the difnature of all things which it directs, fo it is first. called a Law.

cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque as it were a stream from the fountain princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, The Law humane or temporal is also from coil, did not (saith he) then begin to be | y borroweth the name of a law.

a law when it was written, but when it had being. Eeing and beginning it had together with |
jected, as well Angels and Men, as all other

The Law Eternal is thus defined by Tho- | divine understanding, and therefore a true

By this eternal Law, all things are directference lies in this: That as the same divine ed, as by the counsel and providence of understanding directs all these to their pro- God: from this Law, all laws are derived, as per ends; so it is called Providence: but, as from the rule universal, and thereto reit imposeth a necessity, according to the serred, as the operation of the second to the

The eternal, and the divine Law, differ The or Of this eternal Law, Cicero took know- only in confideration; the eternal directing Augledge, when in his Book of Laws, he wrote in more largely: as well every creature, to their this manner: Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, proper and natural ends, as it doth Manto & ad relle faciendum impellens & à dilecto his supernatural: but the divine Law to a avocans: que non tum incipit lex esse cum supernatural end onely: the natural law is scripta oft, fed tum orta est. Orta autem simul est thence derived, but an effect of the eternal :

ratio est rect a summi Jovis; That perfect rea- thence drawn: in that it hath the form of Son and nature of things, incouraging or impel- | right reason; from which if it differ, it is then ling to rightfull actions, and calling us back impositio iniqua a wicked imposition; and one-

creatures,

inanimate.

commanded to praise God their Creator and their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfil-Director: as Praise him all ye his Angels: praise led. For fo S. John expounds it, when he faith. him Sun and Moon all bright Starrs : Heavens v.28. That Christ feeing all (other) things to be of heavens, for he hath established them for ever fulfilled, Ut consummaretur Scriptura, That the and over. He hath made an ordinance which Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, faid, I Shall not pass: Praise ye the Lord from the earth thirst: though I deny not, but at the same pe Dragons and all Deeps; fire and hail, now time alfothe date of the Law was expired, and vapours, flormy winds which execute his to wit of the law ceremonial, and of so much word: mountains and hills, fruitfull trees, and of the judicial, as appertained peculiarly to all Cedars; Beafts and all Cattel, &c. Now, as the Jews, and agreeth not with the Law of the reasonable creatures are by this eternal the New Testament and Gospel of Christ. For Law bound, by the glory and felicity pro- the immutable Law of God, though prescriposed unto them (beatitude being both the | bing things mutable, is not therfore changed attractive, and the end) so all other natural in it self; but the things prescribed change things and creatures have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to the Wifdom of solomon, and being one, fle can it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For Beasts are led by fenfe and natural inftinct : thinks without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downward; things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatfoever is apposed. This are all things which appear in themselves sonable creature. Lex Naturalis est impression thence derived, there-under subjected, divini luminis in nobis, & participatio Legis

ample in the consideration of these laws: and he afterward addeth, Jus istand non humani in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, generis proprium, sed omnium animalium que and object of the eternal Law. But, as the | terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque comprofit is manifest in the good of all creatures, mune eft; The Law of Nature is not proper to who have thence-from, either reason, sense, man alone, but the same is common to all living vegetation, or appetitions, to conduct them: creatures, as well Birds, as to those the Land whole creature. For, according to S. Augustine.Lex æterna est qua justum est, ut omnia fint ordinatissima; The Law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be difposed in the best and goodliest order.

creatures or things created; whether necel- the time of the Pædagogie of God's people, fary or contingent, natural or moral, and hu- or Introduction to Christ, should be expired; mane. For the Law eternal runneth through which time of expiration, some think our all the universal, and therefore it is the Law Saviour noted to be come, when on the Cross also of things which are simple, natural and he said, Consummatum est. But I rather think John 17. these words of our Saviour to have no other Pfel. 69. Hence it is, that all things created are fignification, than that now the Prophecie of 22. according to this eternal ordinance of which do all things, and remaining in her felf, reneweth all.

## 6. VI. Of the Law of Nature.

and fire to fleat windower is apposed. Sind of working, the Ariflotelians aferibe to common nature; others to fate; a difference used in tearms only; it being no other than God's general providence: for, as it is truly it is called The impression of divine Light, and John and County of the composition of divine Light, and John and County of the Count faid of God, that he is omnia super omnia: io a participation of the eternal Law in the rea- 49. thence-from by his eternal Law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the the natural Law to be the same which Nature june 1.1. least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth. hath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale in 1. The Schoolmen are very curious and eft quod Natura omnia animalia docuit: and so is the object and matter of the Law, the and Sea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the natural Law in things

The Law of Nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal Providence Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal hath given and imprinted in the nature of law be immutable, yea or no? But the reso- every creature, animate, and inanimate. And lution is, that it changeth not; for which as it is divinum lumen in men, inlightning our S. Augustine useth a sufficient argument in his formal reason; so is it more than sense in first Book of Free-will, the fixth Chapter. For Beasts; and more than vegetation in Plants. the law of Moses, which had a time prefixed, For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which was eternally by God ordained to last untill teacheth them, at first fight, and without ex-

perience or instruction, to flie from the ene- | Aquinas (the one calling it the impression of one, and flieth from the other: yea, though to offer or performany thing toward others by them never feen before, and that as foon fave that which we would be content thould as they fall from their Dams. Neither is it be offered or performed toward our felves. fenfe, which hath taught other Beafts to pro- For, such is the Law of Nature to the Mind. vide for Winter, Birds to build their Nests as the Eye is to the Body; and that which. or quiet seasons: or the Birds of India, to is, the observation of those things which lead make their Nests on the smallest twigs which us thereby to our last end; which is eternal hang over Rivers, and not on any other part life; though of themselves not sufficient of the Tree, or elfewhere, to fave their Eggs without faith and grace. and young ones from the Monkies, and other Water. The inflances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither isit out of the vegetable or growing nature eternal. For without any law written, the of Plants, that some Trees, as the female of right reason and understanding, which God Men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid. Supra left, of Nature incorrupt, which S. Augustine purest reason; in whose highest Turrets, the Supra Jett. calleth the Law of Reason, but by a nature quiet of Conscience hath made her resting loco. ad blinded and corrupted, that the Germans place and habitation; In arce altissima ratio-

Theod.1.9. Wife, and to the women, to choose them bate their thoughts to accuse them. de curandis others besides their Husband, to beget them affett Gra- with child; which Law in those parts hath law unto himself (while he hopeth to abuse

against nature and right reason.

of natural laws, either out of S. Augustine, or cept: Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis,

mies of their lives: seeing that Bulls and divine light; the other, the dictate, or sen-Horses appear unto the sense more searfull tence of practique reason) the same can teach mines and terrible, than the least kind of Doggs; us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the least kind of Doggs; and vet the Hare and Deer feedeth by the exercise of Justice and uprightness; and not high or low, according to the temperatuous according to David, sheweth us good, that Pid. 4

Now, that which is truly and properly Beafts, whose weight such a twig will not the law of Nature, where the corruption is bear, and which would fear to fall into the not taken for the law, is, as aforefaid, the Palmitto, will not bear any fruit, except the hath given us, are abilities within our felves. male grow in fight. But this they do by that sufficient to give us knowledge of the good Law, which the infinite and unsearchable and evil, which by our gratitude to God Wisdom of God had in all eternity provi- and distribution of right to men, or by the ded for them, and for every nature created. contrary, we prepare and purchase for our In Man this Law is double, corrupt, and in- felves. For when the Gentiles (faith S. Paul) Rom : 11 corrupt : corrupt, where the reason of Man which have not the law, do by nature those hath made its self subject, and a Vassal to things contained in the law: they having not Passions, and Assections Brusal: and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in love God, by whom we are, and to do the fame right unto all men, which we defire is a kind of Law. For it was not by the Law should be done unto us, is an effect of the Rom.7.33 did antiently allow of theft: and that other
Nations were by Law conftrain'd to become

(faith S. Paul) which show the effects of the law Rom 1.11. Idolaters; that by the Laws of Lycingus it written in their hearts, have their conferences was permitted to men to tile one another's for a witness of those effects: and the repro-

And it is most true, that who soever is not a lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day. the World by the advantage of hypocritie) The Scythians, and the People of both In- worketh nothing elfe, but the betraying of dies, hold it lawfull to bury with them the his own Soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purbest beloved Wives: as also they have many chasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us other customs remembred by G. Valentia, not to hide our corrupt hearts from the World's eye, feeing from him, who is an in-And I know not from what authority it is, finite eye, we cannot hide them: fome Garthat these Laws some men avow to be na- lands we may gather in this May-game of tural : except it be of this corrupt nature; as the World, Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefeit; (among others) to pay guile with guile : to Those flowers wither while we discourse of their become faithless among the faithless: to colours, or are in gathering them. That we provide for our felves by another man's de- should therefore inhabit and dwell within struction: that Injury is not done to him our selves, and become searfull Witnesses of that is willing; to destroy those whom we our secret evils, did that reverend Philosofear, and the like. For taking the definition | pher Fythagoras teach in this golden Preneque tevum: maxime omnium verere teipsum; (as that good is to be followed, and evil Commit nothing foul or diffionest, faith he, eschewed) and demonstrable, which is evineither to be known to others, nor to thine own dently proved out of higher and more uniheart : but above all men, reverence thine own verfal propositions. Again, as it answereth Conscience. And this may be a Precept of the natural appetite, prescribing things to Nature and right Reason; by which law, be defired as good, or to be avoided as evil men, and all creatures, and bodies, are in- (as of the first, to defire to live, and to fatif. clined to those operations, which are answer- fie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew

CHAP. IV.

commanded them to keep their bounds; when they cannot in themselves. And as Man 5% 6.38, which they obey. He made a decree for the is a Being, Ens or Res; so he doth desire and confusion.

By this natural Law, or law of humane Reason, did Cain perceive his own wicked- things which appertain unto us, as we have ness and offence, in the murther of Abel: for sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we he not onely feared the displeasure of God, desire the delights of every sense; but with but the revenge of men; it being written in such moderation, as may neither glut us with his reason, that whatsoever he performed to- satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as Sense wards others, the same by others might be it self is for the preservation of life and bedone unto him again. And that this judg- ing; fo is it meet, even by the law of Nature, ment of well and evil doing, was put into that the fenfitive appetite should not carry our natures by God, and his eternal Law, be- us to the destruction, either of our life or fore the Law written, Moses in the person of being. And although (seeing both these God witnesseth, Gen. 4. If thou do well, kinds of appetites are in Beasts) we may shalt thou not be accepted and if thou do well say, that Nature hath given divers laws not well, fin lieth at thy door.

Rion of the natural Law; the same being same which Nature hath taught all living opened amply by Reinerius, Antonius, and creatures: Yet the School-men admit not, Valentia. But it is not my purpose to write a that the instincts of Beasts can properly Volume of this Subject.

leth An act of Reason taken properly; and not For so they distinguish it; where Ulpian afa habit, as it is an evident natural judgment firmeth, that Jus naturale is that, which Naof practick reason; they divide into inde- ture hath taught all living creatures. In this monstrable, or needing no demonstration place (faith Falentia) Jus is not to be taken

able to their own form; as Fire to give hear. pains, forrow, and death) in this confidera-Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of tion they divide it, according to the divers The 1.96. Man, so is he aptly moved to those things kinds of appetites that are in us. For in art. a. which his proper form presenteth unto him; every man there are three forts of appeto wit, that which right Reason offereth; tites, which answer the three degrees of and the Acts of right Reason, are the acts of natural Law. The first is, to be that which we Vertue; and in the breach of the rules of are; in which is comprehended the defire. this Reason, is a man least excusable: as being both to live, and to preserve our being and a reasonable creature. For all else, both sen- life, as also the desire of issue, with care to fitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the provide for them: for the Father, after his Law which God imposed on them at their death, lives in his children; and therefore the defire of life comprehends the defire of The Earth performeth her office, accord- children. And to these appetites are referred ing to the Law of God in nature: for it the first indemonstrable laws of Nature, for bringeth forth the bud of the Herb, which the most part. For it needs no proof, that feedeth feed, o.c. and the Beaft, which liveth all creatures should defire to be, to live and thereon. He gave a law to the Seas, and to be defended, and to live in their iffue. Rain, and a way for the Lightning of the good, and thun evil. For it is common to all Thunders. He caused the Sun to move, and things, to desire things agreeable to their to give light, and to ferve for figns, and for own natures, which is, to defire their own feasons. Were these as rebellious as Man, for good. And so is good defined by Aristotle, whose take they were created, or did they to be that which all defire. Which definionce break the Law of their natures and tion Basil upon the 44. Psalm approveth: once bless the Law of the perill, Relle quidem bonum desinierunt, quod omnia and all return to their first Chaos, darkness, expetunt; Rightly have some men desined good, esp. 1.

or goodness, to be that which all things defire. The fecond kind of appetite, is of those unto them: In which fense the Civilians de-The School-men are large also in this Que- fine natural Right, or Jus naturale, to be the be called a law, but onely a fus, or Right, But this Law which Thomas Aquinas cal- which is the matter, and aim of every law.

fon, both in Beafts and Men; and restrain the and Equity. law of Nations to a kind of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things living creature reasonable: as well with rethe commandments of our Religion.

answering the division of matter, which it cannot deny himself. prescribeth, and as manifold, as the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth; yet is the law of Nature but one law, according to Aquinas: first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, be-

are reduced to one and the same last end. That this law of Nature binds all creatures, it is manifest; and chiefly Man; because he is endued with reason: in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of Nature increaseth; Postquam ratio ad perfectium venit, tune fit quod scriptum est Adveniente mandato peccatum revixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by S. Paul, Rom 1.18. When the commandment came, fin revived. Nature, when those that break the same, are faid by S. Paul, To be delivered over into a reprobate fense (or mind) to do those things which Jom 2 15, are not convenient : And again, that their coning, and the like; yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatfoever is agreeable L. r. Fid. mascene; Homines facti sunt mali, declinando be without excuse, the slight defences of 21th 6.30. in id quod contra naturam est; Men (saith he) | ignorance being taken from them. are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to Nature: And S. Augustine, Omne vi- not written before, is, that when the People tium natura nocet, acper hoc contra naturam were few, and their lives long, the Elders of

therefore contrary unto it. of Nature fo streight, but that they suffer the law of Nature many precepts from God,

for a law, but for the matter of the law. And exceptions in some particulars. For, wherevet where Ulpian also distinguisheth the as by this law, all men are born Lords of the right belonging to living creatures in gene- Earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of porral, from the right belonging to men; cal- tions, according to unequal merit: by taking ling the one Jus Nature, the other Jus Gen-from the evil, and giving to the good; and tium: the Divines understand the law of by permitting and commanding that all men Nature more largely, that is, for all evident shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reat themselves: according to the rules of Justice

And though the law of Nature command. that all things be restored which are left in which appertain properly to Man, as he is a trust, yet in some cases, this her law she suffereth to be broken: as to denv a mad man lation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for his weapons, and the like, which he left in our felves: and the laws of this appetite are keeping while he was fober. But the Univerfal principles can no more be changed. Now, although there are many other than the decrees of God are alterable: who, branches and divisions of this law of Nature according to S. Paul, abideth faithfull, and

#### §. VII.

## Of the written Law of God.

Fter the Eternal, and Natural, the law Politive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, cause all is contained in that general natural or rather an explication of the former, hath precept, That good is to be followed, and two kinds; Divine, and Humane. Again, ill avoided:and thirdly because all the parts | the Divine positive law is double; the Old, and New: The Old was given unto Moses in Mount Sinai, or Horeb, at fuch time as the World had frood 2512, whole years: and in the 67. day of this year, when as Ascatades, or Ascades governed the Assyrians, Marathus vic. Dei,11 the Sycionians, Triopus the Argives, Cecrops Attica, and Acherres Fgpt : to wit, after the promise to Abraham, 430 years. And this, it feemes, was the first written law which the World received. For the very word Nomes, fignifying a law, was not then, nor long after, Neither is it a small warrant for this law of invented by the Gracians; no not in Homer's time, who lived after the fall of Troy 80. years at least; and Troy it felf was cast down 335. years, after Moses led Israel out of Fe vot. This law, it pleased God to engrave in Stone, that sciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse it might remain a lasting Book of his exthem. For though this law of Nature stretch | pressed Will in the Church: and that the not to every particular; as to command fast- Priests and People might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ: and that so these Children of Ifrael, though bred to right and reason. And therefore said Da- among an Idolatrous People in Egypt, might

The reason known to us, why this law was est: Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is Families might easily, without any written law,instruct their own Children; and yet, as Neither yet are the rules of this law they increased, so doubtless they had, besides

before the law written. But now at length, for | God himfelf, and whatioever was first imas much as the law of Nature did not define posed by Adam, the same was observed by all kinds of good, and evil; nor condemn | Seth, who instructed thos; from whom it every fin in particular: nor fufficiently ter- descended to Noah, sem, Abraham Maac, Jarifie the consciences of offenders; nor so ex- cob, Joseph, and Moses. Yea, many particular pound divine Worship, as for those after- commandments afterward written, were ages was required, who gave every day less formerly imposed and delivered over by authority than other to the natural laws. In traditions, which kind of teaching the Jeme thefe refrects it was necessary, that the law afterward called Cabala, or Receptio; Preshould be written, and set before the eyes of cepts received from the mouth of their all men; which before, they might, but Priefts and Elders; to which the fews after would not read in their own confciences. The the law written, added the interpretation School-men, and the Fathers before them, in- of fecret Mysteries, reserved in the bosoms large the causes and necessity, why the law of their Priests, and unlawful to be uttered to

grounded upon this place of David, The law divine Law revealed to the Patriarchs, and of the Lord is undefiled converting Souls: The from them delivered to the Posterity, when testimonies of the Lord are faithful, giving mif- as yet it was unwritten. The commanddom to children. For the humane law, faith ments which God gave unto Adam in the be-S. Augustine, meeteth not with all offences, ginning, were, that he should impose names either by way of prohibition or punishment; to all Beasts, according to their natures; to feeing thereby it might take away fomthing whose perfection of understanding, they feeming necessary, and hinder common pro- were sufficiently known. For, finding the fit; but the divine law written, forbiddeth reason of his own name Adam, or Adamali. every evil, and therefore, by David, it is Earth, or red clay, he gave other names fignicalled undefiled.

Secondly, it ferveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can onely take knowledg of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no not first conceived in the mind.

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledg of truth, which by reason of diversity of Opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among fundry Nations, we cannot be affured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour; and therefore also said David, That the testimony of the Law of God is faithful; giving wisdom to children.

#### 6. VIII.

Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Latriarchs by Tradition.

ture, it doth not appear. For the Patriarchs | mage of God hath He made Man. of the first Age received many Precepts from

was written; whereof these are the chiefest, the People. But the true Cabala was not to The first, for restraining of sin, directly be concealed from any; as being indeed the ficant not only to Beafts, but to his Children and Nephews, which afterward his iffues imitated; as the name of seth lienifieth, as fome take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather one given in recompence for Abel that . The less clean in the one, than in the other. And was slain; and Eno 3 significant Man, or misereading therefore were the words converting our rable, & c. Further, God commanded Adam is to mer-Souls, added by David: wherein are all our to till the Ground, and to live by the labour mi bar outward acts first generated, according to thereof: God also gave him the choice of act dethe Cabalifts. Actiones hominum nulle effent, all fruits, but the forbidden; and in Adam flortee nifi prius in mente dicerentur; The actions of also was Marriage first instituted, all men evili and men (fay they) would be none at all, mere they the cc-after being commanded to co-habit met the with their Wives, rather than with their Fa- tree mitther or Mother.

That murther and cruelty was also for-the ture bidden, both before the Law written, and winch it before the Flood it felf, it is manifest. God hath, cehimself making it appear, that it was one of Goding to the greatest causes of the destruction of Man-Ger 4 1. kind by the general Flood. For God faid liem 44 4. unto Noah, An end of all Flesh is come before & trea.
me; for the Earth is filled with cruelty through effectivy, them : and behold, I will destroy them \* from being the Earth. That offence therefore, for which word, are all perished, could not be unknown to all but a sethat perished: God's Mercy and Justice interpofing between the untaught and Re-which is Now, that in all this long tract of Time, betweeen the Creation and the written to Noah, after the Waters were dried up minum it Law, the World and People of God were from the Earth: Whofo fleddeth Man's Blood, farmers left altogether to the law of Reason and Na- by Man shall his Eloud be shed; for in the I- wise.

age of God hath He made Man.

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God \$2.5

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Also the law of honouring and reverence
Also the law of ho

Father's curse : as, Cursed be Canaan, a servant Prophets, and in the Pfalms. of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Again, we find that the unnatural fin of the is taken for the Law Moral, Ceremonial, and Sodomite was punished in the highest de- Judicial; as, Therefore we conclude, that a dultery and Ravishment, was before the Law the Law. no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for Dina's forcing: by the repentance of Pharaoh and Abimelech, der the lam, but under grace. against whom this sentence was pronounced, Thou art but dead, because of the woman which where the Ceremonies or Signs are taken for thou hast taken; for she is a man's Wife. To the things signified; as the Sacrifice for Christ, these we may add the ordinance of Sacrifice, and the like; then it signifieth but shadows of Circumcifion, of the brother to raise up but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. feed to his brother that left a Widow childin the hearts of men, before it was engraven of the Priesthood; must needs be changed. in stone, but also in substance to have been though written after offences committed. It of concupifcence, &c. is true, that all the creatures of God were Beafts by fense and instinct, without difand things Inanimate, by their necessary motions, without fense or perception.

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6. IX.

of the Moral, Judicial, and Ceremonial Law. mith a note prefixed how the Scripture freaketh not alway in one sence, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

Moles in particular, is taken by S. Paul di-Now we know, that what soever the Law saith, it | end of man's life. faith to them which are under the Law.

ing our Parents, was observed among the distinguished them; as, All must be fulfilled Lude 24 faithful, and the contrary punished by the which are written of me in the Law, in the 44.

When it is opposed to the Gospel, then it gree, as with fire from Heaven. The fin of A- man is justified by Faith, without the works of Rem 3.18.

When it is opposed to Grace, it fignisieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt and by the judgment which Juda gave against Tamar, That she should be burnt; and Law; and Summum Jus: as, For ye are not un-Gal 3.18

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, of distinction of clean and unclean Beasts, and figures; as, The law was given by Moses, John 17.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of less, and divers other constitutions, partly | Christ's coming it signifies the whole policy Moral, and partly Ceremonial, which being of the Jews Common-wealth; as, Before Faith whoral, and partiy Ceremonial, which being of the jews Common-wealth; as, before rath delivered before the written Law were af. | came, we were kept under the law, &c. Or the Luc, 166. ter by it confirmed. So that this Divine Law law of the Order and Institution of the Aaroimposed, of which the Law of Moses contain- nical Priesthood; as, All the Prophets & the law, Hebr. 11, eth that which is called, The Old Testament, or the Priests, prophesied unto John. And if the Galant may be faid, not only to have been written Priefthood be changed, the Law also, to wit,

The word (Law) is fometime also taken given in Precept to the Patriarchs. For, as by the Figure Metonymia, for Interest, Au-S. Paul witneffeth of himself, I knew not sin, thority, and Empire, or for constraining gomes is but by the Law; fo ever the Law naturally force; as, The law of the Spirit of life, the law Rom 7 3) preceded, and went before offences, or the force of sin and death the enforcements

But the Written Law of Moses, or the law directed by some kind of unwritten Law; of the Old Testament, of which we now speak. the Angels intuitively; Men, by reason; is thus defined. The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, course; Plants by their vegetative powers; and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated, commanding Holiness and Justice, promiting eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the Law, and threatning Death to those which break the Law in the leaft. For according to S. James, Whofoever James shall keep the whole, and fail in one point, is 10. guilty of all. The definition used by the Schole-men, in which both the Old and New Law are comprehended, is thus given: Lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus præ-Ow, as the word (Law) in general, as is Scribens modum necessarium, ut apte pervenire aforesaid, hath divers significations, and possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, qua est is taken for all doctrin which doth prescribe ultimus humane vita finis; the divine Law (say and restrain; so the Law, called the Law of they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly verily : as sometime for the Old Testament; as, attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last

The Law of Moses hath three parts: Mo-When it is opposed, or differenced from ral, Ceremonial, and Judicial. The Moral the Prophets and Psalms, it is there taken for part commandeth this or that good to be the five Books of Moses. For so S. Luke hath done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in

particular; as also it declareth, for whose retaineth still. For these things also are take it is to be done; as, Do this, for I am the commanded in both Testaments to be ob-Lord; whereas the law of Nature commands | ferved : though principally for fear of God it but in general. Again, the Moral law en- in the one, and for the love of God in the rreateth of vertue and goodness; the Cerc- other. monial of divine fervice, and of holiness; (for external worship, and the order of hal- which it fore-fignified. For the shadow is lowing our felves unto God, is called Cere- not destroyed, but perfected, when the bomony and the Judicial teacheth the particu- dy it felf is represented to us. Besides, it lar government, fit for the Common-wealth still liveth in that it giveth both instruction of the Tems and prescribeth orders for justice and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth and equity. And therefore was it faid of direction to the Church, for some Ceremo-Som. 7.13. S. Paul, The Commandment is just, holy, and nies and Types of holy fignification, which good: just, or justice being referred to the are still expedient; although in a farr fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in

al; good, or honest to the Moral. The Judi- a farr less degree of necessity. cial part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the Jews, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as fuch as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The Ceremonial is divided into four parts. according to the four kinds of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, holy were signs and shadows) and the Judicial is things Sacraments, and Observances. To Sa- taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar crifices belong Beafts, and the Fruits of the to the Jews Common-weal and Policy. earth; to holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars, and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcifion, the Paffover, and fuch like. For Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the bloud and fat of Beafts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mix d Garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and unproper commixtion; as, Thou shalt not youk together in a Plough, an Ox and an AS, or cast mingled feed in one field. It also exhorteth to natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty. even to Beafts, Birds, and Plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For fo foine referr these Precepts, Thou shalt not kill the Bird fitting on her Neft, nor beat down the Buds of the Tree, nor muzzle the labouring Ox, and the like, to the Ceremonial Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of Mofes, but it hath as yet in fome respect the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the Moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or taken proved by S. Paul, in these words: Wherefore away; faving in the ability of justifying or the Law is holy, and the Commandment is holy, condemning; for therein are we command- and just, and good: which three attributes ed to love and worship God: and to use are referred, as aforesaid, to the Moral, Cecharity one towards another; which for ever remonial, and Judicial. shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this proved in all his creatures; who, as he hath ought to be done; which power of direct- given all things their lives and beings, so he ing by special Rules and Precepts of life, it only gave the Law, who could onely give

The Ceremonial also lived in the things

Lastly, the Judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end, and the natural and

univerfal equity thereof.

But the Moral faileth in the point of justification the Ceremonial as touching the use and external observation / because Christ himself is come, of whom the Ceremonies

5. X.

A Proposal of nine other points to be considered with a touch of the five first.

S for that which remaineth in general confideration of the divine Written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

- 1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
- 2. The Majesty of the Law-giver.
- 3. The property and peculiarity of the People receiving it.
- 4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
- 5. The efficacy and power thereof.
- 6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
- 7. The end and use of the Law.
- 8. The fence and understanding of the Law.
- 9. The durance and continuance thereof.
- 1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently
- 2. The Majesty of the Law-giver is ap-

Afoses immediately, but by the ministery of it self, or object and remote end, they Angels, as it is faid: And the Law was ordain- agree; which is, mans happiness and salvation. Gal. 3 19. ed by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator : And

of Angels.

Jacob or Ifrael fingularly, of whom christ. Gospel for ever during. Now, to Abraham and his feed was the Proing of many, but, to thy feed, as of one, which

4. The conveniency of the time, in which conveniency are formerly given.

felf sufficient, but as a figure of christ in cere- concerning peace. Secondly, by an excelcalleth the Rudiments of the Law, beggarly four Gospels. and weak; beggarly, as containing no Grace, Lastly, for the preaching and divulging weak as not able to forgive and justifie. The the Doctrine of christ, as I cor. 9. 14. and

bloud of Goats and Bulls, and the Ashes of an 2 Cor. 8. 18. Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but The agreement of both Testaments (tathey were figures of christ's bloud, which ken, I think, as they are divided in Volumes) doth cleanse the inward Soul. For if the Law is by Danaus comprised in these four. could justifie, then Christ died in vain.

6. XI.

Of the fixth Point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

He old and new Testament differ in

the end and reward promifed, to wit, the posed for attaining to salvation; as the old falvation of Mankind; but he gave it not to by Works, the new by Grace; but in the thing

The old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or in the Acts, He gave the Law by the Ordinance the Witness of Gods Will, was called the old. because it preceded the new Testament; H. & 3. 12. 2. The Propriety and Peculiarity of the which is an explication of the old: from People receiving the Law, is in three re- which the new taketh witness. Yet the new spects. First, in that they were prepared. Se- is of more excellency, in that it doth more condly in that they were a Nation apart and lively express, and openly and directly delidifferenced. Thirdly, in that they were the neate, the ways of our redemption. It is also Children of the Promise made to Abraham. called the old, to shew that in part it was to Prepared they were, because they had the be abrogated : In that he saith, the New Testaknowledg of one God, when all other Na- ment, be hath abrogated the Old. For the old tions were Idolaters. A Nation apart and fe- Law, though greatly extolled by the Provered they were, because of God's choice phets, and delivered with wonderfull miand election. Children of the Promife they racles, yet was it constituted in a policy were, for the Promise was made by God un- perishable; but the new was given in a proto Abraham and his feed; not unto his feeds, mife of an everlasting Kingdom, and thereas to Elan and Jacob, but to his feed, as to fore called in the Apocalyps, a Testament and

The old Testament is called the Law, bemise made; he saith not, to the seeds, as speak- cause the first and chief part is of the Law of Moses, of which the Prophets and Plalms are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The new Testament is called the Gospel, it was given, is noted by S. Augustine; that it because the first and chief part thereof, is was about the middle time, between the the glad tidings of our Redemption: the Law of Nature and Grace: the Law of Na- other Books, as the Epiftles, or Letters of the ture continued from Adam to Moses: the Apostles, and the Asts or Story of the Apostles, Law written in the commandments received | are plentiful Interpreters thereof: The word by Moles in the Worlds year, 2514, continu- Evangelion, fignifying a joyful, happy, and ed to the Baptim of John; from which time, prosperous message, or (as Homer used it) began the Law of Grace, which shall conti- the reward given to the Messenger bringnue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the ing joyful news. It is also sometime taken for a facrifice, offered after victory, or other 5. The fifth confideration is of the effica- pleafing fuccess, as by Xenophon. In the Scricy of this Law, the same being a disposition ptures it hath three fignifications. First, for to, or fign of our Justification; but not by it glad tidings in general, as in Esay 52. v. 7. monies, and a preparation to righteousness in lency it is restrained, to fignifie that most moral precepts. For through the Passion of joyful message of Salvation, as in Luke 2. 10. Christ were fins forgiven, who taketh away whence also by figure it is taken for the the fins of the World: and therefore S. Faul History of christ; and so we understand the

In their Author. In the fubstance of the Covenant, or

things promised. In the foundation, to wit, Christ. In the Effects, that is, in Righteousness and Justification.

In the Author they agree, because both name, and in the mean and way pro- are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of do- troduction (for to those which acknowledge old propoling him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of our Souls; which, according to S. Peter, is the end of our Faith. For although it be faid that Moles did promise by observing the law, an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with Milk and Honey the propagation of children, and other worldly bleffings; yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to affure the Fathers of those spiritual blessings by christ; acknowledg themselves strangers, and pilthese died in faith, and received not the pro-

confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the carth. To which purpose also S. Au-

nă deci-gustine, Omnino pauci veterem legem intellivii. Dei, gunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena. 18.c.15. eterna promitti ; Few (faith he) do understand the old law; not attending that by things earth-In Soplon, ly, eternal are promised. And S. Hierom: Noluit 1.3. v. 9. Deus pascere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibulque, ut Judai fomniant; God

would not feed the Jews as beafts with corporal gifts and riches, as themselves dream. And this may be gathered out of God's own words, Ego (um Deus tuus : O ero vobis in Deum; Iam thy God, and I will be your God. For the words, I wil be your God, prove that it was spect of the future ; to wit the safety of their things of this Law. Souls. For as God created both Body and The second end of the Law, is to render better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

Testament in substance, inferrs also the or half obedience; but both inward and agreement in foundation. For christ is outward righteousness, and performance of called the foundation of the law laid by the duty to God and Men. Apostles and Prophets; in whom all the profood, which we eat in our Sacraments.

knowledg of our fin and mifery, which is full tempest, threatning eternal death. taught us by the law maketh way, and, as it were, serveth in subordination to the Gospel, and preserve, the place of the Church and the proper effects wereof are mercy and fal- true People of God; and to hold men in

Etrine. For as there was ever one Church, fo their fin and mifery, God sheweth his merwas there one Covenant and Adoption, and cy and falvation) may be faid to agree with one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at the Gospel in the effect. For otherwise, if we chrift, to doth the new Law teach Chrift; the fever the law from subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different; the one sheweth the way of rightcoulness by works, the other by faith; the law woundeth, the Gospel healeth; the Law terrifieth, the Gospel allureth : Moses accuseth, Christ defendeth; Moses condemneth, Christ pardoneth. The old restrained the hand, the new, the mind. Data eft lex que non fanaret Rem (faith S. Augustine) fed que agrotantes probaret , The law was given, not to help but to difcover fickness: and S. Chrysofton; Data eft lex, ut se komo inveniret : non ut morbus sanarefor by the earthly, he raised their minds to tur, sed ut medicus quareretur; The law was the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers, not- given, that man might find and know his own withstanding these worldly goods, did yet imperfection; not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then feek out the Phygrims, expecting the heavenly Hierusalem; scian. For Christ came to save the World, according to this place of the Hebrews; All which the Law had condemned. And as Mofes was but a Servant, and Christ a Son; fo mises, but saw them afar off, and believed them; the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the worthiest person, saith Heb. 7. Cyril; for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

§. X I I.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

The feventh Confideration is of the end, and use of the Law; which is to bring us to christ; for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end; the next and proper end of the Law, isto prescribe righteousness, and to exnot for the present, or for perishable things, act absolute and perfect obedience to God. that God gave them this promise, but in re-

Soul, so bath he of his goodness, not left the us inexcusable before God; who knowing fo perfect a Law, do not keep it; the Law The agreement between the old and new requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken

The the third and chief end of the law, miles of God in the old and new are assured: is, as hath been faid, to fend us to Christ, and the Fathers having eaten the same spiritual his Grace, being in our selves condemned and loft. For the law was delivered with The agreement in effects, is, in that the thunder, and with a most violent and fear-

The fourth end of the law was to defign, vation; to which the law serving as an in- one Discipline, and aw, till the coming of

Chrift; after whom the Church was to be | ments, and his Ordinances, and his Laws, that

diperfed over the whole World. end and use of the Ceremonial law, is to mandata; If thou milt enter into life, keep the Cy stament. The use of the Judicial, to teach us mandatum ejus vita aterna cit; I know that his conform our felves.

cal fore-speakings of Christ.

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The See- the Law, the same had being until the Pas- of God, to fulfil the law (christ only as man pter mall not depart from of Christ; before which time, and while excepted) yet, if we rightly consider the from Ju- christ taught in the World, both the old and merciful care which God had of his people deb, nor a the new were in force. But after that the in those his Commandments, we shall find in from be- true facrifice was offered upon the Altar of our felves, how we borrow liberty, and ratowards God being thereby to be witneffed. And herein David so much rejoiced, as he preferred the observation of the law before all that the World could yield. In via testimoniorum tuorum deleciatus sum, sicut in Of the several Commandments of the Deca-1 John 5. omnibus divitiis; I have been delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches : And again, The law of thy mouth is good for me above thoufands of gold and filver. This is the love of God (saith S. John) that we keep his commandment. Deu 30 11,12,13 mandment (faith he) which I command thee power cannot be divided into many infinithis day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farr ties; and that it is of neceffity, that by this ... 6,7,8, off. It is not in heaven, that thou houldelf fay, Almighty Unity, all things have been caused, say Who shall go over the Sea for us, and bring every of them, Which giveth to Beasts their even in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. also ferve and love him onely. Echold (faith Moses) I have set before thee this The second Precept is the forbidding of day life and death, good and evil, in that I com- Idolatry, and worthip of Images; the making mand thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention to malk in his ways, and to keep his Command- of an ill intent in the beginning, feeing this

then mark line. &c. Neither is it faid in vain Thele be the ends of the Moral Law. The in S. Matthew: Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ferva " confirm the truth of Christ, and the new Te- commandments; and in S. John, Scio quia natural equity and right, whereto we must Commandment is life everlatting. And if this be the charity of God, or of Men towards The sence and understanding of the law God, as S. John hath taught, to wit, that we is double, literal, and spiritual; by the lite- keep his Commandments; certainly, he is ral, we are taught the worship and service of but a lyar, that profesieth to love God. and God; by the spiritual, the figures and mysti- neglecteth to observe the word of his Will, with all his Power. And, though I confess it Lastly, for the durance or continuance of not in mans ability, without the special grace the Cross, then the Jewish facrifices and ce- ther let slip our affections, and voluntarily remonies, which were Types and Figures of loosen them from the chains of obedience, Christ (Christ being the Body of those sha- to which the Word of God, and Divine Readows) cealed to bind the conscience any son hath sastened them, than that we are exlonger; the mysterie of our Redemption cusable by those difficulties and impossibilibeing now by chrift, and in him, finished. In ties, which our mind (greedy of liberty) protoken whereof the veil of the Temple rent poseth to it felf. For, this is the love of God, afunder; noting that the ceremonial veils that we keep his Commandments, and his and shadows were now to be removed, not | Commandments are not grievous, 1 Joh. 5. 12. that the moral law of the Commandments and if we examine every Precept apart, and was hereby abolished, or weakned at all; then weigh them each after other, in the otherwise than that it had not power to con- ballance of our consciences; it is not hard for demn according to the Jewish doctrine, as a- any man to judg, by what easie persuasions, forefaid. For the observing of the law was by we steal away from our own power, as un-Christ himself severely commanded; our love willing to use it against our pleasing desires.

### 6. XIII.

logue; and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandments, but by our de-

Or by the first, we are commanded to acknowledg, ferve, and love one God. And that there is no excuse for the neglect Now, whereby are we entited to the breach of the things commanded in the law, God of this Precept? feeing every reasonable himself in Deuteronomy witnesseth. This Com- man may conceive and know that an Infinite Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it and are continued. And if brute Beasts had us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? | this knowledg of their Creator, and how in Neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest his Providence he hath also provided for it us? &c. but the word is very near unto thee, food, &c. there is no doubt, but they would prolifer

CHAP. IV. initiis orta funt; Allill examples did fpring and fame, is a gratitude which Nature it felf hath arise from good beginnings. For their first ere- taught us towards them, who, after God, ction was to keep the memory of men famous gave us life and being, have begotten us, and for their vertue; until (saith Lactantius) the born us, cherished us in our weak and help-Devil crept into them, and (having blotted less infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest out the first intent) working in weak and and profit of their labours and cares. Thereignorant Souls, changed the nature of the fore, in the Temporal and Judicial Ordione, and the reason of the other, to serve nances, curling of Parents, or the offering himself thereby. For what reasonable man if he be not forfaken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, dumb, and dead ftocks, more worthleis than the most worthless of those, that having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither; yea, of more vile price and baser, than the basest of Beasts, who have sense and estimation? For what do we thereby (faith the Wisdom of Solomon) but wild. 13. call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life require aid of him that bath no experience,

allitance in our journeys of him that cannot go. and success in our affairs of him that hath no power? And whether the Idolater, or the Block to which he prayeth, be more fenflefs, us from Adultery. Now, if the preservation David maketh a doubt. For (faith he) they of Virginity have been possible for thouthat make them are like unto them, and so are sands of Men and Women, who in all Ages

all the rest that trust in them.

nor worldly profit; the two greatest inallured to this horrible disdain of God, unless the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an advantage. For, as our cor- the defire of beauty and form hath to conruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, strained, but he might with ease forbear the fo can it fatisfie no one appetite, except everlasting forrow, and Hell dwell in our defire. fuck to this Infant, and nourish warmth, till And therefore this strange custom hath the it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to Devil brought up among men, without all fire, and fire to flame. fubrilty of argument, or cunning persuasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornful advantage over us. For flaughter fatif- lent robbery had been used in Moses time, fieth hatred, Theft gives fatisfaction to need, which many Ruffians practife now a days in Adultery to lust, Oppression to covetous- England, and, to the dishonour of our Natiness; but this contemptuous offence of blaf- on, more in England, than in any Region of phemy, and the irreverent abuse of God's the World among Christians; out of doubt, name, as it giveth no help to any of our he would have censured them by death and worldly affections, so the most salvage Na- not by restitution, though quadruple. For, tions of the World do not use it.

Sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, ceth; but of those detested Thieves, who, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the to maintain themselves Lord-like, assault, labourer, and confolation to their Masters. rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and And, that this law was imposed on man for labouring man; or break by violence into the law: as in Exod.23.12. And in the seventh Drunkenness and upon Harlors, in one day, day thou shalt rest, that thine Ox, and thine the Stranger may be refreshed.

is generally true; Omnia mala exempla bonis Parents, with whom we are one and the them violence, was made death.

The next is, That thou fhalt not Murther, that is, Thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For the Law of God and after it our own laws, and, in effect, the law of all Nations, have made difference between flaughter casual, and furious. Affectio enim tua (faith Bracton) imponit nomen operituo; It is the affection and will that makes the work such as it is. And certainly, who foever cannot forbear to commit Murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any

use of his own will. The third of the fecond Table, commands

have mastered their sleshly desires, and have The branch of the third Commandment, returned chafte to their Grave: It cannot be Natile reis neither persuaded by worldly pleasure, accounted a burthen, to forbear the disho-pleas sernour and injury, which we offer to others by rem, Virchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way fuch a violation, feeing Marriage is permit- radifum. ted by the Laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom profecution of this ill, did not himfelf give

The fourth of the fecond Table, is, That we shall not steal. And, if that kind of vio-I speak not of the poor and miserable Souls, The fourth Commandment, to keep the whom hunger and extreme necessity inforhis benefit, Moses teacheth in the reason of other mens houses, and spend in Bravery, what other men have sometime laboured Ass may rest, and the son of thy Maid, and tor, all their lives; impoverishing whole Families, and taking the bread and food from The first of the second Table to honor our the mouths of their children. And that this

Commandment

Commandment might eafily be observed, it ment, not onely the conward act, but also would foon appear, if Princes would refelve, the inward affent unto cvil, though it break but for a few years, to pardon none. For, it not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, is the hope of life, and argument of sparing that we may know the difference between the first offence, that incourageth these Heil- this Commandment and the rest, the diffindoned once, there is no State or Common- with affent, and unbridled; others bridled. wealth, but these men would in a short time and without assent. For, even so the Moral impoverish or destroy it.

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criminal, that the Law ordained turn to turfought by falfhood to lay on his brother. .

The last of the ten Commandments, lurbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another manacither the bodies of even those which we resist and bridle) are their wives for concupifcence, or their goods here to bidden. For though he that bridled for defire of gain. And this Precept feemeth his evil defires, be much better than he that the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed yieldeth unto them; yet, such a man acby reason of our frail affections; and yet, if cording to the Heathen Philosopher, is not we judg hereof rightly, it may be doubted, whether it extend to all our inconsiderate Aristotle himself makes Continentia, not to fancies, and vain thoughts. For, although it be vertue, but only a degree unto it; confefbe not caffe to mafter all our sudden paf- fing, that though the Continent man do well fions, yet we may restrain and hinder the in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not growing, and farther increase, it we please all, seeing he ought not so much as to have to intend our strength, and feek for grace. them at all. Neither is it much more, that How the word Coveting, reacheth to all true Divinity delivereth touching this matthose, it is to be considered. For, Concupi- ter. For, as he saith, that in the Continent scentia, according to some, Est effranatus ha- man the having of these evil desires, though qua est principium proprium actus boni aut vi- ing such desires, though bridled, are a pultiofi; Such passions, or inclinations are imper- ling away of a part of our heart and affectifeet acts, that is, not deliberated upon by rea- on from God. fon, which is the proper Principle of a good or suffer them to bear sway. But these men, as possible for us to keep. For, as he is accursed it seems; make nothing forbidden in the (saint Hierom) that avows that the tenth Precept, but what hath been sorbid. Law is in all things possible to be observed: den in the other: for in every Command- fo he hath made this addition: Maledidus ravals, madel

hounds. And if every man prefume to be par- ction of defines is to be held; that fome are Finlogopher can tell us that the continent man The fifth Commandment of this second hath evil defires, but without assent (for Table, is, the prohibition of falle wit ... they are bridled by the strength of right from which, if men could not foreer the reason) as, on the other fide, the Incontinent furety of estate and life were take away, and good desires but restrained and sup-And io much did God detest a fe' innels, prefied by contrary passions. The evil deand a false accuser, especially, a matters was, when they are accompanied with asare in every Commandment forbidden, fer the same death or punishmen, which he together with the outward act; and therefore if we will have any thing proper to this Commandment, we must needs say, that the evil defires of the continent man (that is, worthy the name of a vertuous man. For bendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unrestrain- he resist them, is the cause that he cannot ed appetite of having: And, as touching fuch | be called a vertuous man: fo we, that the an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by having of them is a sin. Onely in this we exany our natural frailty, or unadvised error; cel him here; that we are able out of Divi-But, as I suppose, the word Concupiscence is nity, to give the true reason of this doctrine; more largely taken, either for a determi- which is, that every one finneth, that doth nate and unbridled evil intent, or for fome not love God with his whole heart and afurging inclination thereunto. All the que- fection: whence it followeth, that the evil Hion is of the later fort; which is, Adus defires of the Continent man; that is, of him imperfectus, id oft, non deliberatus ratione, which bridleth them, must needs be sin: see-

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to vicions action. And fure, it may feem, that fo make us know, that by our faithful endealong as we refift fuch motions, they harm us vours to keep his Commandments, we witnot: as they fay, Quandin refragamur, nihil ness our love toward himself; we may not nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari per- safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting mittimus; As long as we give no affent unto back upon God (who is Justice it self) that them, it is thought by some, that they burt us he hath given us Precepts altogether benot; and that then onely they burt, when we youd our power, and Commandments im-

qui dicit impolsibilia Deum pracepisse; Accursed | us see the inconveniences in this life, which is he that faith, that God hath comanded things would follow by the breach and neglect of (in themselves, and not through our fault) these Laws. impolitble. Now as the places are many which command us to keep the Law; fo is our acknowledged many gods? would not a weakness also in the Scriptures laid before farr greater hatred, warr, and bloud-shed us and therefore it is thus fafely to be under- follow, than that which the difference of Cefrood, that we should without evasion, or remony, and divertity of interpretation. without betraying of our felves, do our hath already brought into the World, even faithful endeavours to observe them: which among those Nations which acknowledge if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our defires therein. For that there is no man just. David witnesicth : Enter net into indement with thy fervant, for in thy fight, no field that liveth shall be justified. And in the first of Kings, There is no man that sunneth simpossibility to receive thence from, either not; And again, Who can fay, I have made my help or comfort? Trov. 20 9 heart clean? But, seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation; let every man's bringeth therewith this difadvantage and ill conscience judg him, whether he give way to man, that whosoever taketh the Name of willingly, or reftrain himself in all that he God in vain, shall not at any time benefit can, yea, or no? For when a King gives to his himself by calling God to witness for him, subject a commandment upon pain of loss of when he may justly use his Holy Name. his love, to perform some service: if the Subject, neglecting the same, seek to satisfie his Soveraign with shifting excuses, out of doubt requireth intermission from labour. fuch a Prince will take himfelf to be de-

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#### 6. XIV.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgment to come, vet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

rided therein.

Nd if we confider advifedly, and foberly, of the Moral Law, or ten Commandments, which God by the hand of Moles gave unto his People, it will appear that fuch no honour descend to Posterity, no endeawas his merciful Providence in the choice of vour by vertue and undertaking to raise Fathem, as, were there neither pain nor profit milies; murthers and poisonings between adjoyned to the observing or not observing Man and Wife would be daily committed; of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet, if we did not for our own fakes strive to observe these Laws, all Society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in rish, or live as the Salvages, by Roots and this life would be taken away, and every State and Common-weal in the World fall joy the fruits thereof. And fuch is the misto the ground and diffolye. Therefore these chief of Robbery, as where Moses for lesser Laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as crimes, appointed restitution sourfold, polia bleffing: to the end that the innocent cy of State, and neceffity, hath made it death. might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel, that right mens lives and estates from them by corrumight be done to all men, from all men; ption; the wicked would swear against the that by Justice, Order, and Peace, we might vertuous; the waster against the wealthy; live the lives of reasonable men, and not of the idle Beggar and Loyterer, against the Beafts; of free-men, and not of flaves; of careful and painful Labourer; all trial of civil men, and not of Salvages. And hereof right were taken away, and Justice thereby making our humane reason onely Judg, let | banished out of the World.

As first, what would the islue be, if we one God, and one Chrift &

And what could it profit mankind to pray to Idols, and Images of Gold, Metal, dead

The breach of the third Commandment

The observing the Sabbath Holy, giveth rest to Men and Beasts, and Nature her self

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our children, to forn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If Murther were not forbidden, and feverely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished; and v hosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If Adultery were lawful, and permitted, no man could fay unto himfelf; This is my Son: there would be no inheritance proper, and every man subject to most filthy and unclean Diseases.

If Stealth and violent Rapine were fuffered, all mankind would shortly after pe-Acorns. For no man laboureth but to en-

To permit false Witnesles, is to take all

distraction of mind, with an inward vexati- initio non sublistit; That which at first was not are therein fed with vain and fruitles hopes, ab initio viciosum est, non potest tracin tempobe deprived of our own.

py condition.

#### §. X V.

Of humane law, written, and unwritten.

Umane law, of which now it followeth is only the Prince.
to speak, is first divided into two (viz.) Humane law, g Written and unwritten. The unwritten con-Consuctudines vetustate probata; to be cufrom the effect; in that custom is by use and

And of customs there are two general na- more largely, Omne id quod ratione consistit; tures, containing innumerable particulars; All that stands with reason. and other Provinces.

The second are these petty customs, used are some written, others unwritten.

dom written, but witneffed by testimony of except it agree with the law natural and of Cornwall, comprehending also the Stanna- mate (saith S. Augustine) which the Lawry of Devon, as touching Tinn, and Tinn causes makers have not derived from the eternal. But howfoever, use and time hath made eterna lege sibi homines derivaverunt. these customs as laws, yet ought every cu-

The covering of that which belongs to | from to be rationabilis, as well as prascripta. orher men, bringeth no other profit than a Non firmatur trastu temporis, quod de jure ab on; for while we covet what appertains to grounded upon good right, is not made good by others, we neglect our own: our appetites continuance of time. And (laith Ulpian) quod whiles, fo long as we do but covet; and if we do at- poris convalescere; Course of time amends not tain to the delire of the one, or the other, to that which was naught from the first beginning. wit, the Wives, or goods of our neighbours; For these two defences are necessary in all we can look for no other, but that our felves laws of cuftom; the one, that it be not reshall also, either by theft or by strong hand, pugnant to the law Divine, and Natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, Wherein then appeareth the burthen of proving a right birth, and necessary conti-Gods Commandments, if there be nothing in nuance; it being manifest, that every custom them, but rules and directions for the ge- which is against the law, had its beginning neral and particular good of all living? from evil deeds, and therefore not without Surely, for our own good, and not in respect the former considerations to be allowed. And of himself, did the most merciful and provilit is true, that all customs of this nature, were dent God ordain them; without the obser- but tollerated for a time, by the law-makers, vation of which, the vertues of heavenly though they have been fince continued; bebodies, the fertility of the earth, with all cause posterity is not bound to examine by the bleffings given us in this life, would be what cause their Ancestors were thereto ueto us altogether unprefitable, and of no moved. For, Non sufficit simplex toleratio. And use. For we should remain but in the state it is in this fort over-ruled in the law; Per poof brute Beasts, if not in a farr more unhap- pulum consuctudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui novam legem & novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus princeps eft; The people cannot bring in a new custom against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which

Humane law, generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be filts of usage, approved by time; which It- the decree or doom of practick reason; by dore calls Mores; and he defines Mores to be which humane actions are ruled and directed. Papinian calls the law a common precept, stoms approved by antiquity, or unwritten laws. the advisement of wife men, and the restraint Now custom different from use, as the cause of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. Isidore calls the law, a Constituticontinuance established into a law; but yet on written, agreeing with Religion, sittest there, where the law is defective, faith Isidore. for government and common profit; And

the first are written customs, received and Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined. Greg. de exercised by Nations, as the cultoms of Eur-Humane law is a righteous decree, agreeing Val ex gundy and Normandy, the antient general cu- with the law natural and eternal; made by and and other manders and eternal; made by and and and eternal; from of England, and the customs of Castile, the rational discourse of those, that exercise 9.94-and publick authority; prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every law in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and ought to be a righteous decree, S. Augustine Mannors. The general or National customs teacheth, saying, Mihi lex esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit; It seems to be no law at all to The particular or petty customs are sel- me, which is not just; and just it cannot be, the inhabitance. The custom of the Dutchie eternal. For there is no law just and legitiare written in Devon, but not in Cornwall. Nihil justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab Lib i della

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by

outlined from the law natural, to wit the na- because they depend on particular circumtural, demonstrable, or needing no demon- frances, which are divers, and do not fit all fration, from whence the law humane is Estates. Hereof Olpian, Jus civile neque in totaken and deduced.

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be the government of what kind foever. id ift, Civili efficionus; The civil Law (faith he) For it falleth otherwise under the title of doth neither wholly differ from the law of Nathose decrees called Violentia, or iniqua con- ture and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: Hitutiones; Violences, or wicked confitutions. therefore, when we add ought to, or take from

especially answering these four condensation that is, the Civil Law. the former definition. First, as it is chawn | The law now commonly called the Civil out of the law of Nature; to every particu- Law, had its birth in Rome; and was first writlar of the humane law may be possilved into ten by the Decem-wiri, 202, years after the some principle or rule of the natural.

ferred unto, and doth respect, the common an laws, as out of the antient Roman customs

law, it prescribeth and directeth all humane though so many of the former laws as mainactions. And so is the law as large and divers, tained Kingly authority, were abolished as all humane actions are divers, which may with the name; yet those of Servius Tullius, tall under it. For according to Thomas, Alia for commerce and contracts, and all that lex Julia de Adulteriis, alia Cornelii de Sicari- appertained to Religion and common Utiis: The law of Julian against Adultery is one the lity, were continued, and were a part of the of Nations, and the Civil.

properly; less properly for every law which the Lawyers, called Responsa-prudentum; is not of it self, but from other higher prin- and the Edicts of the Annual Magistrate; ciples deduced: and so it seemeth that Ulpi- which Edicts being first gathered and interan understands it: for he defineth Jus Genti- preted by Julian, and presented to Adrian um, or the law of Nations, to be that which is the Emperor, they were by him confirmed, only common amongst men, as Religion, and and made perpetual laws, and the Volume the Worship of God; which is not in the ve- styled, Edictum perpetuum; as those and the ry nature of this law of Nations; but from the like collections of Justinian afterward were. principles of the Scriptures, and other divine The difference antiently between Laws and the Natural, sometime of the Humane.

discourse of reason, whereby it is distin- 1 Nations do not agree in or easily assent unto: tum a Naturali & Gentium recedit, neque per In Log. 6. Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an omnia ci fervit: itaque cum aliquid addimus, Todana authorifedMagistracy, it cannot be doubted, vel detrahimus juri communi, jus proprium, iar. A Parts. Of humane law there are four proposites, the law that is common, we make a law proper,

foundation of the City. It was compounded Secondly, it is to be confidered as it is re- as well out of the Athenian and other Greciand laws Regal. The Regal laws were de-Thirdly, it is to be made by publick au- vifed by the first Kings, and called Leges Regir or Papyriane, because they were gather-Fourthly, concerning the matter of the ed by Papyrius, Tarquin then raigning. For, Dian, Hal. Cornelian against Russians, is another. Now, laws of the twelve Tables. To these laws 6. Signam. the humane law generally taken, is in respect of the twelve Tables, were added (as the of these considerations, divided into the law times gave occasion) those made by the Se-position. nate, called Senatus-confulta: those of the The law of Nations is taken less or more common people, called Plebei-scita, those of

Revelations. But the law of Nations proper- Edicts, which the French call Reglements, ly taken, is that dictate, or fentence, which is confifted in this, that laws are the Constitudrawn from a very probable, though not tions made or confirmed by Soveraign Aufrom an evident principle, yet fo probable, thority (be the foveraignty in the People, in that all Nations do affent unto the conclusi- a few or in one) and are withall general and on, as that the free pallage of Amballadors be permanent: but an Edice (which is but granted between enemies, &c. which Nati- Julium Magifiratus, unless by authority it be onal law, according to divers acceptations, made a Law ) hath end with the officer, who and divers confiderations had of the humane made the fame, faith Varro. Qui plurimum law, may be sometime taken for a Species of Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam effe dicunt; They who ascribe the most to an Edict, say that Jus civile, or the civil Law is not the same it is a law for one year: Though Isidore doth in all Common-wealths, but in divers Estates also express by the word constitutions or it is also divers and peculiar, and this law is Edits, those Ordinances called Acts of not so immediately derived from the law of Prerogatives; as, Constitutio, vel Edictum est Nature, as the law of Nations is: For, it is quad Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edipartly deduced out of such principles, as all cit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which

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a King or Emperour dothordain, or proclaim. firmed by the Statute of Magna Charta. It Secular, and into the Ecclefisfical, or Canon. eldeft Sons flould inherit without partition. The Secular commanding temporal good, to In Germany, France, and elsewhere otherwir, the Peace and tranquility of the Com- wife, and by partition. In Ireland, it is the good, and right government of the Feelest- refigned into the Kings hands) that the elme praife, approve, and by our Kingly Authority approbation of the People confirmed. confirm. The Common Law of England is Islande faitneth these properties to every also compounded of the antient customs of Christian Law, that the same behonest, that

other fmall Courts.

Lastly, the humane Law is divided into the is by the antient custom of England, that the mon-weal; the Eccleliaftical, the spiritual custom of all Lands (that have not been aftical Common-wealth, or Church: Illud na- delt of the House thall enjoy the Inheriture legem, hoe divinam pecat; That respect tance during his own lite; and so the eth the law of Nature, this the Law of God. fecond and third eldett (if there be to ma-And so may fus Civile be taken two ways; ny brothers) before the Heir in lineal de-First, as distinguished from the law of Nati- seem; this is called the custom of Tanistry. ons, as in the first division: Secondly, as it is For example, if a Lord of Land have four the same with the secular, and diverte from Sons, and the eldert of those four have also the Ecclefaltical. But this division of the a Son, the three brothers of the eldeft Son School-men is obscure. For although the Ci- shall, after the death of their brother, envilbe the same with the secular, as the Civil joy their Fathers Lands before the grandis a law, yet the Secular is more general, and child: the cuftom being grounded upon comprehendeth both the Civil and all other the reason of necessity. For the Irish in forlaws not Ecclefaltical. For ot Secular laws in mer times, having always lived in a fubuse among Christian Princes, and in Christian divided civil Warr, not onely the greatest Common-weals, there are three kinds; the against the greatest, but every Baron and Civil, which hath every where a voice, and Gentleman one against another, were enis in all Christian Estates (England excepted) forcid to leave successors of age and abi-most powerful; the laws of England, called lity, to detend their own Territories. Now, Common, and the laws of cuitom, or Provin- as in Normandy, Eurgundy, and other Procial. In Spain, befides the law Civil, they vinces of France, there are certain peculiar have the customs of Caltil, and other Pro- and petty Customs, besides the great and vinces. In France, belides the Civil, the general cultom of the Land, so are there in cultoms of Eurgundy, Blogs, Eerri, Nivernois, England, and in every part thereof. But the and Lodungis, &c. Tous liez litues & allis en greatest bulk of our Laws, as I take it, are Lodunois, seront governez selon les costumes du the Acts of Parliament; Laws propounded clit pays; All places lying within the precincts and approved by the three Estates of the of Lodunois, fiall be governed according to the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the customs of that place. There are also in France obedience of which, all men are therefore the cuftoms of Normandy, and these of two bound, because they are Acts of choice, and kinds:General, and Local; and all purged and felf-defire. Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent, reformed by divers Acts of the three Effaces. quam qued judicio populi recepta funt; The The Charters of confirmation of these an- Laws do therefore bind the Subject, because win # in

tient cultoms, before and fince their refor- they are received by the judgment of the Sub-Leg Leg. mation have these words: Nos autem Regi- ject. Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim And the frum pradictum, usus landabiles, & conjuc- suam, cum fuerint non modo instituta, sed verselle tudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, etiam firmata approbatione communitatis; It Cristian & authoritate Regia confirmamus; The Regi- is then that humane laws have their frength, dec diffe. fier aforefaid landable use, and antient customs, when they shall not onely be devised, but by the Comis

the fame, and of certain Maxims by those it be possible, that it be according to Nacultoms of the Realm approved. Upon ture, and according to the cultom of the which cultoms also are grounded those Country; also for the time and place, con-Courts of Record, of the Chancery, Kings venient, profitable, and manifest; and with-Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with out respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives These antient customs of England have been four effects of the Law, which Modestinus approved by the Kings thereof from Age comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, to Age: as that custom by which no man and instigation: the former binds us by fear, shall be taken, imprisoned, disseifed, nor to avoid vice; the later encourageth with otherwise destroy'd, but he must first be put hope, to follow vertue. For, according to to answer by the Law of the Land, was con- Cicero, Legem opertet effe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum : It be- lex facit ut iple fit Rex : Rightfully ought the or binding us to the observation of things that doth make Kings. commanded, or forbidden, is an effect com- But whereas Eradon aferibeth this power mon to all laws; and it is two-fold: the one to the humane law, he is therein militaker. constraineth us by fear of our consciences, For Kings are made by God, and laws dithe other by fear of external punishment, vine; and by humane laws onely, declared These two effects the Law performeth, by to be Kings. As for the places remembred the exercise of those two powers, to wit, by the Divines and Lawrers, which inferr a

Coactive and Directive. bred by Modestinus, is Instigation, or incou- science, and profit ariting from the examples ragement to Vertue, as Arifiotle makes it the of vertuous Princes, who are to give an acend of the Law, to make men vertuous. For compt of their actions to God onely. laws being fuch as they ought to be, do both by preferibing and forbidding, urge us to enely have I linned; therefore the Prince of de the evil by the one and the other purchased. Trinceps non subjicitur legi. For seeing, ac-And this power affirmative commanding cording to the seleol-men, the law humane, good, and power negative forbidding evil, is but quoddam organum, & inflrumentum are those into which the law is divided, as fatestatis gubernative: non videtur posse ejus comprehenderh the whole body and fub- vis potefiatis Lumana non pertinet; fed vis bonum, Decline from evil and do good.

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That onely the Prince is exempt from lumane laws, and in what fort.

fon, it is doubtfully disputed among those the governing power doth reside, is a person that that have written of this subject, as well cannot by limself, or by his own power, be con-Divines as Lawyers; and namely, whether trolled. And therefore the law which is made Soveraign Princes be compellable; yea, or by fuch a power, cannot bind the Law-maker rity and strength.

Laws, simply then is the Prince io much vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni comabove the laws as the Soul and Body united, is above a dead and fenficis Carkais. For his own will and regard of the common good. the King is truly called, jus vivum, & lex animata: An animate, and living law. But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, Princes both add greatness to themselves, and conferve it; and therefore was it faid of Eracton out of Jultinian; Merito debet | should presume to digress, I will not pre-

Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam fume to determine, but leave it as a questi-

booteth the Law to be a mender of Vices, and a King to attribute that to the law, which the law commender of Vertue. The part obligatory, first attributeth to the King; for it is the law

kind of obligation of Princes, they teach no The fecond of these two effects remem- other thing therein, than the bond of con-

Tibi foli peccavi, faith David; against thee Planso. well-doing; laying before us the good and cannot be faid to be fubject to the law; Leg touching the matter : and in which David obligatio ad cum se extendere, ad quem insa stance thereof: saying Declina a malo, & fac | celestatis humana non se extendit ad cubernatorem in quo illa relidet. Ergo, neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest infum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, eft principium transmutandi aliud; Secing bumane law (lay they) is but a kind of organ, or instrument of the power that governeth, it feems that it cannot extend it felf to bind any Ow, whether the power of the humane one whom no humane power can controll or lay Ow, whether the power of the number of the n no? But whereas there are two powers of himself: for every active ability, is a cause or the Law, as aforefaid; the one Directive, the principle of alteration in another body, not in other Coadive: to the power Directive they the body in which it self resides. And seeing ought to be fubject, but not to that which Princes have power to deliver others from constraineth. For, as touching violence, or the obligation of the law; Ergo, eliam poteft Gree Vapunishments, no man is bound to give a pre- ipsemet Princeps, sive Legislator sua se voluntate tomia de judicial judgment against himself; and, if | pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; There-Leg. equals have not any power over each other, fore also may a Prince, or Law-maker, at his own much less have inferiours over their superi- will and pleasure, deliver himself from the bond ours, from whom they receive their autho- of the Law. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: Subditi tenentur And speaking of the supreme power of leges observare necessitate coastions. Princeps munis : The subjects are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince only by

> Now, concerning the politick laws, given by Moses to the Nation of the Israelites, whether they ought to be a Prefident, from which no civil Institutions of other People

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on for fuch men to decide, whose protest the rigour of Moles law required; even as fions give them greater ability. Thus much I the good King Hezekiak did, in a matter may be bold to affirm, That we ought not to meerly Ecclesiastical, and therefore the less feem wifer than God himfelf, who hath told | capable of diffensation, praying for the peous that there are no laws for ighteous, as those ple; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, which it pleased him to give to his Elect that prepareth his whole heart to seek the People to be governed by. True it is that Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he all Nations have their feveral qualities, be not cleanfed according to the purificatiwherein they differ, even from their next on of the Sanctuary; which Prayer the Lord borderers, no less than in their peculiar heard and granted. Languages; which disagreeable conditions ter of provocation to vice (as plenty make rigour than Moses, becometh not the Gospel. the Sybarites luxurious; want, and oppor-

To this effect it is well observed by Mr. to govern aptly, one and the same law very Doctor Willet, that the moral Judicials of hardly were able. The Roman civil laws Moses do partly bind and partly are let free. did indeed contain in order a great part of They do not hold affirmatively, that we are the then known World, without any no- tied to the fame feverity of punishment table inconvenience, after such time as once now, which was inflicted then; but negait was received and become familiar; yet tively they do hold, that now the punishwas not the administration of it alike in all ment of death should not be adjudgparts, but yielded much unto the natural ed, where sentence of death is given by customs of the fundry people which it go- Moses; Christian Magistrates ruling under verned. For, whether it be through a long Chrift the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemen-1/21 9. continued persuasion; or (as Astrologers ev and Mercy, may abate of the severity of more willingly grant) fome influence of Moles law, and mitigate the punishment of the Heavens; or, peradventure, fome tem- death, but they cannot add unto it, to make per of the foil and climate, affording mat- the burthen more heavie : for to shew more

But I will not wander in this copious artunity to fleal, makes the Arabians to be gument, which hath been the subject of ma-Thieves) very hard it were to forbid by ny learned discourses, neither will I take law, an offence so common with any people, upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a as it wanted a name, whereby to be diffin- case which dependeth still in some controguished from just and honest. By such ri- versie among worthy Divines. Thus much gour was the Kingdom of Congo unhappily (as in honour of the Judicial law, or rather diverted from the Christian Religion, which of him that gave it I may well and truly say, it willingly at the first imbraced, but after, that the defence of it hath always been vewith great fury rejected, because plurality ry plausible. And surely, howsoever they be of Wives was denied unto them, I know not accepted (neither were it expedient) as not how necessarily, but more conscienti- a general and onely law; yet shall we hardoully than feafonably. In fuch cases, me- ly find any other ground, wheron the conthinks it were not amils to confider, that science of a Judg may rest, with equal satisthe high God himself permitted some thing saction in making interpretation, or giving to the Ifraelites, rather in regard of their fentence upon doubts arifing out of any law natural disposition (for they were hard- besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judg could hearted) than because they were consonant have been witness, of whom Fortescue, that unto the antient Rules of the first perfection. notable Bulwark of our laws, doth speak, So, where even the general nature of man complaining of a judgment given against a doth condemn (as many things it doth) for Gentlewoman at Salisbury, who being accuwicked and unjust; there may the law, sed by her own man, without any other given by Moses, worthily be deemed the proof, for murthering her Husband, was most exact reformer of the evil, which for- thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: ceth man, as near as may be, to the will the man who accused her, within a year afand pleasure of his Maker. But where na- ter, being convict for the same offence conture or custom hath entertained a vicious, fest that his Mistris was altogether innocent yet not intolerable habit, with fo long and of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he fo publick approbation, that the vertue op- then (though over-late) grievoully lamentpofing it would feem as uncouth, as it were ed; but this Judg, faith the fame Author, to walk naked in England, or to wear the Sapins ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in cares English fashion of apparel in Turkie; there vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgamay be a wife and upright Law-giver, ret; He himself often confessed unto me, that without prefumption, omit somewhat that he should never, during his life, be able to clear

his conscience of that said. Wherefore, that sear is the beginning of Wildom. To which acknowledgment which other sciences yield purpose, well saith Saint Augustine, Condiunto the Metaphylicks, that from thence are tor legum temporalium li vir bonus eft. O drawn Propositions, able to prove the prin- sapiens, illam ipsam consulit aternam, de qua ciples of Sciences, which out of the Scien-nulli anime judicare datum eft; The Author ces themselves cannot be proved, may just- of temporal Laws, if he be good and wife, ly be granted by all other politick institution doth therein consult the Law aternal, to detions, to that of Moses; and so much the termine of which, there is no power given to more justly, by how much the subject of the any soul. And as well Prince Edward, in Metaphylicks which is, Ens quatenus Ens; Fortescue his Discourse, Nemo potest melius. Being as it is being; is infinitely inferiour aut alind fundamentum ponere, quam posuit to the Ens Entium; The Being of beings, the Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another onely good, the fountain of Truth, whole foundation than the Lord hath laid.



The Story of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law, to the death of Moses.

§. I.

of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wilderness; with a note of the reverence given to the Worship of God, in this ordering of their troups.

LORD, such Princes and Leaders, as in camped on the South-side of the Tabernacle. Worth and Reputation were in every The third Army marched under the Stanof three whole Tribes.

Men, confifted of three Regiments, which of the general Army, containing 157600. may well, in respect of their number, be cal- able men, marched under the Standard of led Armies; as containing the three whole Dan; to whom were joyned the two Tribes Tribes of Judah, Islachar and Zabulon. In of Nephtali and Asher. And these had the the Tribe of Judah were 74600. fighting Rere-ward, and moved last, encamping on men, led by Naasson; in Islachar, 54400. led the North-side. Dan had 62700. under Ahi-l., Nathaniel; in Zabulon 57400 led by Eliab., ezer; Asher 41500. under Pagiel; Nephtali All these marched under the Standard of the 53400. under Ahira. Tribe of Judab, who held the Vaunt-guard, Besides these Princes of the several and was the first that moved and march-Tribes, there were ordained Captains over ed, being lodged and quartered at their Thousands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and

Hen Moles had re-Igeneral encamping on the East-side of the ceived the Law Army, which was held the first place, and

from God, and published it among the The second Battalion or Army, called in People and finished the Scriptures the host of Renben, had joynthe Tabernacle of the Ark, and Sanctuary; ed unto it Simeon and Gad, in number, he mustred all the Tribes and Families of 151450. All which marched under the Stan-Ifrael; and having feen what number of Men dard of Reuben. In the Tribe of Reuben were fit to bear Arms, were found in every Tribe, 46500. under Elizur; in Simeon, 59300. from twenty years of age upwards; he ap-under ghelumiel; in Gad, 45650. under Eliapointed unto them, by direction from the Japh: These had the second place, and en-

Tribe most eminent. The number of the dard of Ephraim, to whom were joyned the whole Army was 603550. able men for the Regiment of Manasse and Benjamin; who Warrs besides Women and Children; also, joyned together, made in number 108100. besides the strangers which followed them able men. These marched in the third out of Egipt. This great Army was divided place, encamping on the West quarter of the by Moses into four gross and mighty Battali- Tabernacle. Ephraim had 40500. under Elilions, each of which contained the strength shama; Manasse 32200. under Gamliel; Benjamin 35400. under Abidam.

The first cithese containing 186400, able The fourth and last Army, or Squadron,

children, took place not only in the division Commanders, both of Ceremonies, and of of the Land of Promile, and other things of the People; under whom, as the chief of all more consequence, long after following but the other Levitical Families, was Fleazar, even in forting them under their feveral the fon of Aaron, his fucceflor in the high Standards in the Wilderness it was observed. Priest-hood. For Judah had the precedency, and the was affifted by Bejamin, his best beloved and expence in the provisions; the dutiful Standard, none of the children of Leab, or Ages have in some degree imitated, is now

are written in the third and fourth of Numbers. And as the Armies of the People ob-Army, and Standard of Ephraim, over whom pear to the simple multitude no less variable

and infurrection against Moses; Numb. 16. Family of Cohath on the South-fide, guided verse 1. and 2. For there arose up against by Elizaphan, within the Army of Reuben. Moses 250. Captains of the Assembly, famous and between him and the Tabernacle, in in the Congregation, and men of renown; of number 86cc. The third Company were of which number were Korah, Dathan, and Abi- the Family of Merari over whom Zuriel comram. Which three principal Mutincers with manded, in number 6200, and these were those 250. Captains that followed them, lodged on the North-fide, within the Army were not any of the Princes of the Tribes or of Dan. On the East-fide, and next within general Colonels before spoken of, as by those Tribes and Forces which Judah led, did Moles and Aaron lodge, and their chil-The bleffing which Ifrael gave to his dren, who were the first and immediate

This was the order of the Army of Ifracl. greatest Army, which also was wholly com- and of their encamping and marching; the pounded of the Sons of Leah, Jacob's Wife. Tabernacle being always fet in the middle Reuben having loft his birth-right, followed and center thereof. The reverend care in the second place, accompanied with his which Moses the Prophet, and chosen servant brother simeon, who had under-gone his of God, had in all that belonged even to Fathers curse; and with Gad, the Son of his the outward and least parts of the Taber-Mothers Hand-maid. Joseph, who, in tempo- nacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witnessed well ral bleffings, had the prerogative of the first- the inward and most humble zeal born toborn, a double portion, was accompted as wards God himself. The industry used in two Tribes, and divided into two Regi- the framing thereof, and every, and the least ments; the younger (according to facob's part thereof; the curious workmanship prophecy) taking place before the elder he thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge brother, the other fon of Rachel. To Dan, the observance in the laying up, and preserving eldest son of Jacob's Concubines, was given the holy Vessels; the solemn removing therethe leading of the fourth Army, according to of; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the Jacob's prophecy. He had with him under his provident defence of the same, which all Rachel. but only the fons of the Hand-maids. fo forgotten and cast away in this super-fine In the middle of these four Armies, was Age, by those of the Family, by the Anabapthe Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the tift, Brownift, and other sectaries, as all cost Congregation carried, furrounded by the and care bestowed and had of the Church, Levites. Near unto which, as the Heathens | wherein God is to be served and worshipand Pagans could not approach, by reason ped, is accompted a kind of Popery, and as of these four powerful Armies which guard- proceeding from an Idolatrous disposition; ed the same; so was it death for any of the insomuch as time would soon bring to pass children of Ifrael to come near it, who were (if it were not refifted) that God would be not of the Levites, to whom the charge was | turned out of Churches into Barns, and from committed. So facred was the movable thence again into the Fields, and Mountains, Temple of God, and with such reverence and under the Hedges, and the offices of guarded and transported, as 22000, persons | the Ministery (robbed of all dignity and rewere dedicated to the service and atten- spect) be as contemptible as those places; all dance thereof: of which, 8580. had the pe- Order, Discipline, and Church-government, culiar charge, according to their feveral of- left to newness of Opinion and mens fancies; fices and functions; the particulars whereof yea, and foon after, as many kinds of Religions would fpring up, as there are Parish-Churches within England; every contentiferved the former order in their incampings: ous and ignorant person clothing his fancy fo did the Levites quarter themselves, as in with the Spirit of God, and his imagination an inner square, on every side of the Taber- with the gift of Revelation; insomuch, as nacle; the Geshurites on the West, within the when the Truth, which is but one, shall apthan contrary to it felf, the Faith of men will! Cups, to 120, shekels of gold; which makes foon after die away by degreees, and all Re- of thekels of filver, 1200, every thekel of ligion be held in foorn and contempt. Which gold valuing ten of filver, fo that the whole diftraction gave a great Prince (f.Germany) of gold and filver which they offered at this cause of this Answer to those that perioaded time, was about four hundred and twenty him to becom a Lutheran; Si me adjungo pound sterling. This done, Moles, as in all makis tune condemnor av aliis: si me alis ad- the rest, by the Spirit of God conducted. jungo, à volis condemnor, quid jugiam video, gave order for the celebrating of the Passfed quid fequar, non habeo: If I aljoin my felf over, which they performed on the fourto you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn teenth day of the second Moneth of the sewith others, I am condemned by you: what I cond year; and on the twentieth day of the should avoid I fee, but I fee not what I should fame, the cloud was lifted up from above the

#### 6. I I.

Jethro.

Ow, when Moses had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the fervice of God, written the laws, numbred his Army, and divided them into the battels and troups before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all forts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes, brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, fix covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the Sanduary excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the Sons of Korah, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Veffels thereto belonging, were delivered to the Levites for that fervice, namely, to the fons of Gersban and Merari.

Befides their Chariots, each of their Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offerbrewgerabed unto God, and for his fervice in the weigheth Temple, a Charger of fine Silver, weighing 130. fhekels; a filver Bowl of 70. fhekels. oa Gerah after the shekel of the Santhuary; and an of Silver is Incense-Cup of Gold, of tenshekels, which three half they performed at the fame time when the pence fter- Altar was dedicated unto God by Aaron; ling: the side of and before they marched from Sinai towards their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for facrifice, according pounded, to the law Ceremonial the weight of all the Exod. 30. twelve filver Chargers, and twelve filver Bowls, amounted unto 2400, shekels of fil-10.Grahs, ver; and the weight of gold in the Incense-

duary Sicla of Silver is about 7. Groats, the common Sicle is but half as much to wit 10. Gerahs: as it is usually expounded; though Villabandus labours to prove that the common, and the Sandthary Sitle were all ones. Namb. 9. 5. Namb. 10. 11. Exed. ult. 34. Nam. 9. 17.;

Tabernacle, as a fign of going forward; Moses beginning his march with this invocation to God: Rife up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee, the before thee. Then all the people of Ifrael The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Faß- removed from their encamping at the toot over of the second year: the departing of of the Mountain sinai, towards Paran, the Army or great fquadron of Inda, led by Naalbon, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by Nathaniel and Eliah Leaders of the Tribes of Iffachar and Zabulon; after whom the rest marched as in the Figure express d. And because the passage-through so many Defarts and Mountains, was exceeding difficult: 110fes leaving nothing un-forethought, which might ferve for the advancement of his enterprife,he instantly intreated his Father-in. law, whom, in the tenth of Numbers, he calleth Hobab, to accompany them in their journey towards Canaan; promiting him fuch part and profit of the enterprife, as God should bestow on them; for this man, as he was of great understrinding and judgment (as appeared by the counsel he gave to Moses for the appointing of Judges over the People) to washe a perfect guide in all the fe parts, himfelf inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at Midian or Midian: and (as it feemeth) a man of great years and experience; for he was then the Prieft or Priece of Madian, when Mojes Hed first out of Egypt, and married his Daughter, which was 42. years before this request made. And though Mofes himself had lived 40. years in these parts of Arabia, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to affure his paffage, and fo great a multitude of fouls, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necesfary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of Moles, it may feem by the places, Exod. 18, 27, and Numb. 10, 20. that Jethro, otherwife called Hobab, yielded Indie 1. not; for it is evident, that he went back 11. Also from Moses into his own Countrey. But be- 1 Sam. 15cause it appeareth by other places of Scri- 6. And pture, that the Posterity of this Hobab was 15 mingled with the Ifraelites, it is most likely i chron ;

that this his return to his own Countrey, was Fer. 35. G g

rather

things in order, than to abide there.

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6. III.

The Voyage from Horeb to Kades; the Mutinies by the way; and the cause of their turning back to the Red Sea.

Fter this dismission of Hobab, Ifrael began to march towards the defarts of Paran; and after three days wandring, they fate down at the Sepulchres of luft, afterward called Tabeera, or Incensio; by reason that God multitude (Josua and Caleb excepted) who fed themselves with Quails (which it pleased Numb. 11. in the following Moneth, called Thamus, an-and 13. Swamb. 12. fwering to our July, they went on to Hazeraelites, by lying in ambush near those ways, through which the discoverers and searchers the return of the discoverers of Kades, the miracles wrought, was fuch, as they efteemed their deliverance from the Egyptian slavery his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible Wilderness (for fo Moles calleth it) with the Victory which he gave them against the powerful Amalekites, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on, and preserved them, but to bring them, their to them by the searchers of the Land, that to preserve, and in them to perform his prothe Cities of their enemies were walled and mises, which have never been frustrate.

rather to fetch away his Family, and to defended with many strong Towers and take his leave of his own Country, by fetting Castles, that many of the people were Giantlike (for they confess'd that they faw the Sons of Anac there) who were men of fearful Itature, and to far over-topped the Ifraelites, as they appeared to them and to themselves, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captain (or as they call it now aday, an Electo) to carry them back again into Fgypt; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every Soul of the whole confumed with fire those Mutineers and being confident in Gods promises, persuaded Murmurers, which rose up in this remove, the people to enter Canaan, being then near which happed about the 23, day of the same it; and at the mountain foot of Idumea, Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second which is but narrow; laying before them the Moneth of the second year, they rested, and fertility thereof, and assuring them of Victory. But as men whom the paffion of fear had God by a Sea-wind to call upon them) to the 24.day of the third Moneth; to wit, all the they threatned to stone these encouragers Moneth of Sinan, or June; whereof furfeit- to death; accompting them as men either ing, there died great numbers; from whence desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God refisted roth, where Miriam the litter of Mais was these wicked purposes, and interposing the stricken with the leprosite, which continued fear of his bright glory between the unadupon her seven days, after whose recovery If vised fury of the multitude, and the innorael removed toward the border of Idumea, cency & confrancy of his fervants, preserved and encamped at Rithma, near Kades Barnea, them thereby from their violence; threatfrom whence Moles fent the twelve difco- ning an entire destruction of the whole Na-Namb. 14 verers into the Territory of Canaan, both tion, by fending among them a confuming 22. to inform themselves of the fertility and and merciles Pestilence. For this was the strength of the Countrey; as also to take teath insurrection and rebellion, which they knowledg of the ways, paffages, rivers fords had made, fince God delivered them from and Mountains. For Arad King of the Cana- the flavery of the Egyptians. But Moses (the anites, surprized divers companies of the If- mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto Namb II. God to remember his infinite mercies; alleg-3. ing that this so severe a judgment, how deof the Land had formerly past. Now, after servedly soever inflicted, would increase the pride of the heathen Nations, and give them wrath of God was turned against Ifrael; occasion to vaunt, that the God of Ifrael failwhose ingratitude and rebellion after his so ing in power to perform his promises, suffermany benefits, so many remissions, so many ed them to perish in these barren and fruitless Desarts. Yet, as God is no less just than merciful, as God is flow to anger, fo is his wrath a confuming fire; the fame being once kindled by the violent breath of man's ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand less heavie than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity; so by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derifion) he fuffered not the wicked to pass unpunished; re-Wives and Children to be flaughtered, and ferving his compassion for the innocent; given for a prey and spoile to the Amo- whom, because they participated not with rites, or Canaanites. For, it was reported un- the offences of their Fathers, he was pleafed

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of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

purposes of God to the People, and children; which were increased to 600000. made them know his heavie displeasure and more. For, besides the double fault. towards them, they began to bewail them- both of refuling to enter the Land upon the felves, though over-late; the times of grace return of their discoverers, and the presumand mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left countermanded: it seemeth that they had them to themselves, and was no more among committed that horrible Idolatry of worthem, after they had so often plaid and shipping Moloch, and the Host of Heaven. Amoi 5. dallied with his merciful fufferings, they For, although Mofes doth not mention it, yet 4817.442 would needs amend their former disobe- Amos doth, and so doth the Martyr Stephen; King. 17. dience by a fecond contempt, and make as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the 10.8 cap. offer to enter the Land, contrary again Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved 6.33.0.4, to the advice of Moses; who assured them out of fundry other places. that God was not among them; and that the Ark of his Covenant ihould not move, returned to the Camp at Cades, Aleses, accord-lies. but by his direction, who could not err; ing to the commandment received from \*13.8c and that the Enemies sword, which God God, departed towards the South from had hitherto bended, and rebated, was whence he came, to recover the shoars of the now left no less sharp than death; and in Red Sea. And so from Cades, or Rithma, he the hands of the Amalekites and Cana- removed to Remmonparez, so called of abunanites, no less cruel. But as men from dance of Pomegranates there found, and diwhom God hath with-drawn his Grace, do vided among them. From whence he went always follow those counsels which carry on to Libnah, taking that name of the them to their own destructions: so the He- Frankincense there found. From Librah he Numb. 33. brews, after they had forfaken the oppor- croffed the Valley, and fate down at Reffa, tunity by God and their Conductors offer- near the foot of the Mountain. And after he ed: and might then have entred Judea had rested there, he bended towards the before their Enemies were prepared and West, and encamped at Ceelata; where one of joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods the Hebrews, for gathering broken wood on Commandment, undertake the enterprise the sabbath, was stoned to death. After of themselves, and ran head-long, and with- which, Moses always keeping the Valley, beout advice, into the Mountains of Idumea. tween two great legdes of Mountains (those There the Canaanites and the Amalekites which bound the Defart of Sin, and those being joyned, and attending their advan- of Pharan) cross'd the same from Ceelata and tage, fet on them, brake them, and of their marched Eastward to the Mountain of sanumbers flaughtered the greatest part: and | pher, or Sepher; this making the twentieth following their victory and perfute, con- Mansion. From thence he passed on to Hafumed them all the way of their flight, rada; then to Maceloth; and then to Thahah. even unto Hormah: the Amalekites, in re- and fo to Thars, or Thare; the four and twenvenge of their former loss, and overthrow | tieth Mansion. Where Moses rested the peoat Raphidim: the Canaanites, to prevent ple began that infolent and dangerous mutitheir displantation and destruction threat- ny of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; who for ned. Of which powerful affembly of those their contempt of God and his Ministers, two Nations (affifted in all likelihood with were some of them swallowed up alive, and the neighbour Kings, joined together for by the earth, opening her mouth, devoured; their common fafety) it pleafed God to others, even two hundred and fifty which forewarn Moles, and to direct him another offered Incense with Korah, were consumed way, than that formerly intended. For he with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of commanded him to return by those pain- their party, which murmured against Mojes, ful passages of the Defarts, through which stricken dead with a sudden pestilence : one they had formerly travelled, till they found of the greatest marvels and judgments of the banks of the Red Sea again; in which God that hath been shewed in all the time retreat, before they came back to pass over of Moses his Government, or before. For

Fordan, there were confumed eight and thirty years; and the whole number of the 600, and odd thouland, which came out of Egypt (Mofes, Jofua and Caleb excepted) were dead in the Wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn our. TOw, when Mofes had revealed the and the promised Land bestowed on their

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among

among so great a multitude, those lay-men, which though they continue their course into the Earth, with their Families and recover the banks of the Red Sea goods; even while they fought to over- From Jetabata, Moses directed his jourfeth him in this place also to approve by mi- Moles travelled in that passage. racle the former election of his fervant Aaboth Buds, Bloffoms, and ripe Almonds.

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Gadgad, which Hierom calleth Gadgada; of Idumaa into Egypt, when he fied from Jothered in one, Adricomius maketh a River, Eloth, in the Land of Edom. which falleth into the Red Sea, between Madian, and Assongaber.

Now, although it be very probable, that at Assongaber, where Solomon furnished his of Moses arrival at Zin Kades: and of the Fleet for the East-India, there was store of Herod.1.3. fresh water; and though Herodotus maketh mention of a great River in Arabia the Stony, Rom Essengaber he turned again towards which he calleth Corys, from whence (saith he North, and pitched in the Wilderness

who would have usurped Ecclesiastical au- for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by thority, were fuddenly fwallowed up alive the hot and thirsty fand, before they can

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throw the Order, Discipline, and Power of ney towards the Red Sea, and encamped at the Church, and to make all men alike there- Hebrona, & from thence to Estongaber, which in, rebelliously contending against the High City in Josephus time, had the name of Be-Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had renice; and in Hierons, Filia, From thence committed the government both of his keeping the Sea, and Eloth on his right hand. Church, and Common-weal of his People. he turned towards the North, as he was by And the better to affure the people, and out God commanded; Eliongaber being the far-of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleath theft place towards the South-East, that Drain.

It feemeth that Estongaber, or Asiongaber, ron, by the 12. Rods given by the Heads of Eloth and Madian, were not at this time in the 12. Tribes; of which Moses received one the possession of the Kings of Edom. For it is of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: faid, That the Lord spake unto Moses and Aawhich, being all withered and dried Wands, ron in the Mount Hor, near the coast of the Numb 12. and on every Rod the name of the Prince of Land of Edom; so as the Mount Hor was at 13. the Tribe written, and Aaron's on that of Le- this time in the South border of Idumea. vi, it pleased God, that the Rod of Aaron re- And if Eliongaber, and the other places near ceived, by his power, a vegetable spirit, and the Red Sea, had at this present been subhaving lain in the Tabernacle of the Congre- ject unto the Idumeans, Moles would also gation before the Ark one night, had on it have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the Idu-From Tharab, the whole Army removed | means obtained those places: for it is faid; to Methra; and thence to Esmona; and thence And they arose out of Midian, and came to Pa-1King.11. to Moseroth (or Masurit, after S. Hierom) ran, and took men with them; which were 18. and from Moscroth to Benejacan; and so to those Companies that followed young Adad thence to Jetabata, the thirtieth Mansion; ab. Likewise it is said of solomon, that he where, from certain fountains of water ga- made a Navie of Ships in Eliongaber, belides

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accidents while that they abode there.

he) the Inhabitants convey water in Pipes of Zin, which is Kadesh; or in Beroth, of the of Leather to other places, by which device children of Jacan; where they fate down in the King of Arabia relieved the Army of the first Moneth of the fourtieth year, after Cambyles; yet is Adrichomius greatly de- they left Egypt. For, at the next Mansion, ceived, as many times he is, in finding these Aaron died in the first day of the fifth Springs at Gadgad, or Jetabata, being the Moneth of the fourtieth year; the nine and nine and twentieth, or thirtieth Mansion. For thirtieth year taking end at Estongaber. And it was at Punon, that those Springs are spoken at this City of cades (for so it was thought of, which in Deuteronomy the tenth, and the to be) or near it, died Miriam, or Mary, Numb. 10. feventh Verse, is also called Jetabata, or Moses sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seen i. Jotbath, a Land of running waters, and in S. Hieroms time, as himself avoweth. From which by all probability fall into the River hence, ere they departed to the Mountain Numb. 10. Zared, the next adjoyning. And that these Hor, all the people murmured most violent. Springs should fall into the Red Sea at Assembly, or Eloth, I cannot believe, for the water. For neither the punishments by sire way thither is very long. And this I find in from Heaven; by being devoured and fwal-Belonius, that there are divers Torrents of lowed up by the Earth; by the sudden fresh water in those fandy parts of Arabia; Pestilence, which often seized them; nor

any miracle formerly fliewing, either the are: Whereof the West part Moles calleth love or wrath of God, could prevail with Mosera, and the East part Horeb. By the West this Nation any longer, than while they were part Mofes encamped, as he past towards the full fed and fatisfied in every of their ap- Red-Sea on his left hand; by the East part, petites; but in fread of feeking for help and as he went back again North-wards towards relief at Gods hands, when they suffered Meab, as in the description of Moles his pashunger, thirst, or any other want, they mur- fage through Arabia, the Reader may mured, repined, and rebelled, repenting perceive. them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on Moles all their misadven- to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that tures; yea, though they well knew that Moses sent messengers to the Prince of Idutheir own tathers had left their bodies in mea, praying him that he might pass with the Defarts, and they were now entred into the people of Ifrael through his Territory the fourtieth year, wherein all their miseries into the Land of Canaan, which bordered it. were to take end. And being, as it were, in For it was the nearest way of all other from fight of the Land promised, they again as ob- the City of Kadesh, where Moses then enhis indignation. But as the will and purposes cies being without end, he commanded Moles to strike a Rock adjoyning, with his Rod, and the waters illued out in a great abun-Mofes and Aaron at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly defires might invite them But it pleafed him Hor, being the next, and the four and thir-

and he was no more feen.

Now, it was from Cades, before they came finately tempted God as in former times, camped; whereas otherwise, taking his and neither trusted his promises, nor feared journey by the Rivers of Zared, Arnon and Jordan, he might have run into many haof God are without beginning; so his mer- zards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now. the better to perfuade the Prince of Idumaa dance, with which both themselves and their hereunto, Moses remembred him, that he cattel were fatisfied. Nevertheless, because was of the same Race and Family with Is-God perceived a kind of diffidence both in rael; calling him by the name of Brother. because both the Edomites and Israelites were the Sons of one father, to wit, Isaac; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to fayour and respect them, than he had to affift to end the travels of Aaron at the Mountian the Canaanites; against whom, Esau his Ancestor had made Warr, and driven out the tieth Station. At which Mountain Hor, Aa-Horites (who were of their antient Races deron was despoiled of the garments of his scended of cham) out of the Region of seir, Priest-hood, and the same put on Eleazar his calling it by his own name, Edom, or Idumea. Son, as God hath commanded. Which done, He also making a short repetition of Gods Moles and Eleazar descended the Mountain; bleffings befrow'd on them, & of his purpofes; but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and promifes affured Edom, or the King thereof that he would no way offend his people, Of this Mountain called Hor, otherwise or waste his Countrey, but that he would re-Mosera, as in Deut. 10. vers. 6. those Horites | strain his Army within the bounds of the took name, which the Idumeans had former- Common, and Kings high ways, paying moly vanquished. Some there are which make new for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the Mosera, which was the seven and twentieth water, which themselves or their cattel Manfion; and Mosera, which they write should drink. For Moses was commanded by Moseroth, for difference, which was the four God, not to provoke the children of Esan. Deut. 2. 4. and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called Hor, But the King of Idumea knowing the to be two distinct places; because Moses in strength of his own Countrey, the same bepassing from Cadesbarne towards Essengaber, ing near Canaan, rampir'd with high and encamped at Mosera, after he departed from sharp mountains; and withall suspecting, as Hesmona, and before he came to Benjaacan. a natural wise man, that 600000. Strangers Numb. 33. And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he being once entred his Countrey, it would came unto after he had left Cades, where rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly Miriam, Moses lister, died; the first being the refused them patlage, and delivered this an- Namb. 10. feven and twentieth, and the fecond being fiver to the Mellengers: That, if they at-20, 21. the four and thirtieth Mansion. But for Hor, tempted to enter that way, he would take which is also called Molera, it should have them for enemies, and resist them by all posbeen written, Hor juxta Mosera; Hor near fible means. And not knowing whether such Mosera; for it is but one root of a Mountain, a denial might satisfie or exasperate, he gadivided into divers tops, as Sinai and Horeb thered the strength of his Countrey toge-

ther, and shewed himself prepared to de- | which, without direction from God by Mofend their patiage. For, as it is written, fes, would have entred Cansan from Cadef-Numb. 10. Then Edom came out against him (to wit, Mo- barne. For it seemeth, that the greatest num-(es) with much people, and with a mighty ber of that Army were of the Canaanites, bepower. Whereupon Mofes understanding, that the end of his enterprise was not the Land promised, was that of Canaan: like uning the greatest of any man, and the skilrefused to adventure the Army of Israel against a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a paffage to invade others; and which, by reason of the seat of their mountainous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of Israel, and rendred them less conquered the reft.

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Of their compassing Idumaa, and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

E therefore leaving the way of Idumea, turned himself towards the East, and marched towards the Defarts of Moab. Which, when Arad the King of the Canaanites understood, and that Mojes had blanched the way of Idumea; and knowing that Idumea, and thereby, though victorious, of Canaan, was the North part of Edom. greatly have leffened his numbers. But al-

Numb. 14 his forces with the Amalekites, and gave verning them, who in the twelfth Chapter

cause in the first of Deuteronomy 44. the Amorites are named alone, without the Amaconquest of Seir, or Idumea, and that the lekites, and are said to have beaten the 1sraelites at that time. And this Arad, if he were to himself, who was of natural understand- the same that had a victory over Israel, near Cadesbarne; or if it were his Predecessor fullest man of Warr that the World had, he | that then prevailed; this man finding that Mofes was returned from the Red Sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the South part of Canaan was first to be invaded and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moles purpose to pais Moab, determined, while he was yet in the Defart, to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth able, if not altogether powerless, to have in the third Verse of the twelfth Chapter of Numbers, that the Ifraelites utterly destroyed the Canaanites, and their Cities, they are much mistaken that think, that this destruction was prefently performed by the Israelites. But it is to be understood, to have

been done in the future, to wit, in the time of Josua. For, had Moses at this time entred Canaan in the perfute of Arad, he would not have fallen back again into the Defarts of Zin and Moab, and have fetch'd a wearisome and needless compass, by the Rivers of Zared and Arnon.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued it was Canaan, and not Edom, which Ifrael at anything, which affirm, that Arad did not aimed at, he thought it safest, rather received inhabit any part of Canaan it self, but that his enemies in his neighbours Countrey man his Territory lay without it, and near to the to be found by them in his own; which he Mountain Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were might have done with a farr greater hope of the South borders of Edom, and not of Cana-Nation 33 victory, had Moles been enforced first to an. And it was in the South of the Land of 40. have made his way by the Sword through | Canaan, that Arad dwelt; which South part

Again, Horma (for fo farr the Israelites, afthough it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped ter their victory, persued the Canaanites) is for, yet, being resolved to make trial, what seated in the South of Judga. There is also courage the Ifraelites brought with them | a City of that name in Simeon But there is no out of Fegpt, before they came nearer his fuch place to the South of Edom. And were own home; leading the strength of his Na- there no other argument, but the mutiny tion to the edge of the Defart, he set upon which followed presently after the repetitifome part of the Army; which, for the mul- on of this Victory, it were enough to prove, titude occupied a great space, and for the that the same was obtained in the suture, many herds of cattel that they drave with and in Josua his time, and not at the instant them, could not encamp so near together, but of Arads affault. For, had the Israelites at this that some quarter or other was evermore time sack'd the Cities of Arad, they would fubject to furprise. By which advantage, and not the next day have complained for want in that his attempts were then perchance of Water and Bread. For where there are unexpected, he slew some sew of the Isra- great Cities, there is also Water and Bread. elites, and carried with him many prisoners. But it was in the time of Josua, that the Now, it is very probable, that it was this Ifraelites took their revenge, and af-canaanite, or his Predecessor, which joyned ter they had pass d Jordan; Josua then goan overthrow to those mutinous Ifraelites, and fourteenth Verse, nameth this Arad by the name of his City fo called; and with him, they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the the King of Horma; to which place the Ifra- Cities of Moab; which Hieremy the Prophet, elites perfued the Cansanites. And he named Chap. 48. Verf. 22. calleth the House of Diblathem amongst those Kings, which he van- thaim, the same which afterward was dequished, and put to death.

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Arad, Moses finding that all entrance on that and encamped in the Mountains of Abarim: tide was defended, he led the people East- though in the 22. of Numbers, Moses doith not ward to compals Idumea, and the Dead Sea, remember Helmondiblathaim, but speaketh and to make his entrance by Arnon and the of his remove from the River of Zared. Plains of Moab, at that time in the possession immediately to the other side of Arnon; of the Amorites. But the Ifraelites, to whom calling Arnon the border of Moab. bethe very name of a Defart was terrible, be- tween them and the Amorites; speaking as gan again to rebel against their Leader; till he found the state of the Countrey at that God by a multitude of fiery Serpents (that is, time. For Arnon was not antiently the borby the biting of Serpents, whose Venom der of Moab, but was lately conquered from inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made the Moabites, by Sehon, King of the Amorites; them know their error, and afterward, even from the Predecessor of Balac Peor according to his plentiful grace, cured them then raigning. From Diblathaim, Moses sent again by their beholding an artificial Ser- messengers to Schon, King of the Amorites, pent, by his commandment fet up.

Sea and Calofyria, encamped at Zalmona; and neighbour Nations of the Warr he underthence he removed to Phunon, where he took. And though Edom had refused him crected the Brazen Serpent; making these as sehon did, yet he had no warrant from journies by the edg of Idumea, but without God to enforce him. Moses also in sending it. For Phunon was sometime a principal City messengers to Schon, observed the same preof the Edomites. Now, where it is written in cept which he left to his Posterity and Suc-Numb. 21.4. That from Mount Hor they depart- celfors, for a law of the Warr; namely. in ed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved Deut. 20. 10. in these words ; When thou the people it was not thereby meant, that the comest neer unto a City to fight against it, thou Ifraelites turned back towards the Red Sea; Shalt offer it peace; which if it do accept of, and neither did they march (according to Fon- open unto thee, then let all the people found (eca) per viam que habet à latere mare rubrum; therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee; By the may that sided the Red Sea, but indeed but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the they crois deand went athwart the common males thereof with the edg of the fword. Which Estongaber, Eloth, and Midian; which way, as it lay North and South, fo Ifrael, to fhun the border of Edom, and to take the utmost East part of Moab, cross'd the common way towards the East, and then they turned again towards the North, as before.

From Phunon he went to Oboth, where he entred the Territory of Moab, adjoyning to the Land of Suple, a Countrey bordering

ftroved among the reft by Nebuchadnezzar. Now, after this affault, and furprize by From thence they can e to the River Arron. to defire a passage through his Countrey; From the Mount Hor, Mofes leaving the or-dinary way which lyeth between the Red him, yet he defired to give a reason to the way from Galaad, Traconitis, and the Coun- ordinance all Commanders of armics have treys of Moab, to the Red Sea, that is, to observed to this day, or ought to have done.

#### §. VII.

Of the Book of the battels of the Lord, mentioned in this Story and of other Books mentioned in Stripture, which are loft.

Ow, concerning the Warr between If Numb. 21. on the Dead Sea, and from thence to Abarim, a great part of this Story to that Book, enthe eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, tituled, Liber bellorum Domini; The book of where the Mountains fo called take be- Gods battels: and therefore passeth over ginning, and are as yet but small Mountures many encounters, and other things memorof Hills, on the East border of Moab; from able, with greater brevity in this place. His thence they recovered Dibon Gad, or the words, after the Geneva Translation, are River of Zared, which rifeth in the Moun- these: Wherefore it shall be spoken in the Look tains of Arabia, and runneth towards the of the battels of the Lord, what things he did Dead Sea, not farr from Petra the Metro- in the Red Sea, and in the Rivers of Arnon. polis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth The Vulgar Copy differeth not in sense from Station. And having pass'd that River, this: But the Greek Septuagint vary. For they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence the Greek writes it to this effect; For thus

Rivers of Arnon. In which words he under- Enemies. ftands, that amongst the Warrs which the

doms were elective, and not fuccessive. Josua, by an unknown Author.

And as Junus in this Translation undercial Book be meant; and if any, whether the Author. is be not a prediction of Wars in future ages,

That work also of the Patriarch Abraham, we left.

ages corrupted, and therefore now suspe-

it is faid in the book: The Warr of the Lord of Formation, which others bestow on Rabhath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of bi Achiba, is no where found. The Books News, 21. Arnon Junius for the Red Sea, which is in the remembred by Jolua, Chap. 10 Verf. 13. and Canney Genevian and Vulgar Edition, names the Re- in the fecond of samuel, Chap. 1. Verf 18. Suph. gion of Suph, a Country bordering the Dead called the Book of Jafter, or Jufiorum, is for more, sea towards the East, as he conjectureth, allo loft, wherein the flay of the Sun and 2. The Text, he readeth thus. Ideires diei fold Nacro in the middelt of the Beavens is reand of the in recensione bellow Jehova, contra Vahebum corded, and how they stood still till 1/2 torce of in Regione Suph; & contra flumina, flumina rael had avenged themselves of their enethe word Arnonis; Therefore is it floken in repeating of miss; out of which also David took the Sects.

Sects: Country of Suph, and againft the Rivers, the day to exercise their Bows against their

Some think this to be the Book of eter-Lord disposed for the good of the Ijraelites, nal Predestination, in which the just are there was in those times a famous memory written, according unto the fixty and ninth Name, 21, in the mouth of most men, concerning the Pfalm, Perf. 28. where it is said; Let them Warr of Schon against Valeb, the King of the be put out of the book of Life, neither let Moabites, and of his winning the Country them be written with the Rightcons. Hierom near Arnen, out of the policifion of the Mo- thinks that David by this Book, understood abites. For this Vaheb was the immediate those of Sannel; Rabbi Solomon, that the Predecessor of Balae, who lived with Mo- Books of the Law are thereby meant, in fes; though it be written that this Ea- which the acts of the just Abraham, of Isaac, Hin. is Lie was the Son of Zippor, and not of Jicob, and Moles are written. Others, that the life Re-Vaheb. For, it feems (as it is plain in the it is was the Book of Exodus. Others, as fuccession of the Edomites) that these King- Theodoreus, that is was a Commentary upon

The Book of Chozaii, concerning Ma- nier, in standeth no special Book of the battels of naje, remembred in the second of Chron. annu is the Lord: so others, as Vatablus in his Anno- Chap. 33. v. 18, and 19. Of this Book, also lost, Parally tations, doubt whether in this place any spe- Hierom conceives, that the Prophet Esay was

The same mischance came as well to to be waged in these places, and to be written by Abia Siten in the book of Judges. Syracides, cap. 46. lonites, who met with Jeroboam, and foretold tells us plainly, that those battels of the Lord him of his obtaining the Kingdom of Ifrael were tought by Josua; Il ho was there (faith from the Son of solomon: As to the Books he) before him like to him? for he fought the of Nathan the Prophet, and to those of Jeedo battels of the Lord. But seeing the Histories the seer, remembred in the second of Chron. of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over chap. 9. 1 erf. 29. With these have the Books matters of great weight in few words, refer- of shemaiah and of Iddo, remembred in the ring the Reader to other books written of second of Chron. Chap. 12. Vers. 15. perished; the same matter at large; therefore it seem- and that of Jehu the Son of Hanani, of the eth probable, that such a book as this there acts of Jehosaphat, cited in the second of was; wherein the feveral victories by Ifrael Chron. Chap. 2c. Verf. 34. Alfo that Book obtained, and also victories of other Kings, of Solomon, which the Hebrews write Hascimaking way for the good of the Ifraelites, rim, of 5000. Verses, of which, that part were particularly and largely written. And called Canticum Canticorum, onely remainthat the same should now be wanting, it is eth, I Kings 4, 32, and with this, divers others not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, of Solomon's works have perished, as his filled with divine discourse, have perished Book of the natures of Trees Plants, Beasts, in the long race of time, or have been de- Fishes, &c. 1 Kings 4. 33. with the reft reflreyed by the ignorant and malicious membred by origen, Josephus, Hierom, Ce-Heathen Magistrates. For the Books of He- drenus, Ciccus Asculanus, Picus Mirandula, noch, howfoever they have been in later and others.

Of these, and other Books many were cted, are remembred in an Epiftle of Thad- confumed with the same fire, wherewith dans, and cited by Origen, west dexar, and by Nebuchadnezzar burnt the Temple of Hierusalem. But let us return thither where

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and Og.

Abarim, opposite to the City of Nibo; leaving the City of Midian on the left hand, and cause Moses incamped in the Countrey of his attempting nothing upon the Moabites on new conquests, to wit, the Plains of Moab, that fide. For Moab did at this time inhabite the two and fortieth and last Mansion; which new 2. 9) on the South-fide of Arnon, having loft all Mofes wasted with the multitude of his peohis antient and best Territory, which was ple and cattel. Towards him therefore hanow in the possession of sehon the Amorite. fring himself, they encountred each other at For Moles was commanded by God not to Juliaz: where Schon with his children and molest Monb, neither to provoke them to people were broken and discomfited, and battel, God having given that Land to the the victory so pursued by Moses, as few or children of Lot; the tame which was anti- none of the Amorites cleaped. He also flaughently possess by the Emins, who were men tered all the Women and Children of the of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called Anakims, or the fens of Anac.

that part, especially to the East of Jordan, e- | dea, being at this time, and after this victo-West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of be perillous to leave so great a part of that Gilead, was inhabited by Giants. And in the Nation of the Amorites on his back, as inhalites did not at any time passthose Mountains and therefore he led on his Army to invade to the East of Basan, but left their Countrey og, a person of exceeding strength and stato them, as in the description following is ture, and the only man of mark remaining of made manifest. We find also, that as there the antient Giants of those parts, and who at were many Giants both before and after that time had 60 Cities walled and defenthe floud: fo these Nations, which antiently ced: lying between the Mountain of Herinhabited both the border of Canaan, and mon (which Mountain, faith Moles, the Sidothe Land it felf, had among them many Fa-nians call Shirien, and the America, Shenir) milies of Giant-like men. For the Anakims and the River of Jordan. And it befell unto dwelt in Hebron, which fometimes was called the King of Basan ( who attended Moles 19.15 the City of Arbah, which Arbah in Josua is coming at Edrei) as it did unto Schon: for 13 14,15 called the father of the Anakims; and the he and his fons perithed, and all his Cities greatest man of the Anakims. There had also were taken and possest. After this, Moles name of Zamzummims; which were of the wit, the Kingdom of Argob, even unto the fame antient Canaanites: and their chief Ci- Nations of the Geffiri and Machati, 60. walty was Rabba, afterward Philadelphia. They led Cities, called the fame after his own Strong men, and fearful Giants, who inhabi- the North part as far as Edrei, but the East ted other Cities of Ham, or Hom, in the fame part that belonged to Schon the Amorite, Province, and not far to the North of Areer. with the Mountains of Gilead adjoyning,

Now Moles having past Arnon, and being was given to Reuben, and unto Gad. incamped at Abarim; and having (as before) fent to Sehon, as he had done to Edom, to

pray a paffage through his Countrey, was denied it. For Sehon being made proud by of Moses his sparing the issue of Lot; and of his former conquest upon Vaheb the Meabite; the Giants in those parts; and of Schon | which Nation the Amorites esteemed but as strangers and uturpers, (themselves being of the fons of Canaan, and the Moubites of Lot ) When Moles had past Annon, he incfussed to grant Uprel any entrance that
way; and withal, prepared to encounter Mofes with as much speed as he could, be-Amorites, which he found in Ellebon, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they be-God also commanded Moses to spare the ing of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan Ammonites, because they likewise were de- also were, and descended of Emoreus, or A-Dist. 18. scended of Lot: who had expelled from moreus: for Moses calleth the Basanites also thence those Giants, which the Ammonites Amorites. And although Ifrael might now called Zamenmims. For it feemeth that all have taken a ready way and passage into Juven to the Defart of Arabia, as well on the ryat the banks of fordan : yet he knew it to plantation of the Land promised, the Ifrae- bited all the Region of Basan, or Traconitis: been Giants in the Land of the Atoabites, cal- with-drawing himself back again to the led Emims: and their chief City was Aroer Mountains of Abarim, left the profecution or Ar, near the River of Arnon. To the Giants of that war unto Jair the fon of Manaffe: of the Rephaims, the Ammonites gave the who conquering the East parts of Basan, to were also called Zuzims, which is as much to name Havoth Jair: of all which conquests fay, as Viri robusti, horrendique Gigantes; afterward the half Tribe of Manasse possest

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§. 1 X.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of mong the children of Ifraci to ferve them. Mofes his death.

Fter these victories, and while Israel soiourned in the valley of Month, the Madianites and Moabites (over both which Nations it seemeth that Ealac King of the Mo-abites then commanded in chief) sought, according to the advice of Balaam, both by alluring the Hebrews to the love of their daughters, and by perfuading them to honour and ferve their Idols, to divide them conquest begun, assuring him of Gods faboth in Love and Religion among themfelves: thereby the better both to defend fpent these his latter days after the conquest their own interest against then; as also to of og, and Schon King of the Amorites, in the beat them out of Moab, and the Countries repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an funded to these evil courses, and thereby threats unto the people, which he often redrew on themselves the plague of peftilence, peated unto them; thereby to confirm them whereof there perified 2,000, perfers : be- in knowledg, love, fear, and fervice of the Na. 15, I. fides which punishment of God, the most of all-powerful God: He blessed the twelve the offenders among the Hebrews, were by Tribes, that of Simeon excepted, with sevether violent deaths: after this, when that the greatness and goodness of him, unto Phineas the fon of Eleazar had pierced the whom in his prayers he commended them: hand for his fake.

people to be numbred the third time: and happened in the year of the World, 2554. there remained of able men fit to bear arms Na 16 st. 601730, of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000, to be chosen out, to invade the Ciries of Midian, who, together with the Moubites, practifed with Balaam to Observations out of the Story of Moles, how curie I rael : and after that, fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worthip of the true God, to the fervice of Beth-Pear : and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which Companies of 12000. Mojes gave the charge to Phineas the fon of

as had not yet used the company of men, but these they faved, and dispers'd them a-

And Mofes having new lived 120. years, making both his own weakness of body known to the people, and his unability to travel: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to afcend Descare the Mountains of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life: He hastned to settle the government in Jojua, whom he perfuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the your and atliftance therein. And so having adjoyning. The Ifraelites as they had ever iteration of the Law, according to Saint Au-day h been enclined, so were they now easily per- gustine) using both arguments, prayers, and designed been enclined, so were they now easily perthe commandment put to the Sword, or o- ral and most comfortable bleflings: praising Date to bodies of Zimri, a Prince of the Simeonites, He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Dissipation together with Coshi, a Daughter of one of Book of the Law, by the fide of the Ark of the chief of the Midianites, the Plague cea- God, The last that he indited, was that Pro-fulness, respecting the ardent zeal of Phiness the words of my mouth: and being called by in profecuting of Zimri (who being a chief God from the labours and forrows of this among the Hebrews, become an Idolater ) as life, unto that Reft which never afterward he forgave the rest of Israel, and stayed his hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of Moab. over against Beth-Peor: but no man In this valley it was that Moles caused the knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day, which

§. X.

God disposeth both the smallest occasions and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his

Ow let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of fundry of the Eleazar the high Priest: who slew the five great events, which have been mentioned in Princes of the Midianites, which were, or this Story of the life of Mofes, for (excepting had lately been, the valids of Schon, as appeareth by Josuah. These five Princes of the of this people) he wrought in all things else Midianites flain by Eleazar, were at this by the medium of mens affections, and natutime but the valials of schon the Amorite, to ral appetites. And so we shall find that the wit, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Rera, the fear which Pharaob had of the increase of the csp.13.21. Dukes of Schon, Saith Josuah. He slew aiso the Hebrews, multiplyed by God to exceeding men, male-children, and women: faving fuch | great numbers, was the next natural cause of the forrows and lofs, which befel himself, of that place, and Jethro's Daughters, an: the contention between the Sherherds gotten.

and the Egyptian Nation: which numbers made him known to their Father; who not when he fought by cruel and ungodly poli- onely entertained him, but married him ciesto cut off and lesien, as when he com- to one of those Sisters: and in that Solitary manded all the male children of the Hebrews life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's sheep, to be flain, God (whose providence can- far from the preass of the World, contenting not be relifted, nor his purposes prevented himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with by all the fooliin and salvage craft of mortal the Lot of a poor Heards-man, God found men) moved compatition in the heart of Pha- him out in that Defart wherein he first sufferrash's own daughter, to preserve that child, ed him to live many years, the better to which afterward became the most wise, and know the waies and pallages through which of all men the most gentle and mild, the most he purposed that he should conduct his excellently learned in all Divine and Hu-people, toward the Land promifed: and mane knowledge, to be the conductor and therein appearing unto him, he made him deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and know his will and divine pleasure for his rethe overthrow of Pharaoh, and all the flow-turn into Egypt. The like may be faid of er of his Nation; even then, when he fought; all things elfe, which Moses afterward by by the strength of his men of War, of his God's direction performed in the Story of Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, Israel before remembred. There is not and bury them in the dust. The gricf which therefore the smallest accident, which may Moles conceived of the injuries, and of the feem unto men as falling out by chance, and violence offered to one of the Hebrews in of no consequence, but that the same is cauhis own presence, moved him to take re- sed by Gol to effect somewhat else by: venge of the Expirian that offered it: the in- yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the retired of one of his own Nation, by greatest worldly importance, either pre-threatning him to discover the slaughter of lently, or in many years after, when the the Egyptian, moved him to fly into Madi- occasions are either not considered, or for-

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CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of Moles and Josua; with the sum of the History of Josua.

9. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have War, were divers vaies, as it were prepared to be their Enemies.

long before-hand, by the disposing pro- things more manifest, we must understand vidence of God, as it were, prepared for en- that this part of Syria, bounded by the mity: partly in respect that they were most mountains of Libanus, and Zidon on the of them of the issue of Canaan, or at least of North, by the same mountains continued as Ham; and the relt (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Ifraelites ) were mingled with them by mutual marriages : whereasthe Ifraelites still continued stran- West: was inhabited and peopled by two gers, and separate from them: and so part- Nations, the one springing from the sons of ly in this respect, and partly by antient inju- | Cham, the other from Sem: but those of

Nlike manner, if we look to the qua- 1 ries or enmities, and partly by reason of dility of the Nations, with whom the versity in Religion, were these Nations, as If relites, after their coming out of it were, prepared to be enemies to the If ae Egypt, had to do, either in the Wilder-lites: and so to serve for such purposes as ness, or afterward, we shall find them God had reserved them for. To make these far as the Springs of Arnon on the East: by the way of Egypt, and the Red Sea, on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the

it is faid in the book: The Warr of the Lord of Formation, which others bestow on Rab-Name of the Red San William of the Red San Which is in the Teconomic of the Red San Which is in the Teconomic and Vulgar Edition, names the Research gion of Suph, a Country bordering the Dead called the Book of Julier, or Julierum, is the more, gent of supply, a Contint's bordering the Beat and the Book of Japeer, or Jupiorum, is the more to find you to find 1/2. The Text, he readeth thus. Ideireo dici folet Moon in the middeft of the Fleavens is reand or the in recensione bellora schova contra Vahebum corded, and how they stood still till se the word in Regione Suph : Scontra flumina, flumina rael had avenged themselves of their ene-Supply, also Arnonis; Therefore is it foken in repeating of mics; out of which also David took the Cho 18. the battels of Jehovah, against Valieb in the Precept of teaching the Children of Tu-Rivers of Arnon. In which words he under- Enemies. stands, that amongst the Warrs which the Name, 21, in the mouth of most men, concerning the Pfalm, Perf. 28. where it is faid; Let them doms were elective, and not fuccessive, "Josua, by an unknown Author, And as Junus in this Translation undercial Book be meant; and if any, whether the Author. it be not a prediction of Wars in future ages, The fame mischance came as well to noch, howfoever they have been in later and others.

That work also of the Patriarch Abraham, we left.

Tertulitan.

bath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brooks of bi Achiba, is no where found. The Books Country of Suph, and against the Rivers, the da, to exercise their Bows against their

Some think this to be the Book of eter-Lord disposed for the good of the Ijraelites, nal Predeffination, in which the just are there was in those times a famous memory written, according unto the fixty and ninth Warr of Schon against Vaheb, the King of the be put out of the book of Life, neither let Moubites, and of his winning the Countrey them be written with the Righteons. Hierom near Arnon, out of the polletion of the Mo- thinks that David by this Book, understood abites. For this Fabeb was the immediate those of Samuel; Rabbi Solomon, that the Predecessor of Balac, who lived with Mo- Books of the Law are thereby meant, in fer; though it be written that this Ea- which the acts of the just Abraham, of Isaac, Hin. is hie was the Son of Zippor, and not of Jacob, and Moses are written. Others, that he kee Vaheb. For, it seems (as it is plain in the it is was the Book of Exodus. Others, as fuccession of the Edomites) that these King- Theodoretus, that is was a Commentary upon

The Book of Chozaii, concerning Ma-nin is standeth no special Book of the battels of nasie, remembred in the second of Chron, among the Lord: so others, as Vatablus in his Anno- Chap. 33. v. 18, and 19. Of this Book, also lost, Panily. tations, doubt whether in this place any spe- Hierom conceives, that the Prophet Esay was

to be waged in these places, and to be writ- the Story of Solomon, written by Abia Siten in the book of Judges. Syracides, cap. 46. lonites, who met with Jeroboam, and foretold tells us plainly that those battels of the Lord him of his obtaining the Kingdom of Ifrael were fought by Josna; Who was there (faith from the Son of solomon: As to the Books he) before him like to him & for he fought the of Nathan the Prophet, and to those of Jeedo battels of the Lord. But seeing the Historics the seer, remembred in the second of chron. of the Scripture elsewhere often pass over chap. 9. Vers. 29. With these have the Books matters of great weight in few words, refer- of shemaiah and of Iddo, remembred in the ring the Reader to other books written of second of Chron. Chap. 12. Vers. 15. perished; the same matter at large; therefore it seem- and that of Jehu the Son of Hanani, of the eth probable, that such a book as this there acts of Jehosaphat, cited in the second of was; wherein the several victories by Ifrael Chron. Chap. 2c. Vers. 34. Also that Book obtained, and also victories of other Kings, of solomon, which the Hebrews write Hascimaking way for the good of the Ifraelites, rim, of 5000. Verses, of which, that part were particularly and largely written. And called Canticum Canticorum, onely remainthat the same should now be wanting, it is eth, I Kings 4. 32. and with this divers others not firange, feeing fo many other Volumes, of Solomon's works have perifhed, as his filled with divine discourse, have perished Book of the natures of Trees Plants, Beasts, in the long race of time, or have been de- Fishes, &c. 1 Kings 4. 33. with the rest refire yed by the ignorant and malicious membred by Origen, Josephus, Hierom, Ce-Heathen Magistrates. For the Books of He- drenus, Ciccus Ascularus, Picus Mirandula, ages corrupted, and therefore now fuspe-

Of these, and other Books many were cted, are remembred in an Epiftle of Thad- confumed with the fame fire, wherewith dans, and cited by Origen, west dexer, and by Nebuchadnezzar burnt the Temple of Hierusalem. But let us return thither where

S. VIII.

6. VIII.

of Moles his sparing the ifue of Lot; and of the Giants in those parts; and of Schon and Og.

When Moses had past Arnon, he incamped on the other side thereof at Abarim, opposite to the City of Nibo; leaving the City of Midian on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the Modbites on new conquests, to wit, the Plains of Modb, that fide. For Modb did at this time inhabite the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which test 1. 9 on the South-fide of Arnon, having lost all Moses wasted with the multitude of his peohis antient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of sehon the Amorite. For Moles was commanded by God not to Jahaz: where schon with his children and molest Moab, neither to provoke them to people were broken and discomfited, and battel, God having given that Land to the the victory so pursued by Moses, as few or children of Lot; the same which was anti- none of the Amorites escaped. He also slaughently possess by the Emins, who were men tered all the Women and Children of the of great stature, and comparable to those | Amorites, which he found in Effebon, and all

scended of Lot: who had expelled from moreus: for Moses calleth the Basanites also thence those Giants, which the Ammonites Amorites. And although Israel might now called Zanezummims. For it feemeth that all have taken a ready way and passage into Juthat part, especially to the East of Jordan, e- | dea, being at this time, and after this victoven to the Defart of Arabia, as well on the ry, at the banks of fordan: yet he knew it to West, as on the East-side of the Mountains of be perillous to leave so great a part of that Gilead was inhabited by Giants. And in the Nation of the Amorites on his back, as inhaplantation of the Land promifed, the Ifrae- bited all the Region of Basan, or Traconitis: lites did not at any time pass those Mountains and therefore he led on his Army to invade to the East of Basan, but left their Countrey og, a person of exceeding strength and stato them, as in the description following is ture, and the only man of mark remaining of made manifest. We find also, that as there the antient Giants of those parts, and who at were many Giants both before and after that time had 60 Cities walled and defenthe floud: fo these Nations, which antiently ced: lying between the Mountain of Herinhabited both the border of Canaan, and mon (which Mountain, faith Moles, the Sidothe Land it felf, had among them many Fa- nians call shirion, and the Amorites, Shenir) milies of Giant-like men. For the Anakims and the River of Jordan. And it befell unto dwelt in Hebron, which fometimes was called the King of Bafan ( who attended Mofes 1415 the City of Arbah, which Arbah in Josua is coming at Edrei ) as it did unto Schon: for 1314,15 called the father of the Anakims; and the he and his fons perished, and all his Cities greatest man of the Anakims. There had also were taken and possest. After this, Moses been Giants in the Land of the Moabites, cal-led Emims: and their chief City was Aroer Mountains of Abarim, left the profecution or Ar, near the River of Arnon. To the Giants of that war unto Jair the fon of Manaffe: of the Rephaims, the Ammonites gave the who conquering the East parts of Basan, to name of Zamzummims; which were of the wit, the Kingdom of Argob, even unto the fame antient Canaanites : and their chief Ci- Nations of the Goffuri and Machati, 60. walty was Rabba, afterward Philadelphia. They led Cities, called the same after his own were also called Zuzims, which is as much to name Havoth Jair: of all which conquests fay, as Viri robusti, horrendique Gigantes; afterward the half Tribe of Manasse possest Strong men, and fearful Giants, who inhabi- the North part as far as Edrei, but the East ted other Cities of Ham, or Hom, in the same part that belonged to Schon the Amorite, Province, and not far to the North of Aroer. with the Mountains of Gilead adjoyning,

Now Moses having past Arnon, and being was given to Reuben, and unto Gad. incamped at Abarim; and having (as before) fent to sehon, as he had done to Edom, to

pray a paffage through his Countrey, was denied it. For Sehon being made proud by his former conquest upon Vakeb the Meabite; which Nation the Amorites effected but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the fons of Canaan, and the Moabites of Lot ) refused to grant Ifrael any entrance that way; and withal, prepared to encounter Mofes with as much speed as he could, because Moses incamped in the Countrey of his ple and cattel. Towards him therefore hafling himfelf, they encountred each other at Giants called Anakims, or the fons of Anac. the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they be-God also commanded Moses to spare the ing of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan Ammonites. because they likewise were de- also were, and descended of Emoreus, or A-peal, 18.

Moses his death.

A Free these victories, and while Israel so-journed in the valley of Moab, the Madianites and Moabites (over both which Nations it feemeth that Ealac King of the Moabites then commanded in chief) fought, according to the advice of Ealaam, both by al- render up his life: He hastned to settle the luring the Hebrews to the love of their government in Johna, whom he persuaded daughters, and by perfuading them to honour and ferve their Idols, to divide them conquest begun, assuring him of Gods saboth in Love and Religion among themfelves: thereby the better both to defend spent these his latter days after the conquest their own interest against them, as also to of og, and Sekon King of the Amorites, in the beat them out of Moab, and the Countries repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an funded to these evil courses, and thereby threats unto the people, which he often redrew on themselvs the plague of pestilence, whereof there periffied 2,000, perfens : be-15.4.15.1. fides which punishment of God, the most of all-powerful God: He blessed the twelve the offenders among the Hebrews, were by his commandment put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that Phineas the fon of Eleazar had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with Cosbi, a Daughter of one of the chief of the Midianites, the Plague cea- God, The last that he indited, was that Profulness, respecting the ardent zeal of Phiness the words of my mouth: and being called by in profecuting of Zimri (who being a chief God from the labours and forrows of this among the Hebrews, become an Idolater ) as life, unto that Rest which never afterward he forgave the rest of Israel, and stayed his hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of hand for his fake.

In this valley it was that Mofes caused the people to be numbred the third time : and happened in the year of the World, 2554. there remained of able men fit to bear arms Na. 16 st. 601730. of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000, to be chosen out, to invade the Ciries of Midian, who, together with the Moudites, practifed with Balaam to Observations out of the Story of Moses, how curle Linel: and after that, fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worfrip of the true God, to the fervice of Beth-Pear: and to the rest of their berbarous Idelatry. Over which Companies of 12000. Ow let us a little, for infruction, look Moss gave the charge to Phineas the fon of back to the occasions of fundry of the delatry. Over which Companies of 12000. Eleazar the high Priest: who slew the five great events, which have been mentioned in Princes of the Midianites, which were, or this Story of the life of Moses, for (excepting had lately been, the vastals of schon, as ap- Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choice peareth by fosiuh. These five Princes of the of this people) he wrought in all things else Midianites flain by Eleazar, were at this by the medium of mens affections, and natutime but the valials of Schon the Amorite, to ral appetites. And so we shall find that the wit, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Rera, the fear which Pharaob had of the increase of the constitution Dukes of schon faith Josuah. He flew aifo the Hebrews, multiplyed by God to exceeding

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#### 6. X.

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of the forrows and lofs, which befel himfelf, of that place, and Jethro's Daughters, and the Egyptian Nation: which numbers made him known to their Father; who not when he fought by cruel and ungodly poli- onely entertained him, but married him cies to cut off and lesion, as when he com- to one of those Silvers: and in that Solitary manded all the male children of the Hebrews life of keeping of his Father-in-Law's sheep, to be flain, God (whole providence cannot be refifted, nor his purpoles prevented himself (though bred as a Kings Son) with by all the foolish and salvage crast of mortal the Lot of a poor Heards-man, God found men) moved compatition in the heart of Pha- him out in that Defart wherein he first sufferraoh's own daughter, to preserve that child, ed him to live many years, the better to which afterward became the most wise, and know the waies and pallages through which of all menthe most gentle and mild, the most he purposed that he should conduct his excellently learned in all Divine and Hu-people, toward the Land promifed; and mane knowledge, to be the conductor and therein appearing unto him, he made him deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and know his will and divine pleasure for his rethe overthrow of Pharaoh, and all the flow-turn into Fgypt. The like may be faid of er of his Nation; even then, when he fought all things elfe, which Moses afterward by by the strength of his men of War, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, If ael before remembred. There is not and bury them in the dust. The grief which therefore the smallest accident, which may Moles conceived of the injuries, and of the seem unto men as falling out by chance, and violence offered to one of the Hebrews in of no consequence, but that the same is cauhis own presence, moved him to take re- sed by Go I to effect somewhat else by: venge of the Egyptian that offered it: the in- yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greated worldly importance, either pre-threatning him to discover the slaughter of lently, or in many years after, when the the Egyptian, moved him to fly into Madi- occasions are either not considered, or for-

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CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their coming out of Egypt; and of the Men of renown in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Josua; with the sum of the History of Josua.

6. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have War, were divers waies, as it were prepared to be their Enemies.

long before-hand, by the disposing pro- things more manifest, we must understand vidence of God, as it were, prepared for en- that this part of syria, bounded by the mity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the iffue of Canaan, or at least of Ham; and the rest (as the Edomites, Moa- far as the Springs of Arnon on the East: by bites, Ammonites; and Israelites ) were min- the way of Egypt, and the Red Sea, on the gled with them by mutual marriages : South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the whereas the Israelites still continued stran- West: was inhabited and peopled by two gers, and separate from them: and so part- Nations, the one springing from the sons of ly in this respect, and partly by antient inju- | Cham, the other from Sem: but those of

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Sem, were but as ftrangers therein for a long eldeft fon Naboth sprung the Arabians of It feemeth " one Family, to wit, that of Abraham, and ham befought God to bles Ismael, so it pleaalso that a few of his kinned. The other for the great- fed him both to promife and perform it. For chir, and Lords and possessions of those Territories, habited, in effect, all that Tract of Land Bag his Lords and policilors of those Territories, Brother, by process of time divided into several Faplanted milies and Names: whereof fome of them is the West part of the Desart of Arabia in the East were of eminent stature and strength, as the Petrea. Yet howsoever the strength of tide of for- Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, dan, about Horites, and others. These (as men most from Abraham, were great; it is not unlikewherethey valiant and able commonly do) did inhafind the Land of bite the utter borders and Mountains of not to favour the entrance of the Uraclites their Countries: the rest were the Zidoni- into Canaan, was in respect of fear: because waich Job ans, Jebusties, Amorites, Hevites, Hetites, and all Princes and States do not wilingly permit one of the others, who took name after the fons of Ca- any stranger or powerful Nation to enter iffue of naan, and after whom the Countrey in ge- their Territories. Wherefore, though all Bus, the neral was still called.

sbor, and Eliba, his Shem by Abraham, they were of another Fa- they had their jealoufies of each other, and triend who mily, and ftrangers in that Country, especial contended for dominion; yet fearing a third Bugit. See ally the Israelites: and this was some cause more strong than themselves, whether they hereater that the Canaanites did not affect them, or stood apart or united, they were taught by they dayly contracted affinity, than of their that, the border of the Ammonites was strong Ex. 17.16. old pedigree from Abraham.

Dent. 11.5, of Abraham, or of his kinred, who had link- Moabites in their own reason not much to Deat 11.5. For the Ifraelites were forbidden to pro- and more stirred up to enmity against Ifra-Ex. 17.16. whereas contrariwife Amalek was curfed, and descended from Abraham's kinred, we may endless war decreed against him: but here- note, how in the beginning, between the

of more elsewhere, Chap. 8. 5.3. Of Ismael's Authours of their Pedigrees, God permit-

time, and came thither, in effect, but with Petraa, called Nabathai. Now even as Abrason of Nate of part, were the Canaanites, the antient of him those twelve Princes came, which in Gon to between Havilah upon Tygris, and Sur which these later named Nations, which descended ly, but that some reason which moved them these Families before named, were not so As for the Hebrews which descended of united in and among themselves, but that indure them, no more than the Philistims the care of their own preservation, to joyn did, who descended also of Cham by Miz- themselves together against Israel: though raim. For though Abraham himself, being a they did it nothing so maliciously and restranger, was highly esteemed and honour- solvedly as the Canaanites did. For the ed among them; especially by the Amorites Edumaans onely denied the Hebrews a pafinhabiting the West part of Jordan: yet sage, which the Moabites durst not deny: now even they which descended from Abra- because their Country lay more open; and ham, or from his kinred, abode and multi- because themselves had lately been beaten plied in those parts, were alienated in affe- out of the richest part of their Dominions, ctions from the Ifraelites, as holding them by the Amorites: and as for the Ammonites strangers and intruders: making more actiheir Country lay altogether out of the way. count of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the strength of Schon and Og, Kings of and the rest of the issue of Cham, with whom the Amorites, was interjacent: and besides by reason of the mountains which divided it True it is, that these Nations descended from Basan. Again, that which moved the Nation ed themselves, and marched with the Cana- interrupt Israel, in the conquest of sehon the anites and others, had so far possest them- Amorite, and of og his confederate, was, selves of the borders of those Regions, as that the Meabites might hope, after such a they began to be equal in strength to the time as the Amorites were beaten by Moses, bordering Canaanites, if not superiour. For that themselves might recover again their of Lot came those two great Families of the own inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Moabites, and Ammonites: of Esau the Idu. Plains lying between the mountains of Arameans : of Mudian the Madianites : of If bia and Jordan : But as foon as Sehon was mael the eldest son of Abraham, came the If- slain, and that the King of Moab, Balac, permaelites, with whom are joyned, as of the ceived that Moses allotted that Valley to the fame Nation, the Amalekites; whom though Tribes of Gad and Reuben, he began to prathe more common opinion thinketh to have Ctife with Balaam against Ifrael, and by the been a Tribe of Edom, because Esau had a daughters of Midian, as aforesaid, to allure grand-child of that name, yet manifest rea- them to Idolatry: and thus at the length fon convinceth it to have been otherwise. the Moabites, by special occasion, were more voke the Edomites, or do them any wrong; el. And as for divers of the rest that were

red fome enmities to be, as it were, prefages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incenfed by the memory of old grudges: and withall, by fome difdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the Ismaelites being descended from the eldest son of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest fon of Isac, Jacob, being but a fecond fon, of a fecond brother; be thought to be of a better Fedigree ) we those Princes which were descended of the find four named by Moses: and one and to give place, much less to subject themselvs these named, otherwise than by the Cities to their inferiours, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the issues of Esan, Princes of Idumea, might keep in record, that their Parent was bought out of his birth-6m 17. right by Jacob's taking his advantage, and

66.33 14 that he was deceived of his Father's blefling of Cham by Canaan, as the Hitties, Jebualso by him : and that Jacob, after reconci- sites, Amorites, Gergesites, Hevites, &c. and liation, came not unto him as he promised, so here we understand this name in speaking into Seir or Idumea.

remain as a feed or pretence of enmity, that holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God their fore-father was by the instigation of hath appointed that the seven principle Fa-Sara, cast out into the Desart, with his mo- milies should be rooted out, and that his ther Hagar; and had therein perished, but own people should inherit their Lands and that it pleased God by his Angel to relieve Cities. But if we consider of the name them. Ismael also had an Egyptian both to his Mother and to his Wife: and Amalec Horites were of the antient Canaanites. The in which narrow Country, and in the choif-Maternal line descended of the Canaanites. held their Paternal name chiefly inhabited. For Esau took two wives of that Nation: one

the Hittite; and the other Aholibamah, the Hevites, whom Simeon and Levi flew, togegrand-child of Zibeon, the Hevite, Lord of ther with his Son Sichem, in revenge of their Seir, before the same was conquered by E- listers ravishment. fau, and called after his name, Edom, or Edumea.

of the Ilmaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammo- Edom and the dead Sea; the same which surnites, Edomites, &c. were in process of time prifed Ifrael, as they encamped in the Wilcorrupted, and drawn from the knowledg derness in the edge of Edumea. and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and feduced by the conversation bon, who before Moses arrival had beaten the and by those wives of the Canaanites which trea, or Nabathea, and thrust them over Arthey had married: onely a few of the Ke-non into the Delarts, the same whom Moses nites and those Madianites, which inhabi- overthrew in the plains of Moab: at which ted on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof time he took Effebon, and all the Cities of Jethro was Priest, or Prince, or both, wor- the Amorites. thipped the true and ever-living God.

6. II.

of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the antient Wars of the Hraclines

F the Kings of the Canaanites, descended of Cham (for Melekizedek may elder Houses, being natural men, might scorn thirty remembred by Josus, though few of over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. These Canaanites in a general confideration are to be understood for all those Nations, descended of the Kings of the Canaanites: and so also So also in the posterity of Ismael, it might we call the Country of their habitation the and Nation in particulare hen is their proper habitation bounded by Jordan, on the was also an Horite by his Mother : which East and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: Edumeans also, or Edomites, were by their est places thereof, those Canaanites which

The first King of these Nations, named in Gen 34. of them was Adath, the daughter of Elon, the Scriptures, was Hamor or Hemer, of the

Arad was the fecond King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part Laftly it appeareth that all those Families of Canaan towards the South, neighbouring Num. 2.1.1.

The third named was Sehon King of Effeof those people among whom they dwelt, Moabites out of the West part of Arabia Pe- Na. 1.14 701.9.700

Presently after which victory, Og was also ub 4.6.5. flain by Ifrael, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountains Na. 21.35. Traconi, or Galaad, and Jordan, who was alfo a King of the Amerites.

The fifth was Adonizedck King of the Jebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Josua nameth four other Kings.

Heban, King of Hebron. Piram. King of Jarmeth. Japia, King of Lukis: and

Deber, King of Fglon, who were all Amo-Joing to rites overthrown in battel; and hanged by Joseph and Josua. After this overthrow Josua nameth

Tabin, King of Hazor, and Jobab, King of Madon: whom he also flaughtered, and took his Cities: and this falem. Jabin scemed to have some dominion over

Jos. 11. 1. the reft; for it is faid in the Text, For Hazor before times was the head of all those Kingdoms.

After these Adonibezek that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crumbs under his Table: who, after Juda and Simeon had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this King was carried to

Hierufalem where he died. by Josua. For at such time as he employed Reg. 14.7. where it is also called Joktheel. Sifara against Ifrael, whom he oppresetwenty years after the eath of Ehnd, he inhabited Hazor. This abin Barac (encouraged by Dehora) everthew; and his Captain Sifara had by fael, the wife of Heber the Ke-

nite, a nail driven into his head while he 17/21. \$3. flept in her Tent: Jabin himself perishing afterward in that war.

thegleus or Jethres, faith Josephus, called Je- Afterward in the pursuit of the rest, Gideon Exol. 3. throin Exodus, Kenis in the first of Judges, the himself laid hands upon Zebah and Salmana, Cedion. han: by Cethura, was Priest or Prince of the perished 1200cc. of the Madianites and their I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This description of their Territories. Tethro, if he were not the same with Hobab, must be his father: and this Hobab had seven daughters. He guided Moses in the Wildernefs, and became one of the Ifraelites: of him descended the Kenites, so called of his father Raguels furname, of which Kenites was Heber, which had peace with Jabin the

fecond, even now remembred. from feats, and lived in the mountains of yet the Amalekites, who together with the Jeduci the Defarts.

The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madisnites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find named, were these:

CHAP. VI

34. tr

1. Homer the Hevite of Sichem

2. Arad of the South parts

3. Schon of Effebon 4. Og of Bafan

5. Adonizedek the Jebusite, King of Hieru-

6. Hoham of Hebron

7. Piram of Jarmuth 8. Japia of Lachis

9. Debir of Eelon 10. Tabin of Hazor

11. Jobab of Modon.

12. Adonibezek of Bezek, and 13. Jabin the second King of Hazar.

Of the Madianites these: \* Evi or Evis.

Rekam or Recem, who built Petra the Me-fift alla tropolis of Petraa, to called by the Greeks: Kins of The last King named is Jabin the second, and by Esay, cap. 16. v. 1. and Selah, which is stream who as it feemeth had rebuilt Hazor, burnt as much as Petra: and fo also it is called 2 of the la Phiness,

Hur and 12000 Reba which be \* Oreb led again Zeb Zebab Zalmunna.

After the death of Barac, Judge of Ifrael, wife new The Madianites had also their Kings at the four last named of these Madianite Kings eine sin times, but commonly mixt with the Most vexed Ifrael feven years: till they being put interior and they being a correct of Land in the flight by Colons was a they being put finte for bites: and they held a corner of Land in to flight by Gideon, two of them, to wit, 0- desertion Naliathea: to the South-East of the Dead reb and Zeb, were taken and slain by the E- flow, jul. Sea. They descended from Madian Abra- phraimites, at the passage of Jordan, as in the grant hams fon, by Cethura. Raguel furnamed Ge- 6.7. and 8. of Judges it is written at large, fon of Datkan, the grand-child of Jexanis, or Zalmunna, and executed them, being prior Joksham, the great grand-child of Abra- Soners; in which expedition of Gideon there Madianites by the Red Sea : whose Daugh- confederates. Of the Idumaans, Moabites, ter or Necce, Mojes married, and of whom, and Ammonites, I will speak hereafter in the

## s. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ismaelites.

F the Kings of the Amalekites and Isma-clites, I find few that are named; and At such time as Saul invaded the Amale- though of the Ijmaelites there were more in kites, he knowing the good affection of the number than of the reft (for they were mul-Kenites to Ifrael, gave them warning to fe-tiplied into a greater Nation, according unparate themselves: and yet the Kenites had to the promise of God made unto Abraham ) 600,171

CHAP. VI. were more renowned in Moss time than the to theirs, and the antient Syrians, Adad to the of the Ifinaelites. So also were they theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans, Aretas, when Saul governed Ifrael. For Saul pur- as names of Honour.

and them from Sur unto Havilah, to wit, o-Defart. The reason to me seemeth to be this: of all times they flourished most, and yet That the twelve Princes which came of If- were vanquished. muel, were confent to leave those barren

and Sin, to the iffice of Abraham by Cethura, After the government of Othoniel, they joyn-

was very fruitful, though adjoyning to the Shur.

Delart in which Moses wandred, afterward In Davids time they took Siking in Sime-1 Sam 30.

called Nabathea: the same which neighbour- on: but David followed them and surprised oth Judga on the East-side. They also peo- them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. pled a Province in Arabia the Happy, whereof And yet, after David became King, they athe people were in after-times called Napa- gain vexed him, but to their own loss.

thei (B) changed into (P.) own name to the East-part of Basan, or Bata- by the children of Simeon

nea, which was afterward possest by Manasle, fo much thereof as lay within the mountains Traconi, or Gilead. Which Nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens, and Pliny, Cedreans.

Abbeel fat down in the Defart Arabia, near the Mountains which divide it from the Happr: and gave name to the Adubens, which

Ptolomy calleth Agubens. Mibsam was the Parent of the Masaman-Arabia the Happy.

The Raabens were of Milhma: who joyned to the Orchens, near the Arabian gulf, where Ptolomy fetreth Zagmais.

Adubens and Raabens: where the City Dumeth fometimes stood.

patheans in the same Happy Arabia.

Thema is feated.

whom Tohu was King in Davids time.

Of Napkri, the Nubeian Arabians, inhabimanded, while David ruled Ifrael.

worshiped the Fire with the Babylonians.

The Amalekites gave their Kings the name ed: Quem propterea ferunt de luto formalle

stidiarites were numbered among them .; of Agag, as the Egsptians the name of Pharaoh

The Amalekites were the first that fought Exed. 17. ver a great part of Arabia Petral, and the with Mofes after he past the Red Seat when

Afterward they joyned with the Canaanpelarts of Arabia Petraa, called Sur, Paran, ites, and beat the Ifraelites near Cadesbarne, Nam, 14. that joyned with them (for fo feem the Ama- ed them with the Moabites: after Barac, with likites to have been, and so were the Madia- the Madianites, and invaded Israel. God nites; ) themselves taking posicion of a bet-commanded that as soon as Ifrael had rest, meer juncture can may percent and the ter full in Arabia the Happy, and about the Mountains of Galaad in Arabia Tetreas: For lekites: which Saul executed in part, when Naturate the eldest of those twelve Princes he wasted them from the border of Egypt, to planted that part of Arabia Petrea; which the border of Chaldea: from Havilah to

In Ezekias time, as many of them as joyn- 2 Sam. 8.

Kedsr, the second of Imaels sons, gave his ed to Edumea, were wasted and disolanted 12.

#### 6. IV.

Of the instauration of Civility in Europe about these times and of Prometheus and Atlas.

Here lived at this time, and in the same age together with Mofes, many men cufes, near the Mountain Zamath, in the same exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength as in all forts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, fo did Art and Civility ( bred and fostered far off in the Of Duna were the Dumeans, between the East, and in Egypt ) begin at this time to discover a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, neighbouring Asia and Ju-Of Massa the Massari, and of Hadar, or daa. For if Pelasgus, besides his bodily Chadar, the Aibrita, who bordered the Na- strength, was chosen King of Arcadia, because he taught those people to erect them Thema begat the Themaneans, among the simple Cottages, to defend them from rain Arabian Mountains, where also the City of and storm: and learned them withal to make a kind of Meale, and bread of Acorns, Of Jetur the Itureans, or Camathens: of who before lived, for the most part, by Herbs and Roots: we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and ting Syria Zoba: over whom Adadezer com- how fallly those Nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not on-Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ijmaels sons, ly with civil learning, but with all other was the Ancestor of the Cadmonaans: who kindes of knowledg. And it was in this age was the Ancestor of the Caumonaans: who sandweet as mounted. And it was in this age were afterward called Afixe, because they of the World, as both Enselving and S. Angre c. a. de cifine have observed, that Prometheus flourist vin De.

formed men out of clay, because he was an ex. Japetus, Asculus finds two other, to wit, ocellent toucker of wildom : and to Theophrastus ceanus and Hesterns, who being famous in expoundeth the invention of fire afcribed to the West, gave name to the Evening, and Prometheur, Ad inventa spientie pertinere; so to the Evening Star. Also besides this At-To have reference to wise inventions: and A- las of Lybia, or Mauritania, there were oin From. Chilus affirmeth, That by the stealing of Ju- thers which bare the same name: but of the tiell. Let 3 ht. fiters fire was meant, that the knowledg of Lybian, and the brother of Prometheus, it 18 dec. Frometheus reached to the Stars, and other was that those Mountains which cross Afri-Stone, and Clay: meaning, that before his the fon of Neptune. birth and being, those people among whom | Cicero in the fifth of his Tusculan questions he lived, had nothing else worthy of men, affirmeth, that all things written of Promeon of Prometheus, being bound on the top express divine knowledg. Nee vero Atlas suf-of the Hill Cancasus, his entrails the while tinere cerlum, nee Prometheus affixus Cancaso, Lad. Vict ma Accardife Caucasum, in sereno celo quam fastened to Caucasu, nor Cepheus with his cx not. longistime aftra, signorum obitus & ortus specia wife to be stellisted, unless their divine knowhe might in a clear skie discern a far off the ous fables.

Of this mans knowledg Æschylus gives this

scttings and risings of the stars: though Di-

others diverfly.

Ast agebant omnia Ut fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi Signorum obitus, ortusque qui mortalibus Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium His repperi: componere inde literas ; Matremque Musarum auxi ego Memoriam Perutilem cundis, &c.

But Fortune govern'd all their works, till I first found out how Stars did set and rise : A profitable art to mortal men: And others of like use I did devise: As letters to compose in learned wise I first did teach: and first did amplifie The Mother of the Mufes, Memorie.

Africanus makes Promethens far more an-Aug 118 tient, and but 94. years after Og yees. Porphyc.3. de c-rius fayes, that he lived at once with Ina- Jacius Tzetzes, a curious fearcher of antiquichus, who lived with Isaac.

be faid, that they were born before Moses his Philosophy. dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more antient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other

homines, quia oftimus sapientia doctor fuisse ages among men, which came into the perhibetur; of whom it is reported, that he World long after them. Befides these sons of celeftial bodies. Again, it is written of him, ca, to the South of Marocco, Sus, and Hea. that he had the art fo to use this fire, as there- with the Sea adjoyning, took name, which by he gave life to the Images of Wood, memory Plato in Critias bestowes on Atlas.

but external form and figure. By that ficti- theus and Atlas, were but by those names to devoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward nec stellatus Copheus cum uxore traderciur, care and reftless defire he had to investigate nist divina cognitio nomen corum ad errorem the Natures, Motions, and Influences of hea- fabulæ traduxiffet; Neither should Atlas be venly bodies; for so it is said: Ideo altissi- Said to bear up heaven, nor Prometheus to be ret; That he ascended Caucasus to the end that ledg had raised upon their names these errone-

Orpheus fometimes express'd Time by Proodorus siculus expounds it otherwise, and metheus, sometime he took him for Saturn; as, Rheæ coniux alme Promethen. But that the Story of Promethess was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiqua- Lib. 18. ries, and among them Eusebius and S. Augu- in 1 is fine have not doubted : For the great judg. civil Die ment which Atlas had in Astronomy, saith S. Augustine, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, Pleiades and Hyades. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moons course, of which Archas the fon of Orchomenus challengeth the invention. Of this Arcas, Arcadia in Peloponnesus took name; and therefore did the Arcadians vaunt that they were more antient than the Moon: Et Luna gens prior illa fuit: which fill.1. is to be understood, faith Natalis Comes, before there had been any observation of the Moons course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that beflow the finding out thereof upon Endymion: others (as Xenagoras) on Typhon: yet Ities, gave it Atlas of Libya: who, besides his There lived also at once with Moses, that gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and famous Atlas, brother to Prometheus, both incomparable strength: from whom Thales being the sons of Japetus, of whom though it the Milesian, as it is said, had the ground of

§. V.

CHAP, VI.

## of Deucalion and Phaeton. Nd in this age of the World, and while

Moles yet lived, Deucalion reigned in The aly, Crotopus then ruling the Argives. This Deucalion was the fon of Promotheus, faith Herodotus, Apollonius , Hesiodus , and Strabo. Hesiodus gave him Pandora for mother 5 the rest clymene : Homer in the fifteenth of his Odysses, makes Dencalion the fon of Minos: but he must needs have meant some other Deucalion; for else ton Mez either Olyses was mistaken, or Homer, who Small 9 put the tale into his mouth. For Uhiles, after his return from Troy, feigned himself to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was fon to this later Deucalion, the fon of Minos: but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken: ( for Idomeneus served in that war ) and this Deucalion the fon of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moles, was long before. In the first Deucalion's time happened that great inundation in Thessaly: by which in effect every foul in those parts perished, but Deucalion, Pyrrha his wife, and fome few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this for their foul fins perish by waters: as in the Deucalion, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God ipared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Justice, and of Religion. Of whom Ovid:

> Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui Vir fuit : aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was Better, nor more just than hee: Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed, that Prometheus foreward add the fending out of the Dove, to Thorth; the Alexandrians, Thot, and the discover the waters fall and decrease, I Greeks, (asbefore) Hermes. And to this should verily think that Story had been but Taantus, Sanconiatho, who lived about the an imitation of Noah's flood devised by the the war of Troy, gives the invention of let-

Greeks, did not the time so much differ, and S. Augustine with others of the Fathers and Aug. de reverent Writers approve this Story of Den-118 c10. calion. Among other his children, Deucali- ex Eujebio on had thefe two of note; Hellen, of whom ming. Greece had first the name of Hellas; and Melantho, on whom Neptune is faid to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos, fo renowned among the Heathen for the oracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvellous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton; not only in Ethiopia, but in Istria, a Region in Italy, and about Cuma, and the Mountains of Vefuvius: of both which the Greeks, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

§. VI.

## Of Hermes Trifmegiftus.

But of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, Mercurius was the most famous and renowned; the same which was also called Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus; and of the Greeks, Hermes.

Many there were of this name's and how flood in Thessay, those people exceeded in to distinguish, and set them in their own all kind of wickedness and villany: and as times, both S. Angustine and Lactantins find the impiety of men is the forcible attractive it difficult. For that Mercury which was of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation esteemed the god of Theeves, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and time of Noah, the corruption and cruelty of the god of Eloquence (though all by one all mandkind drew on them that general name confounded ) was not the same with destruction by the flood universal. Onely that Mercury, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certain of the Greeks reckon five Mercuries. Of which, two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the son of Nilus, whose name the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Jews did Tetragrammaton; the other that Mercury, which flew Argus in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is faid to have delivered literature to the Egyptians, and to have given them laws. But Diodorus affirm- Lud. Pices eth, that Orpheus, and others after him, out of citold his fon Deucation of this over-flowing, brought learning and letters out of Egypt cero in Aug and advised him to provide for his fasety: into Greece: which Plato also confirmeth, 18,0,26 who hereupon prepared himself a kind of faying; That letters were not found out Veffel, which Incian in his Dialogue of Ti- by that Mercury which flew Argus, but by mon calls Cibotium; and others Larnax. And that antient Mercury, otherwise Thevet; whom because to these circumstances, they after- Philo Byblins writeth Taantus; the Egyptians,

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6 de of them the fon of Nilus, nor acknowledg-Prap to m eth either of them to have flain Argus. For he finds this Afercury the flaver of Argus, to the grand-child of that Atlas, which lived while Atofes was yet young. And yet L.Vives upon S. Augustine seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom Cicero, Alexandrinus, and the reft have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any Grecian Mercury brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity) that all the knowledg which the Greeks had, was transported out of Egypt or Phanicia, and not out of Greece, nor by any Greeian into Egypt. For they all confess, that Cadmus brought letters first into Bæotia, either out of Egypt, or out of Phanicia: it being true, that between Mercurius, that lived at once with Moses and Cadmus, there were these descents cast; Crotopus King of the Argives, with whom Moses lived, and in whose time about his tenth year Moses died; after Crotopus, Sthenelus, who reigned eleven years; after him Danaus fifty years; after him Lincens: in whose time, and after him in the time of Minos King of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Baotia. And therefore it cannot be true that any Mercurius about Moses his time, flying out of Greece for the flaughter of Argus, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Egypt, whom Saint Augustine remembreth, the one the grandfather, the other the Nephew or grandchild, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artapanus note, that Moses found out letters. and taught the use of them to the Jews : of whom the Phanicians their neighbours received them; and the Greeks of the Phanicians by Cadmus. But this invention was also ascribed to Moses, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the Jews and the Phanicians had them first from him. For every Nation gave unto those men the honeur of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. Ficinus makes that Mercury, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after Moses; which he hath out of Virgil, who cals Atlas, that lived with Mofes, the maternal grand-father of the first famous Mercury, whom others, as Diodorus, call the Counseller and Instructer of that renowned Isis, wife of oftris. But Ficinus giveth no reason for Estin in his opinion herein. But that the elder Mer-Pref. Pre cury infructed Is, Diodorns Siculus affirm-mud Mer. eth, and that such an Inscription was found

ters. But S. Augustine making two Mercu- on a pillar erected on the Tomb of Ist. Lod. cath, t.e. ries, which were both Feyptians, calls neither lives upon the fix and twentieth Chapter of tate Dei, conceiveth, that this Mercury, whole werks are extant, was not the first which was entituled Ter Maximus, but his Nephew or Grand-child, \* sanchoniaton, an ancient + Orsa Phanician, who lived shortly after Moses, shaming to see Eight, hath other funcies of this Mercury; affirming de tree se that he was the Scribe of Saturn, and called very to by the Phanicians, Taantus, and by the E-c.6. apptians, Thoot, or Thoyt. It may be, that the pies in many years which he is faid to have lived, 16.3. c.16. to wit, three hundred years, gave occasion 483.41 to some Writers to find him in one time, and the time to others in other times. But by those who have collected the grounds of the Egyptian Philosophy and Divinity, he is found more antient than Moses : because the Inventor of the Egyptian Wisdom, wherein it is said, that

Moses was excellently learned. It is true, that although this Mercury or Hermes doth in his Divinity differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which Mofes of all things most detested: yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve, that these works which are now extant, were by the Greeks and Egyptian Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, then that ever they were by the hand of Hermes written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and mafter of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary indo-Ctrine, and in nature : For out of doubt (Mofer excepted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reverend and divine unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises now among us; the one converted by Apuleius, the other by that learned Ficinus, had been found in all things like themselves: I think Missi it had not been perillous to have thought with Eupolemns, that this Hermes was Mofes himself; and that the Egyptian Theologie hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more antient Mercury, which others have thought to have been Joseph, the son of Jacob: whom, after the exposition of Tharaoh's dreams, they called Saphanetphane, which is as much to fay, as Absconditorum repertor; A finder out of hidden things. But these are overventurous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledg of him: of whom, whosoever he were, Last antius writCHAT. VI. nation this fort : Hie feripfit libros, & quidem in a foort time) by being looked from these Eultos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes in quibus Majestatem summi ac sineularis Dei afferit, iisclemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; He hath written many Books belonging to, or expressing the knowledg of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most High, and one God, calling him by the same names of God and marvellous: in regard whereof, this being. Father, which we do. The same Father also feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And fo contrary are these his acknowledgments to those Idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Grecians: as for my felf I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereunto was bycorruption inserted. For thus much himself confelleth: Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater . fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & fpiritus; & omnia in ipfo,& fub ipfo funt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodiens, perfect issimum exiftens, & generator, & opifex, &c. God (faith he ) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain and life, and power, and light, and mind, and spirit: and all things are in him. and under him. For his Word out of himfelf proceeding, most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made vidit prisca Religionis, hic ortum nova fidei, ing all things, be favourable, be favourable. bic adventum Christi, bic futurum judicium , resurrectionem seculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This Mercury foresaw the In Pref. the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion and the birth of the new faith , and of the Of Jannes and Jambres, and some other that coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the blessed, and the tor-

ment or affliction of the wicked or damned. To this I will onely add his two last speech-

bonds of flesh and blood, depart from you, fee that you do not bewail me as a man dead ; for I do but return to that best and bleffed City, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death ) shall repair. Therein is the onely God. the most high and chief Prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with fweetness more than which other's call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by others, agreeing in fense, but not in words: with Suydas: O calum, magni Dei Sapiens opus, teque O vox Patris quamille primam emifit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus Verbum, & Spiritum cunct a comprehendentem, Miseremini mei : I adjure thee O heaven, thou wife work of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World by his onely begotten Word, and spirit, comprehending all things, Have mercy upon me.

But Suydas hath his invocation in these words: Obtestor te calum, magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris, quam loquutus eft primum cum omnem mundum firmavit, obit also fruitful and producing. And he was testor to per unicenitam Sermonem omnia contherefore (faith Suydas) called Ter Maxi- tinentem, propitius, propitius esto; I besecch mus, quia de Trinitate loquutus eft, in Trini- thee O heaven, wife work of the great God, I tate unum esse Deum asserens; Because he spake beseech thee O voice of the Father, which he of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God fake first when he established all the world, I in Trinity. Hic ruinam ( faith Ficinus ) præ- befeech thee by the onely begotten Word contain-

#### 6. VII.

lived about those times.

Here were also in this age both Æscu-I lapius, which after his death became es reported by Calcidius the Platonifi, and the god of the Phylicians, being the brother by Volteran out of Suydas. Hallenus, fili, of Mercurius, as Fives thinks in his Commen- L. Vives in pullus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc tary upon Augustine, de Civitate Dei, lib. 8. 1.8. Aug. incolumis repeto. Cumque post paulum à vo- and also those two notorious Sorcerers, Jan- 6.20. bis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, vide- nes and Jambres, who in that impious art tote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis: nam ad excelled all that ever had been heard of to illam optimam beatamque Civitatem regredi- this day: and yet Mofes himself doth not or, ad quamuniversi cives mortis conditione charge them with any familiarity with Diventuri sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus est sum- vels, or ill Spirits : words indeed that selmus Princeps, qui cives suos replet suavitate dom came out of his mouth : however by mirifica : ad quam bac, quam multi vitam ex- the Septuagint they are called Sophifia, or istimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Venefici, and Incantatores; Sophists, Poy-Hitherto, 0 son, being driven from my country, I have lived a stranger and banished man: but now I am repaired homeward again in safe- so by Vatablus, who also useth the word Maty. And when I shall after a few days (or gi. The Greek it self seems to attribute some-

what of what they did to natural Magick: us inflitute the like games to Minerva: calling them copusais, workers by drugs. The Genevan, Sorcerers and Inchanters: Junius, Sapientes, Praftigiatores, & Magi. Magicians and Wife men here by him are taken in one sence: and Prestigiators are such as dazel menseves, and make them feem to fee what they fee not : as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are fo nicelly diffinguished, and fo refembling each other as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other ( Religion and Superstition having one face and countenance) fo did the works and working of Moses, and of Pharao's Sorcerers appear in outward thew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the fame art and gift of knowledg. For the Divel changeth himself into an Angel of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which furmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condenined, as performed by the help or miniftery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are fuch, as where he also bestoweth the knowledg to understand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the Cabalists distinguished by these names ; Opus de Berclith, & opus de mercana: the one they call, Sapientiam nature; The Wisdom of nature: the other, Sapientiam divinitatis; The Wisdom of divinity: the one Jacob practised in breeding the pied Lambs in Mejopotamia; the other Mojes exercised in his miracles wrought in Egypt, having received from God the knowledg of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledg of nature : of the other fo far as it pleafed God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them: assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also S. Augustine noteth, that from the time that Moses left Egypt, to the death of Joshua, divers other famous men lived in the World, who, after their deaths, for their eminent vertues, and inventions, were numbred among the gods: as Dionysius, otherwise Liber Pater, who taught the Greciansthe use of the Vine in Attica: at which time also there were instituted Musical plays to Apollo Delphicus: thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of Greece, because they resisted not the attempts of Danaus, who spoiled his Temple, and fet it on fire: fo did Erichoni-

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wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of oil, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

In this age also Xanthus ravished Europa, and hegat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon and Minos, which three are also given to Tupiter by other Historians. To these Saint Angustine addeth Hercules; the same to Dei, Cit. whom the twelve labours are ascribed, native of Tyrinthia a City of Peloponnesus: (or as others fay, onely nurfed and brought up there) who came into Italy, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that Hercules, which Eulebius furnameth Delphin, famous in Phonicia; nor that Hercules, according to Philostratus, which came to Cades, whom he calleth an Egyptian: Manifestum Philipla. fit, non Thebanum Herculem, fed Egyptium ad Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terra ( faith Philostratus ; ) It is manifest, that it was the Egyptian Hercules, and not the Theban, which travelled as far as the straights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also while Moses wandered in the Defarts, Dardanus built Dardania.

But whofoever they were, or how worthy foever they were that lived in the Dayes and Age of Moses, there was never any man, that was no more than Man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things; whom he favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in Ifrael. He was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth Moles the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is bless-symuths ed. He made him ( faith the fame Author) 12. like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies, made him glorious in the fight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caufed him to hear his voyce, sandified him with faithfulness and meekness, and chose bim out of all men.

He is remembred among prophane Authors; as by Clearchus the Peripatetick: by Megastenes, and Numenius the Pythagorian. The long lives which the Patriarchs enjoynicus, Acufilaus, Fphorns, and Alexander the without any figure at all therein. Historian, confirm. The universal flood which Damascenus, and others, have testified. The Moses, saying, That Moses was learned in all building of the Tower of Babel, and confu- the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty fion of tongues, Abydenus, Estieus, and Sy- in his works and words; the same is correbilla have approved. Berofus also honoureth cted (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Damascenus before cited, speaketh of Abragreeing with the books of Meles. Enpolemon vine, and Moral. writeth the very fame of Abraham, which A foles did. For beginning with the building of Babel, and the overthrow thereof by di- tick, and Mulick, the antient Egyptians exvine power, he faith that Abraham, born in ceed all others. For Geometry which is by the tenth generation, in the City called Camerina, or Vrien, excelled all men in wifdom: and by whom the Astrology of the infallible principles, directed them certainly Caldeans was invented. Is justitia pietateque in bounding out their proper Lands and (ua (faith Eusebius out of the fame Author) Territories, when their fields and limits, by fic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino præcepto in Phæniciane venerit, ibique habitaverit; For his flown and confounded, so as no man could justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, know what in right belonged unto him. as by his commandment he came into Phænido confirm the books of Moses, as Eusebius lings, and motions of the Stars. hath gathered in the ninth of his Preparation stiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt : their Kings, and good Men.

quod nos, & terram, & mare continet, quod and operations of natural things, differs litcelum, & mundum, & rerum omnium natu- tle from Peripatetical Philosophy; teaching, ram appellamus: cujus profecto imaginem,ne- that Materia prima is the beginning of all mo (and mentis, alicujus earum rerum, que things; that of it all mixt bodies, and living penes nos funt, similem audeat effingere. Pro- creatures have their being; that Heaven is inde(omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) round like a Globe; that all Stars have a dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituen- certain fovent heat, and temperate influendum, ac fine aliqua figura colendum: Moses ces, whereby all things grow and are produaffirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought ced; that rains proceed and be from mutaamis, which attributed unto God the images tions in the air; that the Planets have their of beasts and cattel: Also that the Africans proper souls, &c. and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their The Divine part of this wildom, which is gods the shapes of men: whereas that onely is called Theology, teacheth and believeth that God indeed, which containeth both us, the the world had a beginning, and thall perish; earth and sea, which we call heaven, the world, that men had their first original in Egypt; and the nature of all things, whose image, doubt- partly by means of the temperateness of that les, no wife man will dare to fashion out unto Countrey, where neither Winter with cold, the likeness of those things, which are amongst nor Summer with heat, are offensive; and us. That therefore (all devising of Idels cast a- partly through the fertility, that Nilns giveth

ed before the flood, remembred by Moses, side) a morthy Temple and place of prayer was Esticus, Hieronymus, Agyptius, Hecataus, Ela- to be creeled unto him, and he to be worshipped

Now concerning the Egyptian wildom, God revealed unto Moses, Berosus, Nicolans for which the Martyr Stephen commended stagas Abraham. Hecataus wrote a book of him. Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Judaus, and Eusebius Casariensis, and divided into hams passage from Damascus into Canaan, a- four parts, viz. Mathematical, Natural, Di-

In the Mathematical part, which is diftinguish'd into Geometry, Astronomy, Arithmeinterpretation, Measuring of grounds, was useful unto them: because it consisting of the inundations of Nilus, were yearly over-

For the fecond part, to wit, Astronomy. cia, and dwelt there. Likewise Diodorus Si- the site of the Countrey being a level and culus in his second Book and fifth Chapter, spacious Plain, free and clear from the speaketh reverently of Moses: There are clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in many other among prophane Authors, which observing and contemplating the risings, fal-

Arithmetick also, which is the knowledg to the Golpel, Chapter the third and fourth, of numbers, they studied; because without to whom I refer the Reader. Lastly, I can- it, in Geometry and Astronomy, nothing can not but for some things in it commend this be demonstrated or concluded. But of Munotable testimony of Strabo, who writeth of fick they made no other account, nor desired Moses in these words: Moses enim affirmavit, farther knowledg, than seemed to them sufdecebatque Egyptios non reste sentire, qui be- ficient to serve and magnifie their gods,

Itemque Afros & Gracos, qui diis hominum The Natural part of this Wildom, which figuram affinxerunt: id vero solum esse Deum, handleth the principles, causes, elements,

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dy, That God is one, the Father and Prince that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Air, of all gods, and that from this God, other aswell from the Waters, as from the Earth. gods are, as the Sun and Moon, whom they So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an worshipped by the names of Osiris and Isis, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true similitudes of thians are thought to have been delighted the gods is not known; that many of the with this kind of writing. For Pherecides Sygods have been in the citate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues and benefits letters, threatned Idanthura, King of the Seybeflowed on mankind, have been Deified; thians, with ruine and deftruction of his that those beafts, whose Images and Forms Kingdom, unless he would acknowledge the Kings did carry in their Arms, when they subjection: Idanthura returned to him a obtained victory, were adored for gods: Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Ploughbecause under those Ensigns they prevailed share: which Orontopagas, Tribune of the over their enemies. Moreover the Egyptian Souldiers, interpreted to fignific, that by the Divineshad a peculiar kind of writing, my- Mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their Rical, and fecret, wherein the highest points waters: by the Bird, their air: by the Dart, of their Religion and worthip of God, which their weapons: by the Plough, their Lands was to be concealed from the vulgar fort, were fignified to be ready to be delivered were obscured.

this later Egyptian learning into three feveral the King meant, That except Darius with forts, viz. Epiftolar, which is used in writing his men did hasten away, as a Bird through culiar to their Priests; and Sacred, which run into the waters which they had passed as Sacred containeth Scripture of two kinds: a Frog, they should not escape his arms, but the one proper, which is expressed by letters either be flain, or, being made Captives, till Alphabetical in obscure and figurative his grounds. The same History is with little words; as for example, where it is written: difference reported by Herodoius. The Ibis by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moon doth by the Sun borrow part of Laws, which (according to Laeriins) Merthe light of God: because Light is an Image | curius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus devised: of Divine beauty; the other symbolical, or by fignatures, which is threefold, wiz. Imita- and Asclepius, hath written fo many things of tive, Tropical and Enygmatical: Imitative, which deligneth things by characters, like to the things fignified, as by a Circle, the Sun; and by the Horns of the Moon, the Moon it day of Judgment : that ( as faith the same felf: Tropical or transferent, which applys the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures, to fignifie the dignities, but a Prophet of things to come. fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions of their gods, and of men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an ans for their Authors, to wit, Selencus and Fortitude: by a Horse, Liberty: by a Cro. codile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood: Ænigmatical is a composition, or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sence, the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Manshead, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to fignifie, that to men all divine things are Ænigmatical Greek, they seemed to have been first writand obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on ten in that Tongue. Clemens Alexandrinus chem son

in those places: That the foul is immortal, the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as and bath transmigration from body to bo- well in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth, Eye, and an Ear, fignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The Sey-Clemens distributesh the whole sum of phodres made another construction, viz. that

The fourth and last part, which is Moral and Politick, doth contain especially the who in his Books or Dialogues of Pimander Sixtus Senensis of the Trinity, and of the coming of christ, as of the last and fearfull Author, the opinion being also antient ) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher,

Iamblicus in his Books of Mysterics of the Egyptians, taking two very antient Histori-Hawke fignifieth God, the figure of the Hor- Menetus, affirmeth, that this Mercuny was net fignifieth the Sun, the picture of the Bird not only the Inventor of the Egyptian Philo-This fignifieth the Moon: by the form of a fophy, but of all other learning, called the Man Prudence, and Skilfulnes: by a Lion. Wisdom of the Egyptians, before remembred: and that he wrote of that subject 36525. Books or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereal Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestial a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language converted by certain learned Philosophers into natural wit, of the Wiflom of the Egyptians, there as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vauntwere extant in his time 36. Of Phylick, fix guard, which through all the Defarts of A-Backs; of the orders of Priests, ten; and of rabia, from the Mount sinai to this place. Airology, four.

CHAP. VI.

### §. VIII.

A Brief of the History of Josua; and of the face between him and Othoniel : and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to Johna: and of the breach of Faith.

one Del eighteenth King in Affyria; with Corax the cised, which ceremony to that day had been fixteenth King in Sicyonia, when Danais go omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. Angustine Ang. 4.3. verned the Argives; and Erichonius, Albens, giveth for cause, The peoples contempt of

City unto him on the other fide of the Ri- to another : Damascen, That it was not needver, which he was to pass over. Which dif- full by circumcision to distinguish them from coverers being faved, and fent back by Ra- other Nations, at fuch times as they lived by hab, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a themselves, and a-part from all Nations. Tavern or Victualling house, made Josus On the sourteenth day of the same moneth, know, that the inhabitants of Jerico, and the children of Ifrael celebrated the Passothose of the Country about it, hearing of the ver now the third time; first, at their leav-

upon the day after the return of the Spies, now at Gilgal. After which, being defirous Jol. 5. 16. tieth year after the Egression, Joska removed ving, as it were, surfetted on Manna, they down his Army to the banks of the River yet full ripe, and eat thereof.

18 3. God, when the Levites took it up, and moved of the Amorites, which Og of Basan, and Schon towards the River, giving them withal this held, so did Josus perform the rest; and afforcible encouragement, That they should ter a view and partition made of the Terri-

presence, who is Lord of all the world, when lot. But this partition and distribution was the River of fordan should be cut off and not done at once, but at three several times; should stand still in a heap, whereby those Tribe of Manasse, of the Lands over fordan; Canaan with dry feet.

writeth, that among the Books of Hermes, to | Mofes ) to march in the head of the reft, and those of the Tribe of Juda had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Country, and Cities of the Amorites by the help of the reft, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equality, that Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manaffe should also affist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their

enemies possession.

On the banks of Fordan they rested them-Fter the death of Moses, and in the one selves from the fixth day to the ninth; and And fortieth year of the Egreffion, in on the tenth day of the first moneth Nifan, the first moneth called Nisan, or March, Josua, or March, they passed over to the other lide, the fon of Nun, of the Tribe of Ephraim, be- taking with them twelve from the dry ing filled with the Spirit of wildom, took on ground in the midft of the River : which, him the government of Ifrael: God giving for a memory of that miracle by God him comfort, and encouraging him to pals wrought, they fet up at Gilgal, on the Eastthe River of Jordan, and to possess and di- side of the city of Jerico, where they incam- Jos. 1.19. vide among the Ifraelites, the land promised. ped the first night. At which place Josua gave The beginning of Josua's rule, Saint Augu- commandment, that all born in the last for- 7015. 22 1318 desired dates with the reign of Amyntas, the tieth year in the Defarts should be circum-

Josua imitating in all things his Predecef- their Superiours. Thomas excuseth it in this Thom. sare. for fent over fordan certain discoverers to fort; That the Ifraelites knew not the cer- 3 quel 70. view the feat and strength of ferice, the next tain time of their removing from one place art. q ad. 3.

approach of Ifrael, had loft courage. Where- ing Egypt; secondly, at Mount Sinai; and which was the fixth day of the one and for- to tafte of the fruits of the Country, and hafrom Sittim in the plains of Moab, and drew parched of the Corn of the Land, being not

Jordan; and gave them commandment to And as Moles began to distribute those put themselves in order to follow the Ark of Regions beyond Jordan, to wit, the Lands thereby affure themselves of his favour and tories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by divided, and the waters coming from above first, by Moses to Gad, Reuben, and the half for 143. below towards the Dead Sea wanting sup- secondly, by Josua, to the Tribe of Juda, E-ply, they might pass over into the Land of phraim, and the other half Tribe of Manasic, about the fifth year of his government; He also commanded Reuben, Gad, and the proved in the 14. of Josua. v. 10. and a third half Tribe of Manaffe, to prepare themselves division was made to the other seven Tribes (according to their Covenant made with at Shilo, where Josua seated the Tabernacle of Jos. 18. the Concregation.

Herot.! 4.

down in his own books, as I shall not need to Gilgal, and set on them early the next day; lengthen this part by their repetition. In when he overthrew Jabin and his confedewhose Story I chiefly note these particulars, rates. After which, making the best profit First how in the beginning of the war, those of his victory, he assaulted the great City little kings, or reguli of the Canaanites, had of Hazor. not fo much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the Israelites; but during this war, were exceeding admirable according to the cultom of those estates, as the stay of the River Jordan at the Springs, from whose Governours God hath taken a- so as the Army of Israel past it with a dry Jos : 13. way all wisdom and forefight, they left those foot; the fall of Jerico by the found of the of their own Nation, which were next the in- Horns; the showers of Hale-stones, which vaders, to themselvs, and to their own defen- fell upon the Amorites in their flight from ces; hoping that the fire kindled fomewhat Gibeon, wherby more of them perished than far off, might again have been quenched, ere by the fword of Ifrael: again, the arrest of it could spread it self so far as their own the Sun in the simmament, whereby the day Territories and Cities. But after such time was so much the more lightened, as the Ifraas Jerico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities confumed; five of those after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, 31 Kings (all which at length perished in and a work only proper to the all-powerthat war) joyned themselves together first full God. attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendred themselves to Josua. Onely five ( the rest looking on to the fuccess) namely, the King of the Jebusties, in Jebus, or Hierusalem, the taught, as it taketh away all evasion, it ad-Kings of Hebron, Jarmoth, Lachis, and Eclon, addrest themselves for resistance: whose Army being by Josua surprized and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence the Hevites, expresly and by name, by the by Josia drawn forth and hanged. In the commandment of God to be rooted out, and profecution of which victory he also took notwithstanding that they were liars, and Makkedath, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they relief whereof Horam King of Gezar haften- did over-reach, and as it were, deride Josea, ed, and perished. After which Josua pof- and the Princes of Israel, by feigning to be sest himself of Fglon, Hebron, and Debir, de- sent as Embassadours from a far Country, in stroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquepractifed and gathered together, by Josia of the people, to lay violent hands on them; discovered, as the same rested neer the Lake but he spared both their lives, and the Ciof Merom, he used such diligence, as he came ties of their inheritance. on them unawares; and obtaining absolute the rest for Israel to inhabit and enjoy.

the Armies of the first five Kings of the Amo- was not to the Gibeonites he gave peace, be-

The victories of Josha against the Kings rites, which attempted Gibeon by surprise. of the Canaanites, are so particularly set For he marched all night from his Camp at 36, 103.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought

Fourthly, out of the passage between Joina and the Gibeonites, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainly and excellently mitteth no intrusion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiou nes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called Equivocation. For, notwithftan- Jol. 9.7. ding that these Gibeonites were a people of which travel their cloths were worn, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set red, and their Kings and People made dust: out; their barrels and bottles of wine brothe rest of the Canaanites, guided by the ken; their shoos patch'd; and their sacks over-late countels of necessity, united them | rent and ragged: Yet Josua having sworn 769 from felves, to make one groß ftrength and body of an Army: which Jabin, King of Hazor, duff not, though urged by the multitude

Now if ever man had warrant to break victory over them, he profecuted the same faith, and to retract his promise made, Josua to the utmost effect. And besides the slaugh- had it. For first, the commandment which ter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, he received from God to root out this Natiof which he burnt Hazor onely, reserving on among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he Secondly, I note, that Josia shewed him- might justly have put these men to the felf a skilful man of War, for that in those sword, and have fack'd their Cities, if there antient times he used the stratagem of an beany evasion from a promise made, whereambush in taking of Ai; and in that he broke of the living God is called to witness. For it the Hevites, it was not in his power to make flaughtered some of those people descended a league with them. But it was to a strange of the Cibeonites: yet God, who forgat not people that he gave faith, and to a Nation what the Predecellors and Fore-fathers of which came from far, who hearing of the Saul and the Ifraclites had twern in his Name, wonders which the God of Ifrael had done afficted the whole Nation with a confuming in Egypt and over Jordan, fought for peace famine; and could not be appealed, till feand protection from his people. Thirdly, the ven of Sauls fons were delivered to the Giaccord, which Ifrael made with these crafty beonites grieved, and by them hanged up. Canaanites, was without warrant. For it is And certainly, if it be permitted by the written in the same place, That the Ifraelites help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a accepted their tale, that is, believed what God-mocking equivocation, to iwear one they had faid, and counfelled not with the thing by the Name of the living God, and to mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who reserve in silence a contrary intent: the life were known Idolaters, and ferved those of man, the estates of men, the faith of Sub-Puppets of the Heathen, men of an apisshRe- jects to Kings, of Servants to their Masters. ligion, as all Worshippers of Images are, of Vasials to their Lords, of Wives to their could not challenge the witness of the true Husbands, and of Children to their Parents. God, in whom they believed not. I fay and of all trials of right, will not onely be therefore, that if ever man might have fer- made uncertain, but all the chains whereby ved himself by any evasion or distinction, free-menare tied in the world, be torn a-Josua might justly have done it. For he need- funder. It is by oath (when Kings and ed not in this case the help of Aquivacation Armies cannot pass ) that we enter into the or Mental Reservation. For what he fware, Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: he sware in good Faith; but he sware no- it is by oath that wars take end, which weathing, nor made any promise at all to the Gi-pons cannot end. And what is it, or ought beonites. And yet, to the end that the faith- it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful. less subtilty of man should borrow nothing but this; That he that sweareth by the Name in the future from his example, who knowing of God, doth affure others that his words well that the promises he made in the Name are true, as the Lord of all the World is true, of God, were made to the living God, and whom he calleth for a Witness, and in whose not to the dying man, he held them firm and presence he that taketh the oath hath proinviolable, not with standing that they, to mised? I am not ignorant of their poor ewhom he had sworn it, were worshippers of vasions, which play with the severity of Gods the Devil.

Name of the living Lord, and in his presence,
That this promise (if it be broken ) is broThe Christians in the Holy Land, when they kento a Man, to a Society, to a State; or to a were at the greatest, and had brought the Prince; but the Promise in the Name of Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not God made, is broken to God. It is God onely loofe it again, but were foon after beathat we therein neglect: we therein profess ten out of the Holy Land it self: by reason that we fear him not, and that we fet him at ( faith William of Tyre, a reverend Bishop naught, and defie him. If he that without which wrote that Story ) that Almerick the refervation of Honour, giveth a lie in the fiftieth King after Godfrey brake faith with presence of the King, or of his Superiour, the caliph Elhadech, and his Vicegerent. The doth, in point of Honour, give the lie to Soldan Sanar, who being suddenly invaded the King himself, or to his Superiour; how by Almerick, drew in the Turk Syracon to much more doth he break Faith with God, their aid: whose Nephew Seladine, after he that giveth Faith in the presence of God, had made Egypt his own, beat the Christians

Son to break the Promife, Will, or Deed of ver Seladine, when they brought it into the the Father; for a State, or Kingdom, to field as their last refuge, seeing they had forbreak those Contracts which have been sworn themselves in his Name that was crumade in former times, and confirmed by cified thereon. And if it be a direction from

cause he knew them to be a people hated of publick faith. For though it were 400 years God. He told them, that if they were of after Josua, that Saul, even out of devotion

Commandments in this kind: But this in-For it is not, as faithless men take it, that deed is the best answer, That he breaks no he which sweareth to a Man, to a Society, laith, that hath none to break. For whoto a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the

promifeth in his Name, and makes him a wit-ness of the Covenant made? out of the Holy Land; neither would the wooden Cross (the very Cross, fay they, Out of doubt, it is a fearfull thing for a that Christ died on ) give them vorcey o-K k

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and i.i. feal be destroyed, and that the mouth which ven till David stime. nttereth them, flyeth the foul: how much | Now Josus lived one hundred and ten more perillous is it (if any peril be greater years, eighteen of which he governed Ifrael than to destroy the soul ) to swear a lie? It and then changed this life for a better. The was Ingenius the Pope, that perfuaded, or time of hisrule is not expressed in the Serirather commanded the King of Hungary af- ptures, which caufeth divers to conjecture ter his great victory over Amurath the Turk, diverly of the continuance. Josephus gives and when the faid King had compelled him him five and twenty years : seder Ollam Rab to peace, the most advantagious that ever bi the Authors of the Hebrew Chronologie was made for the Christians, to break his eight and twenty; and Mussius fix and Faith, and to provoke the Turk to renew twenty: Maimonius cited by Maffins, fourthe war. And though the faid King was teen: Joannes Lucidus, seventeen: Cajetafar stronger in the field than ever 3 yet he nus, ten: Eusebius giveth him seven and lost the battel with 30000. Christians, and his twenty: and so doth S. Augustine: Melan own life. But I will fray my hand: For this first volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgments upon faith-breakers; years from the delivery of Ifrael out of Egypt, be it against Infidels, Turks, or christians of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the fary that we allow to Josus onely eighteen taking of oaths now-a-dayes, is rather made of them; as finding the rest supplyed othera matter of custom, than of conscience. It is also very remarkable, That it pleased as I think, a well approved opinion.

God to leave to many Cities of the Canaanites unconquered by Ifrael, to fcourge and afflict them, by fore-feeing their Idolatry and, as it is said in the Scriptures, To be thorns of errour, such as have inserted years bein their eyes to prove them, and to teach them tween Josus and Othoniel, of whom Eufebins finds eight years, to make War. For these Cities hereaster finds eight years, to which arins Montanns essentially. foon after hisdeath the children of Dan were pters upon Josua: Bunting reckons it nine beaten out of the plain Countries ; and en- years: Bucolzer and Reufner but one ; Coforc'd to inhabit the Mountains, and places doman, twenty; and Nicephorus no less than of hardest access. And those of Juda were three and thirty: whereas following the sure not able to be masters of their own Vallies; direction of these 480. years, there can be because as it is written in the Judges, The no void years found between Josus and 0 Tank 134 Canaanites had Chariots of Iron. And those thoniel, unless they be taken out of those 7 principal Cities which flood on the Sea-fide, eighteen aferibed unto Jofua by the account

Cities came Goliath, remembred in Samuel. Jordan expel the Geshurites, nor the Maacha- battels of the Lord? thites; which inhabited the North parts of Busan, afterward Traconitis.

Bethshemish, nor of Bethanah; but they inforc'd those Canaanites to pay them tribute. 70f.13:3 Neither did After expel the Zidonians, nor have been meant by the covenant which Jo-Judg 1.31 those of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah, Gua made with Ifrael in Sichem, where they

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kitron, and fof.16.10. Nahalol, but received tribute from them. Alfo the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Fphraims: and among the children of Manasse, on the West of Jordan, the Canaanites ad 2.27 held Bethfhean, Taacnah, Dor, Ibleam, and tituled Liber Justonm, remembred by Jo-Megaddo ; yea Hiernsalem it self did the Je- sua himself : and others, that it was the work

not to the Holy Gholt. That he that speaketh lies , bustes defend above four hundred years, e-

CHAP, VI

wife, which to me feems the most likely, and,

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. years from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the Temple, convinceth named did not onely remain in the Canaa- adhereth; and for which he giveth his rea-na. nites possession all the time of Jossa; but fon in his four and twentieth and last Chaadjoyning unto Juda, were still held by the already specified. The praises and acts of remainder of the Anakims, or Philistims: as Josua are briefly written in the six and sor-Janua, Azzah, Gath, Afdod; out of one of which tieth Chapter of Ecclefafticus, where among many other things it is faid of him, Who was Neither did the children of Manasse over there before him like to him, for he fought the

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of Arius Montanus, Nor the Nepthalims pessess themselves of because it is said in the last Chapter, verse 26. And Josua wrote these words in the book of the Law of God: which feemeth rather to Aphike, & Rehob, nor inforc'd them to tribute. all promifed to serve and obey the Lord: which promise Josus caused to be written in the book of the Law: and of this opinion were Cajetan and Abulensis: Theodoret doth likewise conceive, that the book of Josus was collected out of an antient Volume, in-

CHAP. VII. tion to of Samuel: for whereas Montanus ground | Jojua's life, Jupiter is faid to have ravifhed eth his opinion upon these words of the 26. 16: 4 Verle, And Joina wrote thefe words, Oc. this place hath nothing in it to prove it: fer when the people had answered Josua; The Lord ear God will me ferve, and his voyce will me way, it followeth that Josea made a covenant the book of the Law of God. There lived at once with Jofua, Erielhoni-

us in Altica, who taught that Nation to voke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: And about the fame time the fifty Daughters of Danaue (as it is faid ) flew the fifty fons of Egyptus, all but Lyneeus, who fucceeded Danaus, if the tale be true. There lived also with Josus, of ellewhere. Phenix, and Cadmus, and neer the end of

Europa the daughter of Phanix (afterward married to Afterius King of Creta) and begat on her Alinos, Radamanthus, and Sarpedon. But S. Augustine reports this ravishment to be Lib. 18 c. committed by Xanthus, and yet they are more net commonly taken for the Sons of Jupiter. But Homer with the people, and wrote the same in it may be doubted whether Minor was far this with the people, ther to Deucalion, and Deucalion to Idome- Hom. Hal. neus, who was an old man at the war of Trey, 1. and Surpedon was in person a young or ftrong man at the fame Trojan war. And fo doth Neftor reckon up in the Councel of the Greeks, Thefeus and Peritheus for men of Antiquity and of Ages past: Atinos being



## CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Ifrael that were planted in the borders of Phoenicia, with fundry Stories depending upon those places.

§. I.

The Prowne to the description of the whole Land of Canaan; with an Exposition of the name of Syria.

Kings, of which fo many of them as ruled the ten Tribes, shall be remembred when we come to the description of Samaria: but because the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath been acted, I think it very pertinent ( for the better understanding of both ) to make a Geographical description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood, and conceived. To which purpose ( besides the addition of the neighbour Countries ) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and do shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Jews obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and fcourge them, when ungrateful for his many graces, they at fundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and now called the Holy Land.

He Story of the Judges ought | dead Idols of the Heathen. Divina honitas to follow that of Josua, after (faith Augustine) ideo maxime iraseitur in whom the Common-wealth of hoc feculo, ne irafcatur in futuro : & miferithe Jews was governed by corditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne aternam juste inferat ultionem. The divine goodness is especially therefore anery in this world. that it may not be anory in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternal ven-

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdoms and Common-weals: and to help my felf herein, I have perused divers of the best Authors upon this subject : among whom, because I find so great disagreement in many particulars, I have rather in such cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to borrow any one of their old

And because Canaan, with Palestina of the Philistims, and the Lands of Og and Schon Kings of Bafan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Provinces of Syria: it shall be necessary, first to divide and bound the general, and so to descend to this particular,

description, and as it was antiently taken, allowing of this derivation, makes it a comimbraced all those Regions from the Euxine mon name to all those of Noah's Sons, who Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the past over Enphrates towards the West Sea. Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, call- For the word Heber, faith he, is as much as ed Leucosprians, or white Sprians. But taking transiens, or transmittens of going, or passing it shorter, and from the coast of Cilicia, over. And because the children of Abraham which is the North border, unto Idumea, had for a long time no certain abiding: towards the South. Tieris towards the Suntherefore, as he thinks, they were by the rifing, and the Mediterran Sea Westward: Egyptians called Hebrai, as it were passenit then containeth besides Babylonia, Chaldea, gers, which is also the opinion of C. Sigonius. to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for lo Aran Naharajem is expounded: also Padan Aram; and Buried. Now this part of Syria wasathat is, Jugum syrie, because the two Rivers gain divided into four; namely, into Edom, go along in it as it were in a yoke.

ria Cava, because it lay in that fruitfull Val- of them belong to Phanicia. ley between the Mountains of Lybanus, and Antilybanus, in which the famous Cities of and Palestina (both which the River of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many o- Jordan boundeth; saving that Phanicia thers, were feated. Then Damascena, or sy- ftretcheth a little more Easterly towards ria Lybanica, taking name of the City Da- Damascus) that part also of the East of Jor-5 King 11. majous, and the Mountains of Lybanus, the dan, and within the Mountains of Hermon,

which Adadezer commanded in Solomon's Canaan also: as well because antiently posneed in the e. Then Phanicia, and the people Syra- fest by the Amerites, as for that they were Pelim Dio. phanicies: and laftly, Syria Palastina bordering Egypt: of which Ptolomy maketh Ju-Pioi. Aja daa alfo a part: and to that Province which into Basan, or Batanea, into Gilead, Moab, A loss calleth Seir and Edom, Pomponius Mela giveth the name of Syrea Judea.

### 6. II.

of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

Sind-Lio, Strabo calleth Traconi, or Traconita, and Seboiim, even unto Lasha: by which words Calib for called Canaan, faith Montanus: and after For it is therein written, All the places not the Helman Of the Helman Country of

Syria, now Soria, according to the largest Augustine. But Arias Montanus not so well Arabia the Defart, and Arabia Petraa, that and of Eusebius long before them both. It Eastern Region also which the Greeks call Mesopota- had also the name of Indaa from Juda; and Event. mia, the Hebrews Syria, of the two Rivers, then afterwards intituled the Holy Land, be-63. cause therein our Saviour Christ was Born. (otherwise Seir, or Edumaa) Galilee, Sama-Edesja, sometime Rages, now Rage, was the ria, and Judea. Galilee is double, the su-Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Syria periour called Gentium, and the inferiour: taken largely, there were many small Pro- and that Galilee and Judea are distinguishvinces, as Calofyria, which the Latins call sy-ed, it is plain in the Evangelifts, though both Latin. Now besides these Provinces of Phanicia.

Regal feat of the Adades, the first Kings of Gilead, and Arnon, otherwise Traconi, fell to Syria. Adjoyning to it was the Province of the possession of half Manasse, Gad, and Ru-Sophene, or Syria Soba, Choba, or Zobal: over ben, and therefore are accounted a part of conquered and enjoyed by the Ifraelites; which Eastermost parts are again divided Midian, Ammen, and the Territories of the Machati, Gejjuri, Argobe, Hus. They are known to the later Cosmographers by the name of Arabia in general; and by the names of Traconitis, Pieria Batanea, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where Moses describeth the Land of Canaan in the tenth of Genesis, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to Manasse, Gad, and Reuben, for these be his But that Land which was antiently Calman, taketh a part of Phonicia, and words: Then the border of the Canaamits was words: Then the border of the Canaamits was itretcheth from behind Lybanus to the great from Zidon, as thou comest to Gerar untill Az-Desarts between Idumea and Egypt: bound-zah (which is Gaza) and this was the length ed by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and of the Countrie North and South: then it the Mountains of Hermon, Galaad, and Arnon followeth in the Text; And as thou goeft untowards the East: the same Hills which to Sodom and Gomorah, and Admah, and Ptolemie, Hippus. The name of Canaun it had | Mofes feteth down the breadth, to wit, from from Canaan the Son of Cham: Et lingua apthe Dead Sea to the Mediterran. But in pellata fuit Canaan; The language was also Deuteronomy it seemeth to be far more large: Hebrea of the Hebrews: who took name from whereon the foal of your feet shall tread, shall Heber, the Son of Sale, according to Saint be yours: your coast shall be from the Wilder-

length of the Countrie North and South, your fathers, &c. this discription agreeth with the former:only Libanon is put for Zidon; and the Wilder- the enjoying of the Land conquered, and not for Gerar and Azza, which make no the possession thereof, so long as the heavens East and West, if Persis be taken for Euphra- gently, saith he, all these commandments, which tes: then the Land promised stretcheth it I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord felf both over Arabia Petraa, and the Defart, your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all as far as the border of Babylon: which the these Nations before you, and ye shall possess Traelites never polleft; nor at any time did great Nations, and mightier than yon. And fo much as invade or attempt. And there- here, though it be manifest, that by reason fore Vadianus doth conceive, that by the of the breach of Gods Commandments, and River Perah was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates: taking light from this place of fo-

the ereat Sea Westward. And though it be true, that David greatly effe de hoc politico Regno; He sheweth that his enlarged the Territory of the Hely Land: chief promise is not of a civil Kingdom. To

ditions, both in the Verses preceeding, and on Esay, touching the bleffings promised fublequent; which the Israelites never per- unto Hiernsalem, where he hath these words: 54 19 14 formed. And therefore they could not hope De quo diseimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Pafor other than all mankind could or can ex- lestine regione petendam, qua totius Provinpect; who knew that all forts of comforts cia, deterrima est: & saxosis montibus aspe-

hall ye keep all the Commandements which I and suffereth the penury of thirst: so as it preand go in, and possess the Land, whither ye go Wells by building of ciferns; but this Hieru-

nels, and from Libanon, and from the River to possess it. Also that you may prolong your Perab, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the daies in the Land which the Lord sware unto The like condition was also annexed to

difference : but for the breadth and extent were above the earth. For if ye keep dili- Deal, 15. their falling away from the worship of his allpowerfull Majestie, to the Idolatry of the [na: Echold, I have divided unto you by lot Heathen, the conditional promifes of God these Nations, that remain to be an inheritance were absolutely void, as depending upon

according to your Tribes: from Jordan with obedience unperformed: yet I cannot mifall the Nations that I have de troyed, even unto like that exposition of Melanthon: For, faith he, Oftendit promissionem præcipuam non yet as Vadianus well noteth, if Perab in the which agrees that answer which S. Hierome former place betaken for Euphrates, then made to a certain Heretick in his Epistle ad month, was to put per in gentes amicitiam receptas. For Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome, that he c Push David did not at any time enter fo far to the overthrew the reputation of the Jews Story, East as Assertia, or Babylonia. Neither doth and brought the truth thereof in question, the not possessing of all these Countries give by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie advantage to those that would make any ir- and ad illam duntaxat viventium terram que religious cavill, as touching the promise of in calis est; (that is) Onely to that land of God to the Ifraelites unperformed. For when the living which is in heaven. Quoniam tota both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, Judaorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut fell from his worship and service, it pleased vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, lahim not onely to inclose them within that titudinem vero 40. 6 in his etiam regiones, Territory, which was for so many people ex- loca, urbes, & oppida funt plurima, nunquane cceding narrow; but therein and elsewhere à Judais occupata, sed tantum divina pollicito subject them unto those Idolatrous Nati-ons, whose falle and foolish gods themselves of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it also served and obeyed. And sure the pro- scarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles miseby which the Hebrews claimed the in- in breadth, and in these are countries, places, heritance of Canaan, and the lasting enjoy- cities, and many towns, which the Jews never Beaussing thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens possest but were onely granted by divine promise. were above the earth, was tied to those con- In like manner the same Father speaketh up-

from the merciful goodness of God looked ratur, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita ut culefor, as well in this life as after it, are no lon- flibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium ciger to be attended, then while we persevere | sernarum extructione soletur : sed in Dei main his love, service, and obedience. So in nibus, ad quam dicitur, festinaverunt structathe eighth Verse of the eleventh of Dentero- res this From whence, saith he, we learn, that nomy, the keeping of Gods Commandments Hierusalem is not to be fought in that region of was a condition joyned to the prosperity of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Pro-Ifrael. For therein it is written, Therefore vince, and ragged with craggic mountains, command you this day: that se may be strong, servethrain water, and supplies the scarsity of falen is in Gods bands, to which it is faid, Thy builders Lave betweed: to far St. Hierome ; where alle to provent miftaking, he thus expoundeth limfelf: Neque hoe dico in fuggillationem terra Judad, ut Lareticus Syco-Il inta m metur: aut quo auferam bifiorie vera tien oue fundamentum elé intelligentsa formulas : led ut decutiam Supercilium Indaorem, que Esnagage anguitas letitudina Ecches preferant: Si enim occidentem tantum fegrantur lateram. & non feiritum vivifican-

1.6. ver a be unlikely (keing the Wett-bound taining thirty English miles, or thereabout: in the place, Deut. 11. 24 had his truth in and from the Mid-land Sca to the East bortaken enly in a spiritual sense) yet never- naan was very fruitful, abounding in Wine,

tal acand conquete of Iracl. z netwow tora more particular descripti-(1 ) the traly Land | theatife After, Nephtalim, and Zainten held the Northermolt part, and were tested in Planicia, I will begin ! with these three, taking Afher for the first : ] or which Tribe yet before I fpake, I must adm with the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be morationed, that he remember that many both for firength and magnitude. The names, by reation of the divers funcies of Greeks and Q. Curtius make Agenor the founto the unlicitual they may feem divers, when from the abundance of fish found on those the later do think fit.

6. III.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

| I.

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

He Alberites descended of Asber the ion of Jacob by Zelpha, the hand-maid tem operation terram promissionis latte & of Lea, were increased while they abode in me ite mentantem : Neither (with he) fay Ithis Fgppt, to the number of 41500, and odd perto agrace the land of Judwa; as the heretical bas, all men above twenty years of age, Syrughani doth belie me: or to take amy the and able to bear arms, at the time when they truth of the killery which is the foundation of were mustered by Moles at Mount Sinai: all for And macerian dang: Last to best down the which number perishing in the Desarts, there Product the Jews, which enlarge the straits of rem ined of their issues, besides women and the specogne farther than the breadth of the children, 53400. bodies fit for the wars: Course : For if they follow only the killing let- which past the river of Arnon into the Plains to and not the quickening spirit, let them frem of Month, and after the conquest of Canaan, The Land of promife, flowing with Milk and had for their portion that part of Phenicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, unto 1 dis ir may also be gathered, howfoe- Ptolomais Acon alongst the Sea-coast, conthe attend lenie, that Emphrates or Perath, der some twelve miles: though Antoninus Antes which is made the East-bound, should be makes it some what larger. This part of Catheses that Hierom's opinion inclineth to Oyl, and Wheat, besides the Balsamum, with this, as i, this Perath were not to be under-other pleasant and profitable commodities: the over Empirates, and that the promife it according to that Prophecy, Affer pinguis feli was never losarge: much less the plan-panis: Concerning Asfer, his bread thall be lat: And he feall give pleasures for a King. 681.40

> ||. II. of Zidon.

The first City seated on the North border of the Territory of Affer, was Zidon, which Josua calleth the great Zidon, Traditators, are diverly expressed, so that der thereof: and Justine derives the name Justill. they are one and the same: the reason of shores: whereof it hath been called Zidona. this diverfity ( as by those learned in the But that it was far more antient, Moses, Josus, enter Februm Lentrught ) is partly because the and Josephus witness, the same being foundwas to Louis us of the Hebrew want vowels, ed by Zidon the eldeft of Canaan's fons: and the o'd I carllaters imagined other vowels fo firong it was in Josua's time, as neither than taw the Hebrew Editions have; and did himself attempt it, neither could the Afpartly, b. caule the Antient expressed or o- ferites, or any of their successours master it: rained divers confonants, otherwise than but it continued all the time of the Judges and Kings, even unto the coming of Christ; Heart, a City interchangeably governed, by their Excl. is. own Princes or other Magistrates: though est according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, Esay, Hieremie, Ezechiel, and Zacharie, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies

CHAR. VII.

Map and Description of the Holy Land. thereof, being by time confumed and loft. this their multiplying of their Bauls and A-

Think, as \* Strabo noteth, Homer speaking of Zidon, Images, or of the worship in divers places, as Herost neglecteth the memory of Tyre, because it or of the stories depending upon them: us Plan, was but a member of Zidon; and a City fub- which (as fables use to be) were doubtless It iens ject to the Kings thereof: though it be true in divers Cities divers. Augustine quast. 19. m tipe for Primacy, and became far more renown- and Juno. For the Carthaginians (which

makes to be born of Tyrus and Syria, and to which of Mechanical Arts or Trades: the Prophet have been the wife of Adonis: as also Maunuch Zachary calling them the wife Zidonians. The crob. 2. Saturn. cap. 21. fayes, that Adonis was unninfi City was both by nature and art exceeding with great veneration commonly worship-

Rock, and compassed by the Sea, which afthe Idolatrous women are noted to bewail) auteuns ter the Citizens became Christians, was held is the name of Adonis among the Syrians. So and defended by the Knights of the Dutch | that it may feem that in the worship of Aftartion 101 Order: and another Castle it hath on the te or Venus, they did bewail her husband A-

Tyre, into places re- is Adonis the fair. Howbeit others in that xalds mote: as unto Thebes, and sephera, Cities of place of Exekiel not without good probabi- Aferin minomonothis Bastia in Greece. Strabo and Pliny give the lity, expound the mourning for Thammuz,

taken out of the River Belus, falling into the was as famous in the Egyptian Idolatry, as or for o. Mediterran Sea, neer Ptolomais, or Acon: with the Grecians, l'enus loss of Adonis. And thinged and from whence the Venetians fetch the to this agreeth that which Plutarch hath, de Buther matter of those cleer Glasses which they Iside & Oliride; that Oliris with the Fgaptians

fallopits, vitrariis officinis nobilis; Zidon a famous howfoever these Zidonians were thus antiand eathers Glass-maker, or a skilful worker in Glass-houses. ently fostered with the milk of Idolatry: yes They were in Religion Idolaters (as the they were more apt to receive the Doffring

enemies Sword, and by the Peltilence. rest of the Canaanites) worshippers of Baal The form Adon is feated on the very wash of the and Astaroth: which Idols though common or Aforeign The nician Sea, which is a part of the Medito to the other of the illue of Canaan (as Pineda to the other) 1. 1) an or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North gathers out of 1 Sam. 31.10. and Judg. 10.6. to have the City of Berythus, and the River Leontin: yet especially and peculiarly were account - here for the city of Berythus, and the River Leontin: and to the South Sarepta, or Sarphat, which ed the gods of the Zidonians: as appears 1 pent 7.13 Gandeth between it and Tire: the distance Reg. 11. 5. in the story of Solomons Idolatry : the word between which two great and famous Cities, where Aftaroth is called the god of the Zidoto wit, Zidon and Tyre, is 14. thousand paces, nians: and 1 Keg. 16. 33. in the story of A- ber sgnifaith Serglerus: but Vadianus makes it two that, the chief worthipper of East, where it fashings hundred furlongs, and so doth Weiffinburie is said, that he marrying Jezabel the daugh may conin his description of the holy Land, and terof the King of the Zidanans, worshipped same about from Strabo: which two hundred further Baal. Divers Baals and divers sflar spatials longs make five and twenty miles. This roths in their Idolatries they acknowledged: that Adifference of distance as well between these as it appears by the plural names of Eaalim, state was two known Cities, as all the reft, make it o- and Aftaroth, 1 Sam. 12. 10. and eliewhere: the form ver-difficult to divise any new Scale to the for even the name Astaroth, as I am informed other hus-

by a fkillful Hebritian, is plural; the fingu-What Kings it had till Agenors time there lar being Aftoreth: whence Judg. 2. 13. the monwas n is no memory: the story which Zeno the Septuagint read inatgenous mis acheruis They Ram. Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote worshipped the Astarties. The occasion of

It seemeth to be more antient than Tyre; storeths, may be diversly understood : either which was also built by the Zidonians. For in respect of the diversity of the forms of the that in after-times it contended with Zidon in Judg. thinks Baal and Aftarte to be Jupiter

ed, opulent, and strong: From Zidon had were Tyrians) call Juno by such a name as Solomon and Zerebabel their principal workMarte. Tully, lib. 3. de Nat. Dearum, making
men, both in Timber and Stone, for the divers Goddesse of the name of Venus, exbuilding of the Temple. For as it flourish- pounds the fourth to be Astarte: whom he

nitique strong, having a Castle or Citadell on the ped of the Assrians: and Hierome upon North-fide, standing upon an unaccessible Ezek.8.44. notes that Thammuz (whom there

South-fide by the Port of Egypt, which the donis: as also the Grecians did in their songs there's Templers guarded. It also lent many other of Adonis: Mourn for Adonis the fair, dead Khaliste

tellors Lidonians the invention of \* Glafs, which to be the mourning for offers in the facrifice of they used to make of those Sands which are

which make at Murana: of which St. Hierom and is called Ammuz: which word may feem demfor Pling: Zidon infignis artifex vitri: Zidon to be the same with Ezekiels Thammuz. But

than the fore: who had been taught by And Carthage was therefore called Punica Motor and the Prophets to many years, where- quali Phanicum, a Colony of the Phanicians. of our Saviour in Matthew and Luke: Woe in Spainthey founded Gades, now Caliz. In rus and Lidon, they had repented long agone, eth neer the River Phyllis, in Bythinia. Coc. but I fay unto you, it fball be caffer for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of judgment, than and fo it is written in Josus the 19. taking for you.

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Tyre. Eut in the year of our Redemption for Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre, Offrum The same of the sa winns the first, then King of Hierusalem: in upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain

#### §. III.

the fame Coaft.

Strepta, or after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next City Southward from Zidon, between it and the River called Naar, or Fons kortorum Libani ( of which more hereafter) Kings. standing in the way towards Tyre, a City very famous for the excellent Wine growing neer it : of which Sidonius:

Vina miki non funt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna, Quaque Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

i have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine, Nor any for the drinking of Sarepta's vine.

This City had also a Bishop, of the Diocess of Tyre: after it came to the Suracens and Turks, as the reft: and is now called Saphet, faith Poftellus.

Not far from Sarepta was scituate that the World. fometime famous City of Tyre, whose fleets Figil. 1. and Carthage in Africa, of which Firgil. Orbs and eating of the Fish Conchilis or Purpura,

of the Goipel of Christ after his Ascension , antiqua fuit, Isrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago. Mantet beto thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works Italy, Nola: in Asia the less Dromos Achillis, Fiel. which were done in thee, had been done in Ty- which City the Scholiast of Apollonius place which were done in thee, had been done in Ty-

It had antiently the name of Zor, or Tzor: name from the scituation; because built on It received a Christian Bishop with the a high Rock, sharp at one end. The Latines, furft: who was afterward of the Diocess of as it seems, knew it by the name of sarra: the year 1111, by the help of the Danes and to this day; the place being still known by Normales, who came with a Fleet to visit the the name of the antient Tyre: and because Holy Land, and took Port at Joppa, it was a- it was a Colony of the Zidonians, the Prophet gain recovered, the commandment thereof Ffay calleth it the Daughter of Zidon; which being given to Euflace Gremer, a Noble man Trogus also confirmeth, though Berofus by Communication of the Communic of that Country. And again in the year affinity of name makes Thiras the fon of Ja-1250. it was re-edified and strengthened by phet to be the Parent thereof: and though Lodorick the French King: while he spent no doubt it was very antient ( for so much four year in the War of the Holy Land. Last- the Prophet Esay also witnesseth, Is not this 1960. Po ly, in the year 1289, it was reconquered by your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of anti-case the Saracens: and is now in policifion of the Turk, and hath the name of Zai. who built Zidon, and peopled all that Region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new Tyre in after-times fo re- Tofin life nowned, seemeth to be the work of Agenor: can la of Surepts, with a brief History of Tyre in the same Coast.

the same Coast. Solomon's Temple 240 years : Cedrenus 361. 18.00. who also addeth, that Tyrus the wife of A-times, genor, gave it her name: but of Agenor I will speak more at large in the story of their

> For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Island 700, paces from the Continent; and therefore Ezekiel placeth Exekitia it in the middest of the Seas, as some read, 17. or as others, in the inner-most part of the Sea, very 31 whence he called it scituate at the entry of the sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it, the Mart of the people for many Ifles: and Efay, Efant a Mart of the Nations : and fo proud , weal- 17.6 thy, and magnificent was this City, as the Prophet Ffay calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of

It excelled both in learning, and in manuof ships commanded, and gave the law over facture: especially in the making and dyall the Mediterran Sea, and the borders ing of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, thereof: during which time of greatness saith Julius Pollux, was first found out by Herand power, the Tyrians crected Utica, Leptis, cules Dog, who paffing along the Sea-coalt,

putting all to the Sword that refifted 5 after and demolifhed. which, he caused 2000, more to be hung up in a rank all alongst the Sea-shore: which the Tyrians defended themselves: for so execution upon cold bloud he performed long did those Babylonians continue before (as some Authors affirm) upon the issues of it, As every head was made bald, and every 1 [222, 365] those flaves which had formerly slain all shoulder made bare, saith Ezekiel, who with their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, the Prophet Esay had manifestly foretold the Riches, and power of Government to them- destruction of this proud place. In the end, selves. This victory of Alexander over the and after 13. years siege or more, the Tyri-Tolokan, Tyrians, Josephus remembreth: and how Sa- ans despoyled of all their hopes, and remem-

pall it naballat revolted from Darius, and came to bring over-late the predictions and threatin law Manasse, whom the Jews oppugned , War: It pleased God in recompence therefor that he had married out of their Tribes, of (who strengthened this resolution, as in [wi.li] and with a Gentile: but while Alexander a work of his own) to make Nabuchodono-besieged Gaza, Sanaballat, whom Guil. Tyri- for victorious over the Egyptian: and gave us called Sanabula, died.

cruelty of Alexander, it was attempted by upon Saint Hierom noteth, that God leaveth

the hair of his lips became of that colour. It | Salmanaffer the Affgrian King : when the the nail of this high occasion did: fall growing pride of the Afgirant, after that worthipped the Idols that Lidan did: fall growing pride of the Afgirant, after that wing that Herculer became their Patron in they had conquered the ten Tribes, with after-times. For Alexander Macedon, when the rest of Syria became envious of the beauthe Tyrians presented him with a Crown of ty, riches, and power of that city. He besieggold, and other gifts, defiring to remain his ed it both on the Land-side, and with threefriends and allies, answered them, that he score ships of war held the Port : to the end had vowed a facrifice to Hercules, the Defenthat neither any victuals nor any fupply of dor of their City, and the Ancestor of the men might enter it: but the Tyrians with 16,9, c.14. Mucedonian Kings: and must therefore enter twelve fail scattered that fleet, and took 500. it. Whereupon they fent him word, that prisoners of the Assyrians: notwithstanding, Hercules his Temple was in the Mountain of the Affrian continued his resolution, and old Trre: where he might perform that ce- lay before it by his Lievtenants five years, remony. But this availed not: for Alexander but with ill fuccels. And this fiege Menanwas not so superstitious, as ambitious; be de- der Ephosius, cited by Josephus, made report Et cont. was not to inperint to as, as amortions  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are the property in the fired to enter the Town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, mong the *Annals* of the *Tyrians* (which the *aead*. nied, ne, as one whom no pent come term; mong the annual of the Aprilans (which the seath nor labour weary, gathered together as malinth property of the seath of the seath nor labour weary, gathered together as malinth property of the seath of the seat nus fo great a number of Cedars, & fo many was then King of Tyre, having governed the weighty stones from the old City of Tyre same six and twenty years. Soon after this adjoyning, as notwithstanding that his ma- repulse of Salmanasser; and about 200, years terials were often washt away with the before the victory of Alexander, Nabuchodostrength of the Sea and the Tides, yet he ne- no for at such time as he destroyed Hierusalem ver refted, till he had made a foot-passage with the Temple, came before this City: who from the Continent to the Island: and ha- indeed gave to Alexander the example of ving once approached their walls, he over- that despairful work, of joyning it to the topt them with Turrets of wood, and other Continent. For Nabnehodonofor had formerframes: from whence (having filled the bo- ly done it: though by the diligence of the dy of force with the violent moving spirit Citizens, and the strength of the Sca, the same of resolution ) he became Lord thereof, cawsey and passage was again broken down,

Alexander with 8000. Souldiers: who was pings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a the last Satrapa or Provincial Governour, convenient number of ships, abandoned their which Darine feated in Samaria: the fame City, transporting with themselvs the ablest who having married his Daughter to Ma- of all that remained: and with their wives, nasse, brother to Jaddas the high Priest of children, and portable riches, sayled thence Hierusalem, obtained of Alexander, that a into Cyprus, Carthage, and other Maritimate Temple might be built on the Mountain Ga- Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: rizim over Samaria: that the forces of the fo as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, Jews being divided, Alexander might the either to farisfie so many labours and perils, better hold them in obedience. The honour or any person upon whom to avenge themof which Priesthood he bestowed on his son selves for the loss of so many bodies in that

him that Kingdom and the spoil thereof, as Long before this defolation of Tyre by the it were, in wages for his Army. Where-

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by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happines referved for his ser-in) was brought and interred in the Cathevants and Saints: yet such is the boundless dral Church of Tyre, neer unto that glorigoodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gitts and temporal blefs-

Now of this enterprise of Nabuchodonofor's against Tyre, prophane Historians have not been filent. For both Diocles, and Phi- Turks. lostratus (as Josephus citeth them) the one in his fecond Book, the other in his Phanician Histories remember it.

After these two great Vastations by the Kings of Babylon and Macedon, this City of Tyre, repaired and recovered it felf again: and continued in great glory about 300. years, even to the coming of our Saviour Christ: and after him flourished in the Chrifian Faith neer 600. years: the Archbishop which was the antient name thereof after Guil. Tyr. otherwise Porphiria, Acon, or Ptolomais, Sabell fac. repta, Zidon, Cafarca Philippi, Berytus, Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Ortholia, Archis, Aradus, An-

taradus, (or Tortofa) and Maraclea. But in beautiful Region of Phanicia and Palestina, Subjected to the crucl and faithless saracen: his son in law Alexander, which called himunder the burthen and yoke of whose ty-Cities, 488. years. In the year 1112, it was attempted by

Baldwine King of Hierusalem; but in vain: yet in the year 1124. by Guaremonde, Patriarch of Hiernfalem, Vicegerent to Baldwine the second, with the assistance of the Venetians, and their fleet of Gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the Kings of Hierusalem, and so it remained 165. years.

Finally, in the year 1189. Saladine having first taken Hierusalem, removed his whole Army, and fate down before Tyre: drawing his fleet of Ships and Gallies from Alexandria into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of timber . fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleet, and fallyed out refolvedly upon his Army, flew fo great numbers of them; and followed their victory with fuch fury, as that the Saracens forfaking their Trenches and Tents, that famous Frederick Barbaroffa (who by Antonius maketh it two and thirty Italian series

not the good deeds of the Heathen unre-the lamentable accident of following the warded: who though they cannot hope Christians enemies over a River unfoordable ous Sepulchre of Origen, garnished and graven with guilt pillers of Marble, 940. years before therein buried : but in the year 1280. the Saracens again attempted it, and carriedit, and it now remaineth subject to the

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#### ||. IV.

### Of Ptolomais or Acon.

He third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Assertes could not obwhereof gave place to none but to the Pa- Hierome, though other good Authours af Plants. whereof gave place to none out to the raown Diocess had fourteen great Cities, with ther of Ptolomie. Pliny calleth it Ace: and Jest. their Bishops and Suttrugans: namely Caipha, otherwise the Colony of Claudius. It had also the name of Coth, or Cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Hactipos. But lastly, it was intituled Ptolomais, af-

ter the name of one of the Egyptian Ptolomies: Philiant the year 636. it was with the rest of that which City also, asit is 1 Mac. 11 another to. of the Ptolomics, infideliously wrested from self the son of Antiochus Epiphanes: the same ranny it suffered, with the other Paleftine Alexander having married Cleopatra, daughter of the faid Ptelomie, not long before. Therein also was Jonathan Machabans treacherously surprised and slain, as it is I Mac. 12. ( Mac.) 48. by the perfidiousness of Tryphon, whom 10. soon after Antiochus pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and, by like reason, about the same time was the aforesaid Alexander in the war against Demetrius, one of the fons of Antiochus the great, with whom Ptolomy joyned, overthrown and treacheroutlymurthered by Zabdiel the Arabian: to whom he. fled for fuccour : and his head prefented , Mac II, unto his father in law Ptolomie : who enjoy- is. ed not the glory of his victory and treason above three daies, for God struck him by

For the beauty and strength of this City, this Alexander made it his regal feat; two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the Port, for fafety and capacity, not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This City is diftant from Hierusalem some four and thirty miles: four miles to the North removed in great disorder and dishonour. from the Mountain Carmel, and as much to Two years after which victory the body of the South from Castrum Lamberti: from Tyre, of Genoa: to whom a third of the revenue except of George the Arrian Bilhop, mentiowas given in recompence. Again, in the ned by Am. Marcellinus. year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourscore and seven, saladine King of Egpt and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the year of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by Richard King of England, and Philip King of France, it was repollested and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, in the year 1291. it was by the fury

## | V.

dified, and it is now Turkifb.

## of the Castle of Saint George.

which he was born: the Valley adjoyning dath. See land had not some probable record of that the fill. his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, his Successors royally have continued, non longe à Beryte, memorant inclytum Christi Aphek. Militem D. Georgium, Regis filiam ab imma-nilfimo Dracone asservasse: camque mattata dalium, first called schandalium of schander,

miles. In the middest of the City there was place, which by the Inhabitants is called Capa Tower of great strength, sometime the padocia, not far from Berytus, men say that Temple of Bel-zebub: and therefore called the famous Knight of Chrift, Saint George, did the Castle of Flies, on the top whereof there rescue the Kings daughter from a huge Dragon: was mantained a perpetual light like unto and having killed the beaft, delivered the Virthat called Pharus in Egypt: to give com- gin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a fort in the night to those ships which came Church was after built there: Thus far Adriconeer and fought that part. It had in it a Bi- miss. His Authors he citeth Lodovicus Roman. shops seat of the Diocess of Tyre, after it be- Patric. Navigationum 1.1.c.3 and Bridenbach this for came Christian: but in the year 636. (a fa- Itin. 5. The Valley under this Castle some-Binary talyear to the Christians in those parts) it time called Asser, was afterward called the 18 Hanna, tall year od and taken by Haomarus the Sara- Valley of Saint George. If this authority fuf-Frame, was not consider the state of the sta class, cen. In the first, by the help of the Gallies gorical, figuring the victory of Christ, than

## ||. V I.

## Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

Etween Ptolomais and Tyre alongst the of the Saracens belieged with an Army of DSea-coast, was the strong City of Acziba, 150000.entered, fack'd, and utterly demo- or Achazib, which S.Hierome called Achziph, lished: though in some fort afterward ree- and Josephus Ecdippos, Plinie Ecdippa, one of those which defended it self against the Afferites. Belforreft finds Acziba and Sandalium. or the Castle of Alexander to be one but I know not from whence he had it.

The twelve Searchers of the Land which Atofes sent from Cadesbarn, travelled as far Losintein to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe Jos. Bell. Twe miles from Ptolamais towards the of Affer, which Rechob, as also Berotha, which field, to East, is a Castle of St. George scated, in by Ezechiel, cap.47.ver. 16. is placed in these Plin. 15. North borders, belonging in Davids time to 6.19. bearing the same name. And though for the the King Hadarhezer, as it may be gathered credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I out of the second of Samuel, chap. 8. ver. 8. passed leave every man to his own belief: yet l and chap. 10. ver. 6. and it defended it felf against the Afferites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achzsph, a line of the Afferites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achzsph,

This Aphek it was, whose wall falling down, slew seven and twenty thousand of which Edward the third founded, and which Eenhadads Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had been slaughtered by the Ifraeshould have born his name, seeing the World lites, under the conduct of Abab. Here Junius had not that fearcity of Saints in those finds that the Philistims encamped a little daies, as that the English were driven to make before the battel at Gilboa, though in fis fuch an erection upon a fable, or person seig- note upon the first of samuel the 9. & 1. he ned. The place is described by Adricomius takes Aphck there mentioned (at which batin his description of Affer, to have been in tel the Ark was taken) to have been in Juda. the fields of Libanus, between the River Of which Jos. 25. and 53. & in the second of 1 King. 10 Adonis, and Zidon : his own words are these : Kings 13.17. he reads, Fortiter, for, in Aphele. 29. Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, Where others covert it, Percutiens Syros in Sam. 19.

bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam which we call Alexander, for Alexander Ma-Ecclesia postmodum suit ædisicata ; In this cedon built it when he besieged Tyre: and

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it felf into the Sea, between Acziba and Tyre: he undertook the recovery of Tyre.

Not much above a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentiful Spring of great loss and dishonour repulsed. water, which Solomon remembreth, called the Well of living Water: from whence not of Alab (or Achlab) which S. Hierome calleth only all the fields and plains about Tyre are Chalab, one of those that defended themmade fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the fame Spring, which hath not above abow-fhot of ground to travel till it recover the Sea, driveth fix great Mills in that fhort passage, faith Brochard.

Within the Land, and to the East of Acziba, and Sandalium, francicth Hofa: and beyond it, under the Mountains of Tyre, the City of Achlaph, or Axab, or after S. Hierome, Acifap, a City of great strength, whose King, amongst the rest, was slain by Josua, at the waters of Merom.

## VII.

of Thoron Gifcala, and some other places.

Urther into the Land, towards Jordan, was feated the Castle of Thoron, which Hugo de Sancto Abdemare built on the Eastermost hills of Tyre, in the year 1107. thereby to restrain the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adjoyning being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the story of the Wars for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappel, dedicated to the bleffed Virgin, in which Humfrey of Thoron, Constable to Ealdwine the 3. King of Hieru-Calem lieth buried : There were five Castles besides this within the Territory of Affer: whereof four are seated almost of equal distance from each other: to wit, Castrum, Lamperti, Montfort, Indin (or Saron) Castrum Regium and Belfort: the first neer the Sea under the hills of saron, the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, ftand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brother-hood and fellowship of the Teutonici, or Dutch Knights (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians at such time as the Saracens possest the best part of the upper Galilee) the chief

fet it on a point of Land which extendeth which in this Tribe Jost 19. 29. for which the Vulgar reads Horma: making the article a Herodi. which Caftle Baldwine the first rebuilt and part of the word, and mistaking the words 100 part of the word 100 part of which Gattle battapare the first 157. when from the fiege of this Cafele of Belfort, the tient, the great Saladine King of Syria and Egypt, was 40. by the Christians Army raised, and with

CHAP. VII.

To the East of Belfort, is the strong City

Gabala ( which Herod furnamed the Ascalo- Tolob. nite rebuilt) making it of the Territory of annie !! Chabol, Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere signi- 5-1619. ficat (faith Weishenburg ) so called, because Hiram of Tyre was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which solomon presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this Chabol (or Ca- 788, GREE bul) containing a circuit of those twenty is Cities given to Hiram, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land, though bordering After on the North fide: as it is faid, Reg. 9.11. That they were in Regione limitis : that is, in limite Regionis, in the bor. der of the Countrey: for as it was not lawful, fay they, to give to strangers any part of 2 Som, 10, the possessions allotted to the Israelites : howsoever, that after Hiram had refused them, they were peopled by the Ifraelites, it appears, 2 Chron. 8.14. And it feems they were conquered by David from the Syri Rechobea, whose City Roob, or Rechob, was in

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Gifcala, and Gadara : of which Gadara is rather to be placed over fordan: Giscala was made famous by John the fon of Levi, who from a mean estate gathering together four hundred Thieves, greatly troubled all the upper Galilee, at such time as the Romans attempted the conquest of Judea: by whose practice Josephus, who then commanded in the coast upper Galilee, was greatly indangered: whereof himself hath written at large, in his fecond Book of those Wars. This John betraying, in all he could, the City of Gifcala (whereof he was native) to the Roman State: and finding a relistance in the City, Set 16 gave opportunity, during the contention, to 26 in the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it : Nephiles who at the same time forc't it, and burnt it Math. to the ground: but being by Josephus an weart first fortress was for beauty and strength called Beffort, seated in the high ground upon the River Naar, neer the City Rama: of Cities of Cana Major, and \* Cades (or Cadessa). of the first was that Syro-phanician, whose neth into it from the North-side, Naar, and

There are, besides these fore-named Cities, within the Tribe of Afer, divers others: as on the South border, and near the Sea, Mefall, or Misheall: within the Land (a) Besa-16 19.27. phanicia, is the City of Hethalon, or Chethlon, EU-17-15 the utmost of the Holy Land that way: un-

(c) O.F. (c) Enoch, supposed to be built by Cain, and withten named of his fon Enoch, but without probaothers also besides these, as Ammon, or Chamread of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelec, and Beron : Recbob, and Misseal, which we have already mentioned, were by the Asserting given to the Levites. Of others held by the Canas-bed it: neither doth it find the Sea at Ptolo-Pera of the Levites. Of others held by the Canaathe Leviles. Of others head, Judg. 1. 30. to which mais Acon, according to Montanus but far-iallethin-iallethinther to the South between Caiphas and Si-totheLake out of Josua we may add Ebron, Amhad, and others, on which no story dependeth; and caminum, witness Zeigler, Adrichomius, and Submin, therefore I will not pefter the description schrot. with them.

## §. VIII.

Of the Rivers and Mountains of Asser.

Adonis, afterward Canis, to which Zeigler joyneth Lyous; Ptolomy Leontis: both which fall into the Scaneer Berytus: which River of Leontis, Montanus draws neer unto sm 1.9. at Theipsophon, or Dei facies, near Tripolis to North Land) calleth the main River Fons borto rum Libani: and one of the streams which run-

Daughter Christ delivered of the evil spirit. another from the South-west, Chabal: of the Neer the other, they fay, it was that Jonathas city adjoyning of the same name: for Eleu-Machabens overthrew the Army of Deme-therm it cannot be. There is also another Ritherw it cannot be. There is also another Ri. a The word wer described by Adrichome, named Jepthael, smbigus which I find in no other Author, and for can which is citeth 796. 19, but the word a 6062, by of for a which is added there to Jepthael, snot taken River; but for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Val. ra, (b) Bethdagon, and Bethemec, standing on ley the Vulgar, the Geneva; and Arias Monta- waya valthe South border between After and Zahu
file in in.

There is also found in After the ley, as in

South bor: on the North side joyning to Syro
Backwick lon: on the North side joyning to Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and onle
South lon: on the North side joyning to Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and onle
South lon: on the North side joyning to Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and onle
South lon: on the North side joyning to Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and onle
South lon: on the North side joyning to Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and onle
South lon: on the North side joyning to Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and onle
South lone is the Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and onle
South lone is the Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and south lone is the Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and south lone is the Syro
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River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and south lone is the Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and south lone is the Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and and south lone is the Syro
River of Belus, remembred by Josephus and Belus acitus, which is also called Pagidas, saith manin.

\* Pliny: out of the sands of this River are per fad, the utmost of the Holy Landthat way: unthe utmost of the Utmost of the Holy Landthat way: unthe utmost of the Utmost of the Utmost of the Utmost of the Utmo Murana, Arias Montanus makes Belus to be a 19. v. 16. as it is bility, as I have formerly proved. There are branch of Chedumim, which it cannot be: for it is called Belus is known to flow from out the Lake which mon, of which Jos. 19. 28. where also we Gendevia, as all Cosmographers, both Ancient name maand Modern, and the later Travellers into my underthe Cities of Alcath or Chelcath, Habdon, and those parts witness. It is true that the River of their thream

> Besides these Rivers there are divers far trom the mous Springs and Fountains, as that of living promised Land, waters adjoyning to Tyre : and b Masercphot, wherea. or after S. Hierome, Maferephotnam, whose bout they Well filled by the shood of the Sea adjoyn pace shring (they say) the Inhabitants by seething for which "He Rivers to the North of Affer, are the water make falt thereof, as at Nantwitch case it si-

The Mountains which bound Affer on the chorin that North, are those of Anti-libanes, which with Place of Libanes bound Carlofyria: two great ledges of Folia: but Hills, which from the Sea of Phanicia and whether Zidon: finding his head notwithstanding Syria, extend themselves far into the Land this Sector, Leave where Ptolony doth between Zidon and Tyre. Eaftward,400. stadia, or furlongs, according beautives It hath also a River called Fons hortorum Li- to Strabo: for that length he giveth to the or a City, ham and a terrer cancer on solver and inti- Valley of Calofyria, which those Mountains that this bani, which Adrichome out of Brochard intituleth Eleutherus: for which he also citeth inclose: but Pliny gives them 1500. lurlengs name is inclose: but Pliny, and the first of Machabees the eleventh in length from the West (where they begin in the organistic Chapter's Dut Bettiet of those authorities in the Mountains of Arabia beyond Dannifus; bounded 180 order prove Eleutherus to be in Affer; for this Ri-the Mountains of Arabia beyond Dannifus; bounded 180 orders where Anti-Lihanus turneth towards the the Holy in the Control of the Holy in the Holy i ver falleth into the Sea at the Isle of Aradus: where Anti-Libanus turneth towards the Land, 161 d These not far from Balanea, witness Ptolomy: and South. These ledges where they begin to 19.16 and not far from Baiana, witheis recount; and Po- part Traconitis and Esfan, from the Defart in the therefore Pinetus callethit Valania, and Pofiellus, Velana; which River boundeth Pher- Arabia, are called Hermon: which Mofes al-bound nicia on the North-fide: to which Strabo al- fo nameth Sion, the Phanicians, Syrion; and 76, 13 5; fo agreeth: but this principal River of Aft the Amorites, Sanir; neither is this any one b See the for Arias Montanus calleth Gabatus. Christia- Mountain apart, but a continuation of Hills: more nus Chrot out of the mouth and papers of which running farther Southerly, is in the bowth the focal nus Chrot out of the mouth and papers of which running tartner southerly, is in the love of the factor of the fact age both viewed and described the Holy being still a part of Libanus, as the Prophet this Paragraph. Strab. l. 10 Plin l. 5. c. 20. Deut. 4. 43. Strab. l. 10. Plo. Alice.

tab. q. Sueson. Nig. pag. 503. Hieremy

hani; noting, that this Galaad is the highest East and South-East by Jordan. pinion.

white tops, because (according to Tacitus) Beallebeca. the highest of them are covered with snow all the Summer: the Hebrew word Libanos, (faith Weiffenburg) fignifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which those Trees yeild: because MCaroto is also the Greek word for that

on Libarus there falleth a kind of honey dew, which is by the Sun congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call Sac-Saccarum.

the neighbour Regions, are, Chrysorrhoas, Jordan, Eleutherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

The rest of the Mountains of Asser, are miles distant.

## 6. IV.

## THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis,

years of age. The Land of Nephtalim took beginning on the North part, from the Founjoyning, as far South as the Sea of Galilee, adad: and after a while by Teglatphalafar.

Hieremy proveth: Galand In miki caput Li-bounded on the West by After, and on the Galary.

of those Hills of Libanus. Strabo knows On the North-fide of Libanus, and ad-Those, a them by the name of Traconite: and Piolomy joyning to this Territory of Nephtalim, did by Lucithem by the name of tracontine: and trowny joyning to this tended, in the light in the Montains and the the Amorites (or Emorites) also inhabit, in 15.9. When the Mountains bordering Affer; Libanus, for which Tract, and under Libanus, was the ci-folia of Mountains bordering Affer; Libanus, for which Tract, and under Libanus, was the ci-folia of the Mountains to the Composition of the Mountains of the Composition of the Composit graphers, but he giveth no reason of his o- Monntains adjoyning shadowed from the leb. is Sunthe better part of the day. Poftellus calls plur lacit. nion.
They take the name of Libanus from their it Balbee; Niger, Marbech; and Leonelavius, Demail, Pala, Li,

Of this name of Heliopolis, there are two f. 141. great cities in Egypt: the first called on, by the Hebrews, and the Chaldean Paraphraft; otherwise Bethsemes, or after the Latines, Solis oppidum or Domus Solis : The City of the Sun: into which, faith Ulpian, Severus the Roman Emperour fent a Colony: the other Niger out of Aphrodiseus affirmeth, that Gestelius nameth Dealmarach: and of this name Stephanus also findeth a city in Thrace, and Glycas in Phrygia.

There is also in the same Valley adjoynchar, from whence came the Latine word ing to Nephtalim, Chalcis, and Abila. Chalcis of whom the region towards Palmyrena hath The Rivers which Libanus bestoweth on the name of Chalcidica, over which Herod Agrippa, and Bernice the Queen commanded.

Abila also gave name to the region ad-phrain, joyning, of which Lysanius the fon of Herod believe the elder, became Tetrarch or Governour: and a 4th those Hills above Tyre, and the Hills of Sa- whereof Ptolomy gave it the addition of Ly- in Raking ton, both exceeding fruitful: but those are fanii, and called it Abila Lyfanii. Volaterran in Amin, and called it Abila Lyfanii. Volaterran in Amin, and called it Abila Lyfanii. but of a low feature, compared with Libanus: names it Aphila, of which he notes, that one alo, Asia Dut of a fow stature, compared with troums: mames it Apuna, or which he hotes, that one Miljuis, for from Nebo, or the Mountain of Abarim in Diogenes, a famous Sophifter was native, who at the Reuben, Moses beheld Libanus threescore by Volaterran is intituled Apuleius, not Abile Foodor ns. After that this city of Abila or Aphila, had frien, received the Christian Faith, Priscillinus became the Bishop thereof: slain afterward the same the Bishop thereof: slain afterward the same the Bishop thereof: by our Brittish Maximus at Trever. For di- Reales, of stinction of this city (if it be not the same, as all which it may be thought to be the same) it is to be in that it may be thought to be the same) it is to be which so remembred, that in the Tribe of a Manafe, lows: 10 joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of which also Nephtalim, there is another city of the same we may name, saving that it is written with an (E) for Mogam, an (I) and called Abela, remembred in the 20. the name, as some He next portion of the Land of Ca-chapter of the second of Samuel. The same think, of naan bordering After, was the upper Josephus calls Abelmachea, and Hierome, Beth- city oldwite calle et the greatest part whereof fell to the macha. In the place of Samuel, for distinctsedians, lot of Nephtalim, the fon of Jacob by Billa, on fake, it is written Abel Beth-Mahaca, (for men the the hand-maid of Rachel: who while they belike it was the Town of Mahaasthe wife building the wife bui abode in Egypt, were increased to the number of Macir, the son of Manafe, the father of littlend, or of 53400. persons, able men to bear arms, Gileal) in the Chronicles it is called Abel-according numbered at Mount Sinai: all which lea-Majim. This city Joab besleged, because Se- of the ving their bodies in the Desarts, there entred but the son of Bichri, who rebelled against gentler the Holy Land of their fons, 45400, belides David, fled thereinto for fuccour: but a cer-Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty tain wife woman of the city perfwading the state of the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the city perfwading the cit people to cast Seba his head over the wall, Josephan Joab retired his Army. The fame city was af 17.59 10. tains of Jordan, and the Hill of Libanus ad- terward taken by the King of Damajeus, Ben- i Korali

CHAP. VII.

A and so doutles Abel-Mifraim, Gen. 50. 11. at which place Abraham surprised Chedorlao-A and no doucles in his notes upon Nam. 33. mer and his confederates, and followed his withinks that Abel-Sittim was fo called a victory as far as Sobah, formerly remembred

purfued them.

# , ||. II.

N the Tribe of Nephtalim was that famous City of Jahin, in Josua's time called Asor, tree in (or after the Chaldean Paraphraft, Hafger) that it was either a free city, of the alliance which Laioftan names Hefron; the Regal and Company Mathematics of Canana Sected in the Canana Sected in the Canana Sect which Language City, and Metropolis of Canaan: seated in the Subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is the state of city was that great Rendevous and Affem- because Lais was far from Zidon: and they main the try was a the four and twenty Kings against Lad no business with other men: for it was a esith in Johns: who being all overthrown, flain, and bove thirty English miles from the Mediter- Plia. 1. 5. bove thirty English miles ran being lowerful city was by Jo-ran Sea, and from Zidon. ties, called fua taken and burnt to dust. But in process Emplane July and the fame being re-built by the Cana- subject to the state of Rome, it had the name Alasa anites, a fecond King Jabin, 137. years after of Paneas, from a Fountain adjoyning fo calwempy the clites: and being ordained of God to pu- Pania. Hegesppus calls it Parnium, saith Weif- 35. for Hearn, mild their Idolatry, he prevailed against fenburg: but he had read it in a corrupt cothem and held them in a miserable fervitude py; for in Hegosppus, set out by Eadius, it is written Paneum without an (R): and at such et Manife, threw Sifera, Iabins Lievtenant, and his Artime as Philip the fon of the elder Herod, broand my, near the Mountain Tabor. This city So- ther to Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee, became No.34.8 my, near the doctored at fuch time as he also re- Governour of Traconitis, fometime Basan: Siness, edified Gezar, burnt by Pharao of Egypt, this city was by him amplified and fortified; ting with Megiddo, Bethoron, and other cities; and both to give memory to his own name, proceede, Territory of Benjamin, leated on the confines and laftly, of Ascalon, called the new Hazor, saith d Hie-Shaleb , a. rome. nother city of Simeou

fol, 19. 3. et King 9 d Rieron. br. Hebr

| III. of Cafarea Philippi.

Here was also on the border, and with bloody issue, by touching the hem of his Nicoh.l.6. La our of in the Territory of Nephtalim, that re- garment with a constant Faith: who after-

The word Abel may be expounded, either nowned city of Lais, or Lajisch, as Junius Judg 18.27 to fignifie bewailing, or a plain ground; and writes it, or Leschen; which city the children to manufactore no marvel that many Towns (with of Dan (being straitned in their Territory fame addition for diffinction fake ) were under Juda ) invaded and mastered; and thus called: for even of bewailing, many leave it the name of their own Parent Dan: places took name; as Bochim, Judg. 2.4. and by that name it is written in Genef. 14. Beautiful ther by reason of the plain ground there, in the division of Syria, otherwise called (10 wit, in the Land of Moab) and so perhaps Sophena. And after the possession of the Da-Abel-Meholah in the Tribe of Ephrain: the nites, it had the joynt name of Leschem-Dan. Town of Elista the Prophet: also Abel-Vi- Weissenburg writes it Lacis, the Geneva, Laish; neurum of the Ammonites, whither Jephta Josephus, Dana, Benjamin, Balina; Breiden- Julg. 18. bach, Belena: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of Belina to this day: wit-

nels Neubrigensis, Tyrins, Volaterranus, Brochard the Monk, and Poltellus: who also taketh this city to be the same, which in Matth. 15.39. in the Vulgar is called Magedan, for which the Greek Text hath Magdala in that place, and in S. Mark, speaking of the same chap. 8. 10. story, Dalmanutha. At such time as the chilunjeu unto the Angs thereof; for it is written Judg. 18. And there was none to help, vafe 28.

In after-times when these regions became the death of this first Ialin, invaded the Ifra- led: and therefore Ptolomy calls it Casarea Heg. L.1. 6. but about 260. years after, it fell into the and to flatter Tyberins Cafar, he called it . Of ano of and thands of Teglatphalafar, King of the Assyrians. \* Casarea Philippi: and so it became the Mether casareasta hands of Teglatphalafar, King of the Assyrians. 16. which national Adricomins, called Antiopia: tropolis, and head city of Traconitis, and one ris (or Carabitical It is now, faith Adricomins, called Antiopia: it was one of the principal cities of Decapo
of the first cities of Decapolis. And being by feel cafe
sackers. Is. There is another city of this name in the

Agrippa in the succeeding age greatly a - res Palellidorned; by him in honour of Nero, it was hereafter called Neronia, or Neroniada. But as nothing in the forremained with that Emperour, but the me- mer part of mory of his impiety: fo in S. Hieroms time Of Diocethe Citizens remembred their former Pane- faris, fee as, and fo re-called it, with the Territory ad-

joyning by the ancient name. Of this City Zabalon. was that woman whom Christ healed of a Estel. 1.7.

GHAR. VII.

Swed,

that the

fi:ft Spring

of Jordan

Fountain

als, from whence for

and Dan

and ability, being mindful of Gods goodness, ding to that notable Prophecy of Estay o. and no less grateful for the same, as Eusebius The people that walked in darkness have seen a and Nicephorus report, caused two statues to great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the be cast in pure Copper: the one represent- shadow of death upon them hat b the light shined. ing Christ as near as it could be moulded: the other made like her felf, kneeling at his feet, where it entreth into the Sea of Galilee, in an and holding up her hands towards him. excellent and rich foil: of whose destruction These she mounted upon two great Bases Christ himself prophesied in these words. or Pedeftals of the same metal, which she pla- And thou Caphernaum which art lifted un unced by a Fountain near her own house: to heaven, falt be brought down to hell, Oc. both which (faith Eusebins) remained in their which shewed the pride and greatness of first perfection, even to his own time: which that City: for it was one of the principal himself had seen, who lived in the reign of Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Ga. Constantine the Great. But in the year after like. And although there were some marks Christ 363. that Monster Julian Apostata, of this Cities magnificence in Saint Hieroms caused that worthy Monument to be cast time, as himself confesseth; it being then down and defaced: fetting up the like of a reasonable Burge or Town: yet those his own in the same place: which Image of that have since, and long since seen it, as his was with fire from Heaven broken into Brochard, Breidenbech, and Saliniac affirm, fitters: the head, body, and other parts fun- that it then confifted but of fix poor Fisherdered and scattered, to the great admiration mens houses. of the people at that time living. The truth tieth Chapter.

o the sex as it is written, Judges 18. it is a place which South at Egypt and Arabia; by which de 618 and the such as the work of the such as the work of the such as the work of the such as the work of the such as the work of the such as the work of the such as the work of the such as the such that Philip fields belonging to this City it was that Calofyria, all Palestina, and Indea. the 7e-trarch caft S. Peter acknowledged Christ to be the Son North east fame fortune with the rest, for it was after led Amana, saith Stephanus, or as I ghess, Amores, which taken and re-taken by the Saracens, and na rather, because it was the chief City of chaffe be Christians: under Fulch the fourth King of the Ammonites, known by the name of Rabing carried Christians and a fourth of Californ had before Rada Philadelphus care it this laground, of Bullion, the King of Damascus wrested it ter and new name.) Then scythopolis, somewas cast up from the Christians; and shortly after by time Nisa, built (asis said) by Baccus, in P. Milamor them again it was recovered. Laftly, now it memory of his Nurse, who died therein, an-Des. remaineth with all that part of the World ciently known by the name of Bethfan; for fubjected to the Turk. is conje-

| IV.

Of Cabernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

ward, as the was a woman of great wealth | taught the doctrine of our falvation: accor-Caphernaum was feated on Iordan, even

The Region of ten principal Cities, called of this accident is also confirmed by Sozo- Decapolitana, or Decapolis, is in this descriptimenus Salaminius, in his fifth Book and twen- on often mentioned, and in S. Matthew, Mark Maria and Luke alforemembred; but I find no a- Marie This City built by the Danites, was near greement between the Cosmographers, what Lines. the joyning together of those two Rivers, proper limits it had: and so Pliny himself which ariting from the fprings of Jor and confesseth; for Marius Niger, speaking from Marius a Josephus Dan, the two apparent Fountains of Jordan, others, bounds it on the North by the Moun 4. f. 501. in thebook in a feil exceeding fruitful and pleasant: for, tain Casius in Casiotis: and endethit to the Pin. 13.

Pliny also makes it large, and for the ten legistation chaffe into of God: whereupon it was answered, Tues Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth tend by a Fountain Petrus, & Super hanc Petram, &c. After this four of them to be fituated towards Arabia: Chifferen as Dand. called Phi. Petrus, & Juper mane retrain, & t. Meet this four of them to be intuated towards 21 and a st head, als, diffant City received the Christian faith, it was ho-Hierusalem, and after the death of Godfrey bab, before Ptolo. Philadelphus gave it this lathe fixth he fetteth Gadara (not that Gadara in Calofyria, which was also called Antioch and Selensia:)but it is Gadara in Basan, which Pliny in this place meaneth, feated on an high hill, near the River of Hieromaix. This Cohernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Nong the remarkable Cities within this dan:but he militaketh it; for Hieromaix falleth for which the column of the Tribe, Caphernaum is not the leaft: fo into the Sea of Galilee, between Hippor and reads in the remember of the form remembers by the English of the season often remembred by the Evangelifts. This Geraft, whereas Jaboe entreth the fame Sea points. City had the honour of Christs presence three years: who for that time was a Citizen the nameth \* Hippor, or Hippion, a City so calculated the honour of the feventh desired three years: who for that time was a Citizen the nameth \* Hippor, or Hippion, a City so calculated the formula of the feventh desired three years: who for that time was a Citizen the nameth \* Hippor, or Hippion, a City so calculated the feventh desired three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for that time was a City so calculated three years: who for the few years who had not so calculated three years who had not so calculated three years. thereof, in which he first preached and led of a Colony of Horsmen there garrison'd Cites

we described hereafter in the Tribe of Ma- the North parts of the Tribe of Nepthali. over Jordan. For the eighth Pella, which along the Mount Libanus to Trachones. But is also called Lutis, and Berenice, feated in herein following Strabo, who calls Tracheni-South border of the Region over for- tis Iluran, he miltakes the feat of this Redan, called Peraa. For the ninth Gelafa, which gion : and fo doth Mercator. For indeed were josephus takes to be Gerasa: and Gerasa is Huraa (which Hegesppus calls Peraa, and G. found in Colofra by Josephus, Hegesuppus, and Tyrius, Baccar) the same with Traconitis . vet and Stephanus, which Volaterran calls Gama- Trachones : which the Hebrews call Gilead : la, but Hegesippus rightly Camala, a City in and this Hammath or Chammath is scated because those two Hills on which it is sea- And it seemeth that this mistaking grew by English miles.

| V.

Of Hamath.

OUt to look back again towards Libanus, The See City of \* Hammath or Chammath, of which

19719.35. Chammah, cap. 21. ver. 32. Chammath-Dor, in the first of Chron.cop 6 ver. 74. Chamman, Kings 14. 8. Chammath-Ichudae, 25 Junius reads it, whereas Wo for further distinction there is added [in Israel] to note, that it was

by Hered, on the East-fide of the Galilean, The Country of Iurea, faith he, containeth stephanus: but by Ptolomy (whom I rather Traconitis it felf is far more to the East than follow) in Phanicia. The tenth and last, Hammath in Nephtalim: for Traconitis licth Pliny nameth Canatha, and so doth Suctionius between Cafarea Philippi, and the Mountains the Region of Basan over Jordan, so called, under Cesares, towards the Sea West-ward. ted have the shape of a Camel. But the Col- consounding Emath or Hamath the great in lection of these ten Cities, whereof this Re- Calosyria, beyond the Mountains Tracho-

gion took name, is better gathered out of nes, which b Hierom upon Amos calls Antio- b So Hiegion took name, is better gathered out of wes, which the thought the lefter in Comments Brochard, Breidenbach, and Saligniae, which chia, with Hammath or Hamath the lefter in Comment make them to be these; Casarea Philippi, and Phanicia, and Nephtalim, which he calleth on Amos Mar, before remembred, Cedes, Nephtalim, Epiphania for this Hammath, or in our Trans-Sephet, Corazin, Capharnaum, Bethfaida, Jota- lation Hamath, (and not that which is com-mention p.t.a. Tiberias, and Scythopolis, or Bethfan. For monly called Emath, which 2 Chron. 8.3. is fet of Hamab all other Authors disagree herein, and give far from the North border of Canaan in Syria as it forms no reason for their opinion. One place of the Soba) is remembred in Numb. 34.8. & Num. 13. for diffin-Evangelist S. Mathew makes it manifest, that 22. & in Ezek.47.16. In the first of which plathis Region called Decapolitana, was all that ces it bordereth the Land of promise, these in Newbo-Tract between Zidon, and the Sea of Galilee. being the words: From Mount Hor you shall ibidim, For thus it is written: And he departed again point (that is, direct or draw a line) untill it Man Bero. For this it is WITTER : And Did account and a superior of the state of the states, the states, the states, the states, the states of Galilee, through the middless of So they went up, and scarced out the Land things. the coasts of Decapolis: so that it was boun- from the Wilderness of Sin, unto Rehab to go to cather folded by Damascus and Libanus on the North: Hamath: Then in Ezekiel; The West part also lows the by the Phoenician Sea, between Zidon and finall be the great Sea from the border, till a of zeigler Ptolomais on the West: by the Hils of Gelbo | man come over against Hamath: that is, the above and Bethfan on the South: and by the Mountains Tracones, otherwise Hermon, Sanir, and from the Southermost part of the Holy Land, deed it Galaad, on the East: which is from East to till you come directly over against Hamath cannot West the whole breadth of the Holy Land : Northward : from whence if a line be drawn jutified and from the North to the South, neer the to the Sea, it will touch the walls of Zidon: that either fame distance, which may be each way forty which is the Northwest corner of the Holy ther of Land. Now that this Hamath, or Hammath, these is eiwhich Mofes also made the confine of the ther An-Holy Land, is that of Nephthalim, both the Epiphania; reference which it hath to the West Sea, and howbeit the City of d Rehob adjoyning, prove it: the fame City

Johns 19 35. is called Chammath, and placed in Nephthalim, was also called Chamath (whence the word Hamath and Emuh, were trained) may be gathered, partly because the other Hamath, 2 Chron. 8, 3, for dillinction is called Chamath Tfeba, as this (as it may feem by fof. 21.32.) was Chamath-Little is leated neer the toot thereof the or, the first may feem by fo[4.1.3.2.) was channels of the first mark or Chammath, of which (asthey fay) the Country adjoyning taketh [block and block of the Weltomer, to be that Chamnels fibber than the first main fibber than the first main fibber than the first main fibber than the fibre fibber than the fibre ssumb, name: the same which Josephus calleth Amalimme thiir, and Amathenfis - Jacobus Zeigler, Itu-tani, rea. Iturea Regio tenet borealia tribus Nep-lighqus ten. May that per montent Libanum ufque Trachours.

106, they make aim to make aim as they are named to lie in order on the North fide of Afher, Nephthalim, Morginither diffinction there is added [in lifed] to note, that it was and Manifir: and in like manner thole in Receive, fifth, Checkins, that will be a supported by the support of the s in After towards Zidon, in the confines of Nephihalim

Mm

other Hamath or Fmath being far removed, been faid, possessed by Antiochus Epiphanes. and beyond the fore-named Mountains, it was called Epiphania. which inclose all those Lands which Ifrael corchad pollession of ) is that Emath, which well peopled, known to the Syrians by the is also called Huraa, witnes stella and name Amathe, and to the Greeks by Epiphania. open Lairfian; and not that in Nephthalim, where Torm : Jonathas Muchabous attended the Army bles of the of Demetrius, who fled from him, and remo-

H lyland, yed by night. For though Traconitis be comprehended Of Reblatha & Rama, and divers other Towns.

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witnets.

elser is na-

mong the

Hegarens,

againt

tere-fa-

done in

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med a-

within Ituraa (and therefore it is faid to be finitima Galilea Gentium) yet it hath beginthatit ning over the Mountains Traconis, and fo it nature. fretcheth into the Plains of the Territory or Ribla, watered from the fountain Daphrely be of Hurea; whence Philip the brother of He- nis; which falleth into the Lake of Meron. hong to rod was Tetrach, or Profident, both of Huraa Hereunto was Zedekias brought prisoner.afname of and Trackonitis: both which are over Jor- ter his furprize in the fields of Jericho: & defeeled the Mediterran Sea.

imsit. Virgil: where e-

Tiur 20s Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the Itureans bows were made.

whom the Renbenues This City Chamath, or Hamath in Nephtaand rade war, lim, seems to have been as ancient as the oand whole ther in Hurea , both built by Amatheus the therein. they pol. eleventh fon of Canaan. Whether in the time festing of David, this, or the other had Tohu thers had majous: of whole subjugation Tohu rejoythe time ced, because Hadadeser, whom the Damasceni of Saul came to help, was his enemy. This Tohu feaconquest ring the strength and prosperity of David, of the st hearing of his approach towards his Terri. materies, tory, bought his peace with many rich pre-10, where fents, and with many ancient veffels of gold, the coun- filver, and brafs.

But it feemeth that David in fuch great ced at the fuccess would not have had peace with Toa Of the hu, if he had been King of any place in Nethlarger pro-talim, and therefore it is probable that he mile ex-prett, Deut. ruled in Tjoba: which City Solomon after his 1.7 where Fathers death made himself Master of, as a part of the lands (a in the larger and condi-Euphrases is named tional promise) allotted by God to the children of Ifrael.

bounds: But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the

While S. Hierome lived, it remained a City

## 6. V I.

IN the border of Hamath or Emath, towards Jordan, standeth the City Reblatha. That If dan towards the East. But Chemath in Nephta- livered to Nebuchodonofor : who to be aven- Mining to median lim, is on the West side of fordan towards ged of Zedekia's insidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the Princes his a The Country Hurea was so called of Je- children to be flain in his presence : and to thur, one of the fons of Imael; it is placed in the end that this milerable spectacle might rutgive the bounds of Cwlospria, and Arabia\* the be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, he The people Hurai were valiant and war- commanded both his eyes presently to be Increase in the people Hurret were variant and ward commanded both his eyes prefently to be the tibe. like men, and excellent Archers: Of whom thruft out: & binding him in Iron chains, he was led a flave to Babylon, in which state he ended his life. Of which feldom exampled calamity, though not in express words, Teremy the Prophet foretold him in Hiernsalem not long before: But Ezekiel thus directly speaking in the person of God; I will bring him to Babel, to the Land of the Chaldeans yet shall be not see it, though he shall die

There are, besides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in Nephthafor King, it is not certain; for Hamath or lim, as that which is called (a) Cedes; there in the as: their Emath beyond the Mountains, and Hammath are two other of the same name, one in (b) If 19-370 in Nephtalim, were both neighbours to Da-Jachar, another in Juda, of which Jol, 15.23. 10.7.0 and therefore to diftinguish it, it is known item id. by the addition of (c) Nephtalim, as Jud.4. It 4 6 is feated on a high hill, whence Jof 20.7. Ke-6.12. dess in Galilea in monte Nephtali: Josephus which 14. calls it Cedes, and in S. Hieromes time it was sailed in called Cidisus. Belforest greatly mistakes this him Cedes, and confounds it with Cades in the come to Defart of Pharan.

After the King thereof, among other of the Galita, Canaanites, perished by the hand of Josia, it Ches 176. was made a City of refuge, and given to the REG 15 Levites. Herein was Barac born; who over-29. threw the Army of the second Jabin of Hazor, at the Mount Tabor. It was sometime posfest by Teglatphalasser, when he wasted all Nephtalim: afterward by the Romans, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the Decapolitan Region: When it had imbraced the end, and after divers mutations and changes, Christian faith, it was honoured with a Biboth of name and fortune being, as it hath shops seat, but in time it fell with the rest into

the power of the Saracens and Turks, and by led the upper Galilee, or Galilee of the Genthem it was demolished.

CHAP. VII.

tress of the Christians, and afterward of the but the better reading is, & omnes Berim, Rama of Nephtalim, seated Northward neer that City after him. Sephet, this is to be noted, that there are () To the North of Berotha of Nephtalim whence calling away the aspiration, they particular story of importance: as Ser in thin Te read Arema. From Sepher towards the West, Jose 19.0.35. called Triddim-Tzer, and nawhich defended it felf against Nephtalim, whence they make two Cities, Assedim and 6 sing Jud. 1.33. but paid them tribute. On the o- Ser. Then Adama, which they call Edama:

Teda of Nephtalims. which also Adjoining to which standeth Carthan, we read of the Land and Lake of Genneza-Luke 5.1. under (d) or Kiriathajim, a City of the Levites, not reth, the same Lake which is also called the place, Jef far from the Mountain out of which the Sea of Tiberius. In the body of the Land they

36 19 41. vangelists. Hirhemes. hit. Jud. time of the (g) Macchabees: also (according or at least the custody of which March or meffe. one: al. Ezek, feeing it is in that Galilee which is cal- ther of the one nor of the other.

Beroibai una civitatum Hadadezeris, 2 Sain, 8,8. Jof. 18. 15.

tiles. The same Adrichomius placeth the Re-From Cedes some sour Italian miles to- gion of Berim neer Abela (of which Abela, or wards the South-west, standeth Sephet, other- Abel-Beth Mahacah, we have spoken alreawards the could have also one of the ten De- dy)this he doth upon a conjecture touching capolitan Cities: a place exceeding strong, the place, 2 Sam 20. 14. where some read and for many years the inexpugnable For- Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim: Suracens; for from hence they conquered all that is, with all the Berwi: for Shebah being of the neighbour Cities of those Regions, both Benjamin (in which Tribe also there is a City In-land and Maritimate, neer it. Touching called Berotba, or Beeroth) drew the men of

divers places of this name in Palastine, all sci-standeth Sebarim under Libanus, remembred tuate on hils: and therefore called Rama by Ezek. 47, and Arofeth gentium, neer the Jad. 4. (Rama Hebrais excellum; Ramath with the waters of Merom, or Samochonitis, the City Int. 4. there were Hebrems is high.) Alfo that from this Rama, Jos. Of Sifara, Lieutenant of the Army of the se- Jos. 37. 19.36, they read Arama, making the Article cond Jabin: from whence not far off, towards 1 Reg. 15. (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name the Sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrehi, a strong 2 Reg. 15. of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: City: besides many others, whereof I find no 29. they place \* Bethjemes, of which Jof. 19.38. med for the first of their fenced Cities: ther fide of Sephet, towards the East, was Be- also Hion, which they call Abion, of which in of thanath, who also kept their Citie from the the books of Kings. Then the strong City of Cinnereth, after called Gennezareth, whence Mar, 6 53.

forings of Capharnaum arise, called Mons place Galgala to the South border: of which . This 1500 6. (brifti, a place by our Saviour often frequen- \* 1 Mac. 9.2. also divers others, named Jos. place of ted: as also then when calling his Disciples 19.as Venea, or Chukkok Horem and Azanoth- the Mac-18. A shirt together, he made choice of twelve, which tabor (which they place towards the East rants no thems was he called and ordained to be his Apostles or parts ) and out of the same place of Josua, Galgala, or in Diag. Mellengers: of which place, or the acts there- Jerzon, Lakkum Jepnael, Heleb, and (k) Raccath; Suphali, Nephali, which in done, there is often mention in the (e) E- which two last they place neer Casarea Phi-but may lippi: To these they add out of Joshus, Nekeb, well be Adjoyning to these are Magdalel, a place and Adami: for which two Junius readeth flood of which is of strength, (f) and Mefaloth, of which we Fossa Adamai, making it no Town, but a Gilgal in read, that it was forced by Bacchides in the Ditch cast by some of Adameth, as it seems; or in Mato Adrichomius) one of the two Berotha's of Limit belonging to the Town. To these out k This 450stap. to Marienomius of the two beroins of Limit belonging to the 15th to the out Recent of parety Nephtalim. For Adrichomius maketh two of of Num. 34. 10. they add Sephana, which I Recent, this name in this Tribe, (b) one neer Chamath Sam. 3c. 21. feems to be called Sipmoth. As Justus ting of the in this 1 Hose, by Othe Received, 47.6. a- for Tickon and Helon, whereof the former thinks that it is nother (upon a weak conjecture out of Jo- they fetch out of Ezek. 47. 16. and the latter the face 1 tor. 6. Seph.ant. 1.5. c.2.) he therefore placeth in this out of Jos. 19.33. it may appear by Junius his with Kartract neer the waters of Meron; because the Translation, that neither are to be taken for of these without hings that joyned with Jabin against Jossa. Cities: for the former he readeth Mediana, being terms, which incamped at the waters of Merom. Jos. and for the later Quercetum. The City of made of the other lactived 11.5, are by Josephus faid to have encamped (1) Nephthalim, which they make the native by transat the City Berotha in Galilee, not far from place of Tobie, and Naason neer unto it, they polition Cedefa superiour, which is also in Galilee: all fetch out of the Vulgar Translation, Tob 7.7. of which which may be true of that Berotha of which but in the Greek Text there is no fign, nei- Karthan though I deny not but that there was another Kiriathajim in Reales, of ready, that it is also Kiria thajim. I In the place, 1 Reg. 4. it is, which also

which for but that there was another kyrathyrm in Reides, of which following views a City called the parts and provided the state of the following views a City called beginning in severe which following views a City called beginning in severe when the state of the

d The

which

word

## THE TRIBE OF ZAEULON.

F Zabulon, or Zebulon, another of the fions of Jacob by Leasthere were multerarms: who inhabited that part of Canaan, from Alber to the River Chison South-ward, rian was one. and from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediteran East and West.

to the Levites: ) and Gaba, after called the City of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrison'd by Herod. Then the City which beae Judg 12. reth the name of Zabulon, or the city of men.

is faid to ded it felf against Zabulon. Then Berfabe, but in Nephtalim. which standeth in the partition of the upper and nother Galilee, fortified by Josephus a- were hot baths, where Vespatian the Empeeth to be expoun-ded by

e The He-Frem Ham-

rians, struck them all blind. the Levites. The last of the Cities on the two thousand prisoners. with the North border of Zabulon is Bethfaida, one of

others, received the same Curse of threatned mileries as It'o be unto thee Bethfuida &c.

Alongli the West border of Galilee, towards the South from Bethfaida, was the throng Caftle of Magdalum, the habitation of Mary Magdalen, not long fince franding.

And beyond it the ftrong and high leated ed at Mount Sinai, 57400. able men, befides City of Jotapata, fortified by Josephus in the women, children, and aged unable persons: Roman war: but in the end, after a long all which dying in the Defarts, there entred fiege, surprised by Vespatian, who slaughtethe Holy Land of their islues 65000 fit to bear red many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof Josephus the Histo-

The last and greatest of the Cities on that Sea, and the Lake of Genezzareth, within . The The Cities within this Tribe which border Aflor, are Sicaminum on the Sca thore; of afterward the Galilean Sea also changed chiase. which loseph. Ant. 13.c. 19. Debbaset, of \* which name, and was called the Sea of the City Ti- ted about \* Isf. 12. 10 Joseph Jacknet of Tiberius this factor o - Jefald, was (a) llain by Joseph and the City was given Cefar; it was one of the ten Cities, and the row white Metropolis of the Region Decapolitan, and Jordan the greatest and last of the lower Galilee, weeks From hence our Saviour called Matthew times, from the Toll or Custom-house, to be an A. Entirella exceeding ancient and magnificent (b) burnt postle; and neer unto it raised the daughter catar, to the ground by Cestius, Lietvenant of the of Jairus from death; it was built(as Josephus Tankin, and they greater Consistin Roman Army. Adricomius makes it the birth- reports) by Herod the Tetrach, the brother add to the Tibe City of (c) Elon Judge of Ifrael, because he is of Philip, in the beginning of the raign of Tiof After. Only of (1) Live June 1 and the bering Cafar, in the most fruitful part of Ga-foreness Nathmiel fame place, he is faid to be buried at Ajalon. lilee; but in a ground full of Sepulchres: Duam greenze me piace, ne is faid to be builted at symbol in a global that be ad feptem dies im- to the To the East of this City of Zabulon is Ca- juxta nostras leges (faith he) ad septem dies im- Lake and beoleans 10the Latt of class only of Landson 19 January as ugo chattine, suggested are im labered in Galifee, tethyof which Jos. 19. 15. on the border of purus babeatur, qui in talibus locis babitet; Commy Of Simon After: and beyond it the lefter (d) Cana of Whereas by our law he fbould be from dairy being it may be tt may be doubted: Galilee, where Christ converted water into beld as unclean, who inhabited in such a place: sale and for Auge wine : the native City of Nathaniel, and, as it by which words, and by the whole place of 183. In can is thought of simon zelotes. Beyond it begin Josephus it appears, that this Tiberias is not is Mat. 10.4. the Mountains of Zabulon: and then the City (as some have thought) the same as the old Abidia of Cethron (in Zeigler, Ghiltron) which defen- Cinnereth, which was feated, not in Zabulon, Zah.

Neer unto this Tiberias, at Emaus, there gainst the Romans. Not far from hence stand- rour encamped against Tiberias. More into eth Shimron of Meron, whose King was flain the Land toward the South-west, is Bethulia, feated on a very high hill, and of great Then Damna, or Dimna, a City of the Le- strength, famous by the story of Holofernes vites: then Noa, or rather Neba, of which Jos. and Judith, fuch as it is. Neer which standeth (for which 19.13. Then Dothan, or Dothain, where Jo- Bethleem of Zabulon: and adjoyning unto it Feph found his brethren feeding their flocks: Capharath, fortified by Josephus against the Tolistic hath his fept found in Streamen rectume the first fell the fame wherein Elizaas, belieged by the Sylvans, for the fame wherein Elizaas, belieged by the Sylvans, fruck them all blind.

| Romans: and Japha, an exceeding frong fair the first fruck them all blind. Beyond it, towards the East, they imagine entrance, and afterward in fury slew 15000 gue grai (e) Amibar, or Amathar: then Remmon of of the Citizens; and carried away above 1911;

On the South fide are the Cities of Cartha Thates, word go the ten Cities of Decapolis, scituate on the of the Levites, and Gabara, of which Josephus a Jaming before of the Lewiser, and Gabara, of which Josephus spiral in his own life, then Jufe, according to Adri-wood in his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, then Jufe, according to his own life, according t CHAP. VII. and the City Belma, in ancient times exceed- and the third is a branch of a river riling out ing frong, remembred Judith 7.3. other- of the Fountains of Caphernaum, which falwife Chelina. Between Legio and Nazeret is leth also into the same Sea, and near Magda-Septemm according to Brochard: which af- Jordanis parous, which runneth from the Anna, the Parents of the Virgin Mary ; it was Sea of Galilee. called by Herod the Tetrarch, and by him, as 13.3 c in Josephus speaks, made the head and defence

of Galilee: in another place he faith, Urbium Galilearum maxima Sephoris & Tiberias. THE TRIBE OF ISSACHAR. This Sephoris greatly vexed Tespasian ere he wanit. Herod Antipas, when he made it the Regal feat of the nether Galilee, and furrounded it with a ftrong wall, called it Auto- Isfachar, who inhabited a part of the nether faith Jejephus; and it is now but a Castle called Zajbit.

cefarea, was that bleiled place of Nazareth, rest in the Desarts, there entred the Holy the city of Mary the Mother of Christ; in Land 64300. which he himself was conceived: it standeth the uttermost of Zabulon.

vers small Mountains: but Tabor is the most through every street, he reserved the rerenowned, by the apparition of Moses and mainder for slaves and bond-men. Eliss: and by the Transfiguration of Christ Next to Tarichea is placed Cession, or Cir. Restors in the presence of Peter, Tames, and John: Simon of the Levites, and then Islandar, remem-vision

Chappel.

Palestine. There is a second Torrent or Brook | Philistims incamped against Israel, and after Joses 73 that rifeth in the Hills of Bethulia, and fal- ward against Saul: a Land thirsty of blood,

Westward, Legio, (afterward a Bishops seat) leth into the Sea of Galilee by Magdalum: the City Saffa, or Saffra, the birth-city of lum; which Torrent they call Dolbam, from See Luffan, which Torrent they call Dolbam, from See Luffan, in Map in the City Saffa, or Saffra, the birth-city of lum; which Torrent they call Dolbam, from See Luffan, which Torrent they call Dolbam, from See Luffan, in the name of the city, from which it paffeth online Sephoris, or Sephora, according to Josephus: Eastward to Bethfaida, and so joyning with 30/119.14. terward, faith Hegesippus, and Hierome, was Valley of Jephthael, which Josua reckoneth called Diocasarea, the city of Joachim and in the bounds of Labulon: it endeth in the

## 6. VI.

He next adjoyning Territory to Zabulon, to the South and Southwest, was eratorida, which is as much to fay as Imperial, Galilee, within Jordan: of whom there were increased in Egypt, as appeared by their muflers at mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and war-flers at mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and war-Tothe South-west of this *Sephoris*, or *Dio-* like men, who leaving their bodies with the

The first city of this Tribe near the Sea of between Mount Taber, and the Mediterran Galilee, was Tarichea, diftant from Tiberias Tarichea is Sea. In this city he abode chiefly four and eight English miles, or somewhat more; a Season, twenty years, and was therefore called a city wherein the Jews (by the practice of a Nazarite, as the Christians afterward were for certain mutinous upstart, John the son of Lemany years. It was erected into an Archbi- vi)took arms against Josephus the Historian, floprick, in the following age. Near unto it then Governour of both Galilees. This city are the cities Buria (afterward well defended was first taken by C. office, and 3000. Tems against the Turks) and Nahalal, of which Iof. carried thence captive; and afterward with 19. 15. and Iudg. 1.30. where it is called Na-great difficulty by Vespasian, who entred it halol: and Iof. 21. 35. where it is a city of the by the Sea fide, having first beaten the Jews Levites; near the Sea, adjoyning to the in a Sea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of Ga-River of Chison is Sarid, noted in Issua for lilee: he put to the sword all forts of people, and of all ages; faving that his fury being In this Territory of Zabulon there are di-quenched with the Rivers of blood running

unto whom Moles and Elias appeared; in bred in the first of Kings, c.4.v. 17. then Abes, is called memory whereof, on the top of the Moun- or Ebets, 10f. 19.20. and Remeth, of which Kedoh. tain, the Empress Helen built a sumptuous Iof. 19. 21. otherwise Ramoth, 1 Chron. 6.37. Joseph 19. or Iarmuth, Iof.21.19. this also was a city of 1 Sam 3.19. In the chief River of Zabulon is Chifon, the Levites, from whose Territory the Moun-1 Kings which rifing out of Tabor, runneth with one tains of Gilboe take beginning: and range Indie later ftream Eastward to the Sea of Galilee, and themselves to the Mediterran lea, and to-two places with another stream Westward into the wards the West as far as the City of Iezzael, Junius great Sea. This River of Chifon where it ri-feth, and fo far as it runneth Southward, is Bethphefes, or Bethpafes, according to Zeiglers, teraccord. called Chedumim, or Cadumim and for mine and Enadda, or Hen-chadda, near which Saul ing to 701. own opinion, I take it to be the same which slew himself: under those, Aphee, or Apheea, the sit to Ptolomy calleth Chorfens: though others di- which Adrichomius placeth in Isachar: be-placeth it thinguith them, and fet Chorfeus by Calaria tween which and Suna, he faith, that the out of

CHAP. VII.

278 for herein also faith he, the Syrians with two from the Sea-coast towards Tiberias, by the 1 X 73.00 Was. Tell Benhadad. Let not him that girdeth Gates whereof Christ raised from death the Later his harnes bouft himself as he that putteth it off: widows onely fon. meaning, that glory followed after victory,

utterly broken and discomfitted by Achab: the body of Samuel at the instigation of Saul. and 100000 footmen of the Aramites, or Sprians, flain: before which overthrow the named Iof. 19. v. 19,20. Then Dabarath, as it fervants and counsellors of Benhadad (in de- is named, Iof. 21. 28. or Dobratha, as it is narision of the God of Ifrael) told him, That the med, I Chron. 6.71. This city (which stretch-Gods of Ifrael were Gods of the Mountains : eth it felf over Chifon) was a city of refuge

and therefore if they fought with them in the belonging to the Levites. Plains, they hould overcome them.

Tolonfe.

From the Caftle of Pilgrims, the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost shore beginneth Mount Carmel, not far from the River Chifon, where Elijak aftembled all the Prophets and Priests of Baal, and prayed King Achab, and the people affembled, to make trial whether the God of Ifrael, or the Idol of Baal were to be worthipped, by laying a facrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of Baal prayed, and cut their own flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while Elijub in derifion told them, that their God was of Manaffe, on the West side of Jordan. Maeither in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, naties was the first begotten of Joseph, the or perchance asleep, &c. but at the prayer of eleventh son of Jacob. His mother was an Elij.th the fire kindled, notwithstanding that Fgsptian, the daughter of Putiphar, Priest and he had caused the people to cast many vef- Prince of Heliopolis; which Manalles, with his seis of water thereon: by which miracle the brother Ephraim, the grand-children of Japeople incenfed, flew all those Idolaters on cob were by adoption numbred amongst the the banks of Chifon adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountain to the North, twelve Patriarchs. standeth Caiphas, built, as they say, by Caiphas the high Prieft. It is also known by the as they were numbred at Mount Sinai, name of Persina, and Porphyria, sometime a 32200, able men: all which being consumed

and thirty Reguli attiffing Benhadad, incoun- banks of Chifon, there are found the city of tered Achab, and were overthrown and Hapharaim, or Aphraim, and the Castles of thughtered: to whom the King of Ifrael Mezra and Saha: of which Brochard and made a most memorable answer, when Fen- Breidenbach: and then Naim on the River hadad varieted before the victory: which chifon: a beautiful city while it flood, in the

Then Seon or Shion, named Iof. 19, bebut ought not to precede it. In the year fol- tween the two Hills of Hermon, in Isachar: lowing in the fields as they fay, adjoyning to beyond it ftandeth Endor, famous by reason this city, was the same vain-glorious sprian of the Inchantress that undertook to raise up

Beyond it stands Anaharath and Rabbith

Next to Dabarath is Arbela fituate. near Under Aphce towards the Sea, they fet the the Caves of those two Theeves which so city of Efdrelen, in the Plains of Galilee; greatly molested Galilee in Herods time. It called alfothe great field of Fldrelon, and joyneth on one fide to the Mountain of Ila-Maggeeddo: in the border whereof are the char, or Hermon, and on the other to the Called ruines of Aphee to be feen, faith Brochard, and Valley of Jefrael: which Valley continueth it compas 1 Chron 6. Breidenbach. After thefe are the cities of felf from Bethfan, or Septhopolis, the East bor- Magazi 73. 11. 9. Cafaloth, of v hich 1 Mac. 9.2. Anem, or Hen- der of Hachar, even to the Mediterran Sea : 10. 11. 9. Page 149. 2010 Gannim, of the Levites, and Scefima, or sha- two parts whereof are inclosed by the Moun- Halaks batfima, the West border of Islachar, of which tains of Gilloe on the South, and by Hermon 101, Hare-Iof. 19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, and the River Chifon on the North. In these 1 Meet. there is found the Caftle of Pilgrims:a ftrong | \* Plains Gideon overthrew the Midianites. 13.0 9.1. Castle, invironed with the Sea, sometime and herein, they think, Saul sought against 15mm, 11. the storehouse and Magazine of the Christin the Philistims, Achab against the Syrians, and 1 King to ans, and built by the Earl of Saint Giles, or the Tartars against the Saracens.

# S. VII. THE HALF OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

Of the bounds of this balf Tribe : and of Scythopolis. Salem, Therfa, and others.

He next Tribe which joyneth it felf to I Ifachar towards the South, is the half fons of lacob, and made up the number of the

Of Manase there were increased in Egypt, Suffragane kishops seat. Returning again in the Defarts, there entred of their islues,

fell on this one half of Manaje, was bounded where the Vulgar readeth transcrittue in by Jordan on the East, and Dora upon the Salem urbem Sichemorum (for which others Michiterran Sea on the West, Jefrael on the read venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum, North, and Machmata is the South border. making the word shalem not to be a proper

by the Greeks.

strained the Jews to fight against their own it hath no probability. montes acrabitene, faith Zeigler. But I find it in ther conditions of peace, than to suffer their

ward translated to Nazareth. The later travellers in those parts affirm, that there is strike them with the greater terror. daily taken out among the rubble and the poor and desolate Village.

Hittom in From Beth-fan keeping the way by Jor-

and fince, a town of that name, near seytho-

52700 bearing arms. The Territory which of Scripture, Gen. 13. 18. do not confirm, The first and principal City which stood name, but an adjective) yet the place John in this Territory was Bethfan, sometime Nyfa, 3. 13. where it is faid, that fokn was baptifaith Pliny, built by Liber Pater, in honour zing in Enon near Salem, may somewhat of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unwhich Solinus confirms. Afterward when the likely that this Salem of which S. John speak-Southians invaded Affa the less, and piere't eth, is but contracted of Shahalim of which into the South, to the uttermost of Calospria, in the Tribe of Benjamin, 1 Sam. 9. 4. This they built this City a-new, and very magni- word Junius maketh to be the plural of ficent: and it had thereupon the name of Shuhal: of which we read, 1 Sam 13.17. for Scythopolis, or the City of Scythians, given as for that which is added out of Cantieles 6.12. of Shulammitis, as if it had been as These barbarous Northern people con- much as a Woman of this Salem near Enon,

Nation and kinred, by whose hands when Not far from thence where they place This City Nation and winter, by whole datas which they had obtained victory, they themselves Salem, they find Eczech the City of Adonibe-Bests, by they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory, they had obtained victory they had obtained fet on the Jews which ferved them, and flew zec, Josephus calls it Bala: here it was that Judg. 1. 3. them all. Stephanus makes it the utmost to- Saul assembled the strength of Israel and seemeth to wards the South of Calosyria: and Strabo Juda, to the number of 330000, when he in Juda, joyns it to Galilee. It is feated between for- meant to relieve Jabesh Gilead, against Naash Josephant. dan and the Hills of Gilboe, in aulone ad the Ammonite: who would give them no o- 6.6.5.

the East part of the Valley of Jestrael near right eyes to be thrust out. Near Bezech is Jordan: after that Jordan strengtheneth it the City of Bethbera, or rather Beth-bara, of felf again into a River, leaving the Sea, or which Judg.7.24 in the story of Gideon : and Lake Genezareth. Notwithstanding Monta- then Ephra, or Hophra, wherein Gideon inhanus describes it far to the West, and towards | bited: in the border whereof stood an Althe Mediterran Sea, near Endor, contrary to tar confecrated to Baal, which he pulled Stella, Laicstan, Adrichome, and all other the down and defaced; and near it that stone. best Authors. This City was the greatest of on which Abimelech the Bastard slew his 70. all those of Decapolis: but the children of brothers; a Heathenish cruelty practised by Manaffe could not expel the Inhabitants the Turk to this day: and not far hence, bethereof: and therefore called it Sane, an tween the Village of Afophon and Jordan, enemy, or Beth-san, the house of an enemy. Ptolomeus Lathurus overthrew Alexander Fol. 1.13.c.

Over the walls of this Beth-san the Phili- King of the Jews, and flaughtered, as Josephus fins hung the body of Saul, and his fons numbereth them, 3000. but according to flain at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian re- Timagenes 50000. after which victory, as Ptoligion flourished in those parts, an Archbi- long past by the Villages of the Jews, he fhop, who had nine other Bishops of his slew all their women, and caused the young Diocess, numbred by Tyrins, in his 14. Book | children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the and 12. Chapter: but the same was after- rest of the Iems might thereby think that the Egyptians were grown to be men-eaters, and

Towards the Welt and on the border of . This A. ruines of that City, goodly pillers, and other Hackar, they place the Cities of \* Aner of ner Junius pieces of excellent Marble, which witness the Levites, and Abel-Mehola, which Junius, 1 Chr. 6 70 the stately buildings, and magnificence Judg.7.22. placeth in Ephraim: it was the ha-makes to which it had in elder times, but it is now a bitation of Helifeus the Prophet, numbred with Tabaamong those places, I Reg. 4.12. which were nat, of given in charge to Baana by Solomon, to which Jos. and the state of t rome, do not find to be the same with Hieru-Salem: there being in the time of Hierome hanged, and their City given to the Levites. derate of

In the body of this Territory of Manaffe, Gen. 14.13. polis before remembred, which if the place but somewhat nearer Jordan than to the Me- Jos. 12.17

52700.

Mr. Chin

Therlie, whole King was one of those that Jo- the shot of an arrow, of which wound he dihas flow; which the Kings of Ifrael used for ed at Maggeddo adjoyning. The Scripture their Regal feat, till fuch time as Samaria calls this City of Gaber, Gur. was built. From hence the wife of Jeroboam went to Achia to enquire of her fons health: good King Josias was flain by Necho King of who knowing her, though she were disgui- Fgypt, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For fed, told her of her fons death.

The fecond Book of the first Part

which name there are both in Fgspt and whem Josias thought to resist in his passage, Greece, of great same: in the assault of the It was afterward called Maximianoplis. Tower of this Town, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Bastard Abimelee was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman tures, whose King was slain among therest John. over the wall, who despairing of his recove- by Josua: yet they defended their City for a ry, commanded his Page to flay him out- long time against Manafe. The River which right, because it should not be said that he palleth by the Town, may perhaps be the Fig. 3, Perished by the stroke of a woman. But o- same which Ptolomy calleth Chorseus: and nor thers fet this City in Fibraim near Sickem, or that of which we have spoken in Zabulon. For

tory adjoyning is called Acrabatena, (one of Holy Land, delincate no fuch River. Atoore the ten Toparchies, or governments in Judaa) only fets it down in his Geography of the tor which Hierome, 1 Mac. 5. reads Arabathe- | twelve Tribes: but the River which paffeth na: but in the Greck it is Acrabatine: Isidore by Maggeddo, he understandeth to be but a calls it Agrabat. This City had one of the lar- branch, falling thereinto. Laieftan and Schrot gest Territories of all Palastine belonging to make a great confluence of waters in this the Governour thereof. Josephus remembreth it often, as in his fecond book of the Jews! wars, c. 11. 25, 28, and elsewhere.

The difference between a Tetrarchy and a Toparchy, was, that the first was taken for a Province, and the other for a City with some leiler Territory adjoyning; and a Tetrarch is the same with Prajes in Latine, and Presi-

Difter, Cornath, and Munfier. To the South-west of Acrabata they place the Cities of Balaam or Bilbam and Gethremmon of the Levites: but Junius out of Jof. 21. are but one; and that Jibleham, Jos. 16. 11. is another name of the same City.

Then is Jezael a Regal City, set at the foot of the Mountains of Gilboe, towards the South-west: herein Jezabel, by a false accusation, caused Naboth to be stoned, to the end the might possess his Vineyard adjoyning to the City, which Naboth refused to fell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field : for which his mother Jezabel murther- ons City of Cafaria Palastina: first, the Tower ed Naboth.

which they call Gaber: in whose ascent as and toward Egypt, between this City and

diterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wir, the had flain Joram, he was wounded with

Then Adadremmon, near unto which the Necho marched towards Afyria against the The second was Thebes near Samaria, of King thereof, by the commandment of God;

A neighbour City to Adadremmon was because this name is not found in the Scrip-The third is Acrabata, of which the Territures, many of those that have described the place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of Judges: Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the maters of Maggeddo. But thefe Authors, and with them stella, give it no other name than the Torrent fo called.

But feeing that ancient Cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phanicia even to Sebafte.or Samaria; and sirabo far beyond it dent in English, being commonly the fourth on the Sea-coast: And Josephus calls Cafaria Tolophus part of a Kingdom; and thereof to called. Palastina, a City of Phanicia: yea, Laurentius 13 Niger. Pliny nameth seventeen Tetrarchies in Syria: Corvinus extendeth Phanicia as far as Geza: the Holy Land had four, and to hath the feeing also Ptolomy fets down Chorfeus for the Kingdom of Ireland to this day, Lemster, partition of Phanicia and Judaa, this river running East and West parallel with Samaria: it is very probable that this Torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the City which it watereth, is the same which Ptolomy 25. and 1 Chron. 6.70. gathers that these two in his fourth Table of Asia, calleth Chorsess. The later travellers of the Holy Land call Maggeddo Subimbre at this day.

## ||. I I.

Of Cefaria Palestina, and some other Towns.

Rom Maggeddo toward the West, and near the Mediterran Sea, was that gloriof Straton: the same which Pliny calls Apollo-Toward the Sea from Jezael is the City nia: though Ptolomy fets Apollonia elsewhere, Abaziah King of Juda fled from Jehu, when Joppe, to which Vespasian gave the name of

fices, which he reared within the Walls, of Junius, for in Naphoth Dor, reads in tractions cut and polith't marbles, the Theater and Am- Dor: and so the Vulgar, in regionibus Dor. phtheater, from whence he might look over although 1 Reg. 4.11. for the like speech in the Seas far away, with the high and stately the Hebrew it readeth omnis Nephath Dor: Towers and Gates:he forced a Harborow of The Septuagint in the place of Josua call it great capacity, being in former times but an Nephith-Dor, and in the other of the Kings, open bay; and the wind blowing from the Nepha-Dor: but the true name by other Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had places (as Jos. 12.23. Judg. 1. 27.) may seem no other hope, but in the strength of their to be Dor. It was a strong and powerful Cables and Anchors. This work he per-City, and the fourth in account of those formed with fuch charge and labour, as the twelve Principalities, or Sitarchies, which Eke of that hath not been found in any Solomon erected. Junius upon Macc. 15. 11. Kingdom, nor in any age: which, because the placeth this between the Hill Carmel, and Materials were fetcht from far, and the the mouth of the river Cherfeus: for fo some weight of the stones was such, as it exceed- name the river Chorseus, of which we have cth belief, I have added Josephus own words spoken already. of this work, which are these: Hane locorum Into this City, for the strength thereof, Try-10.615, in commoditatem correcturus, cerculum por phon fled from Antiachus the son of Demetus circumduxit, quantum putaret magna classi trius, where he was by the same Antiochus Mu,1.13. recipiende sufficere: & in viginti ulnarum besieged with 12000, foot-men, and 8000. profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum horse: the same persidious villain that repleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, ceived 200. talents for the ranfom of lonalatituding verò octodecim, altitudine novem- than Macchabaus (whom he had taken by pedali: fuerunt quadam etiam majora, mino- treachery) and then slew him: and after him ra alia; To mend this inconvenience of place flew his own Master, usurping for a while the (faith Josephus) he compast in a Bay wherein Kingdom of Syria. It had also a Bishops seat a great Fleet might well ride: and let down of the Diocess of Cesaria. great stones twenty fadome deep : whereof some after the name of Drusus the son in law of by Josua. Cafar: in whose honour he intituled the City

bel. fur. Tyrius. to death, faith Tolephus.

Visit Colonia. It was by Herod re-built, who Naphoth Dor, as fome read, Jof. 1. 2. fo called therein laboured to exceed all the works in (faith Adrichomius) because it joyneth to that part of the world. For befides the edithe Sea, whose King was slain by Joseph But

From Cefaria towards the South, they Gul. Tyr. de were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and place the Cities of Caphernaum, Gabe, and bell fare. nine foot thick: and some bigger, some lester. Galgal: for besides that Capharnaum famous 1. 10. 6 6. To this he added an arm or cawfie of two in the Evangelists, they find in these parts near hundred foot long, to break the waves: the the West Sea, another of the same name. Of rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with Gabe, Hierome in locis Hebraicis. The samous divers stately Towers thereon builded: of Galgal, or Gilgal, was in Benjamin: but this which the most magnificent he called Drusus, Gilgal, they say, it was whose King was slain

Then Antipatris, so called of Herod, in hoit felf, Cafaria of Palastine : all which he per- nour of his Father : but in the time of the formed in twelve years time. It was the first Macchabees, it was called Capharsalama: in of the Eastern Cities that received a Bishop: the fields whereof Judas Macchabaus over-Mac. 17.31 afterward erected into an Archbishoprick, threw a part of the Army of Nicanor, Lievte-1844.12 commanding twenty others under it, faith nant to Demetrius: an Army drawn into Judeaby a traiterous Jew, called Alcimus: who S. Hierome nameth Theophilus, Eusebius, contended for the Priest-hood, first under Acacius, Euzorus, and Galafius, to have been Bacchides, and then under Nicanor. To this Bilhops thereof. In this City was Cornelius was Saint Paul carried prisoner from Hieruthe Centurion baptifed by Saint Peter: and Salem, conducted by 470. fouldiers, to defend herein dwelt Philip the Apostle. S. Paul was him from the sury of the Jews. In afterherein two years prisoner, under the President times the Army of Godfrey of Bullion at-Felix, unto the time and government of Por-tempted it in vain: yet was it taken by cius Festus: by whom making his appeal, he Baldwine. It was honoured in those dayes was sent to Cesar. Here, when Herod Agrippa with a Bishops seat, but it is now a poor was passing on to celebrate the Quinquenna- Village, called Asjur, faith Brochard. Near lia, taking delight to be called a god by his unto this City the Prophet Jonas was flatterers, he was stricken with an Angel un- three dayes preserved in the body of a Whale.

To the North of Cesaria standeth Dora, or Into the Land, from Antipatris and Cesa-

Nη

CHAP. VIII.

ris frandeth Narbata, whereof the Territory unto it is the Mountain of Abdia, the Stetaheth name: which Cestins the Boman wa- ward of King Achab: wherein he hid an hunfled with fire and fword, because the Jews dred Prophets, and fed them: after which which dwelt at Colaria fled thence, and car- he himself is faid to have obrained from God ried with them the Books of Males. Neer the Spirit of Prophecy alfo.



CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdom of Phoenicia.

S. I.

The bounds and chief Cities , and Founders , and Name of this Kingdom : and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

to the South part of Anti-libanus ; I have in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides therefore gathered a brief of thole Kings all thole of the illands) to wit, Aradus, Orwich have governed therein: at least to those governed therein: at least to many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hoth left to posterity: and that the Palestine: and by reason of the many Ports rest perished, it is not strange: seeing so and goodly Sea-towns, it anciently commany Volumes of excellent learning in fo manded the Trades of the Eastern world: long a race and revolution, and in so many and they were absolute Kings of the Medichanges of Estates, and Conquest of Heathen | terran Sea. Princes have been torn, cast away, or otherwife confumed.

Comographers do in effect agree, that it takes Itate continuing even unto Josua's time. For beginning from the North, where that part rill then, it is probable that there was but of Spris, which is called Cassosis, ends: most one King of all that Region; afterward calof them bounding it by Orthofia, to the North led Phonicia: which Procopius also confirmof Tripolis. Piolomy makes it a little larger, as eth in his second Book of Vandals wars. But From the River Eleutherus that falls in process of time the City of Tyre adjoyninto the Sea at the Island of Aradus, some-ing, became the more magnificent : yet, acwhat to the North of Orthofia, and firetching cording to the Prophet, it was but a daughfrom thence alongst the coast of the Medi- ter of Zidon, and by them first built, and Floris terran Sea, as far as the River of Chorfeus; peopled. which feems to be that which the Jews call But after the death of Moses, and while Plia Ls. the Torrent, or River of Maggeddo. Pliny ex- Josua yet governed Israel, Agenor an Egyptian tends it further, and comprchends Joppe of Thebes, or a Phunician bred in Egypt, came within it: Corvinus and Budaus, Joppe and thence with his fons Cadmus, Phanix, Cyrus, Gasa. Phanicia annd priscos appellata (faith and Cilix, (say Cedrenus and Curtius) and Endens) que nune Palastina Syria dicitur : It built and possest the Cities of Tyre and Zi-

now is called Palastina of Syria. Flanicia all the Sea-fide of Judaa, and Pale Cadmus in his pursuit after his fifter Europa,

Ecause these five Tribes, of Asser, Egypt. On the contrary, Diodorus Sicalus sol. Nephralim Zahulon, Islachar, and the deth it up in Caelosyria, which he boundeth half of Manafe, possest the better not. But for my self, I take a middle course, part of that ancient Kingdom of and like belt of Ptolomies description, who Phanicia, to wit, of fo much as lay was feldont deceived in his own art. It had

The ancient Regal Seat of those Princes was Zidon, built by Zidon the first fon of Ca-The limits of this Kingdom, as touching naan: and the people then subject to that the South parts are very uncertain: but all people were called Zidonians; the same

was called Phanicia of old (faith he) which don: to wit, the new Irrus, and brought into Phonicia (so called after the name of his se-Strabe comprehends in this Country of cond fon ) the use of Letters : which also tena . even unto Pelujum, the first Port of taught the Grecians. For Taurus King of Crete, eth in these Verses.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque popofeit, Implevita; mero pateram: quam Belus & omnes and Confederates. A Belo foliti.

bowl

gold)

To flow with wine. This Belus us'd of old, And all of Belus Line.

at once with Josua. Now that Agenor return in Asia. ned about the fame time into the Territory

he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very like-ly that either he came to fave his own Ter-ritory; or otherwife to defend the coast of pheus, Linus, Hercules, Prometheus, Cadmus,

when he surprised Tyre, had stoln her thence: that, and by the slaughter of so many of the of which the Poets devised the fable of Ju- male children at the same time, could not piters transformation into a Bull, by whom hinder the Hebrews from invading Canaan that stealth was also supposed to be made. by land : which also they knew had so many Pomponius Sabinus makes Belus the first King powerful Nations to defend it: the Delarts of Phanicia; and finds Cadmus his Successor, inter-jacent, and the strong Edomites, Mostwhom he calleth his grand-child: and it bites, Amorites, and Ammonites their bordefeemeth that Belus was the father of Agenor, rers: yet Fgypt having fuch Veffels or Ships. and not Neptune : because the successours of or Gallies, as were then in use, did not in Dido held that name alwaies in reverence, all probability neglect to garrilon the Seamaking it a part of their own, as Afdrubal, coast, or affist Agenor with such forces as they Hannibal: whose memory Virgil also touch- had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the Philistims, which held the shores of Canaan next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story those Cities of Phanicia, which Agenor The Queen anon commands the weighty was faid to have built (that is, to have tortified and defended against Josua, and against chap. 14. (Weighty with precious frones and maffie the Tribes after him, as Zidon, Sor, or Trre, 19. by Josua called the strong City Acrbo, atterward Ptolomais, Achzib, and Dor ) were all that Phanicia had in those daies.

That the Kings of Phanicia were mighty, Whether this Belus were father or grand- especially by Sea, it appears, first by their father to Agenor, the matter is not great, But defence against Ifrael: secondly by this, that it feems to me by comparing of times, that David and Solomon could not malter them, Belus was Ancestor to these Phanicians, and but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that preceded Agenor. For were Belus, or Jupiter one of their Cities, though they were then Belus, the fon of Neptune by Lybia the daugh- but Reguli, defended it felf 13. years against ter of Epaphus, or were he the fon of Thele- a King of Kings, Nebuchadonofor: and that gonus, according to Enfebius; yet it is agreed Alexander the great ( who being made vithat Cecrops then ruled in Attica: and in the Ctorious by the providence of God, feemed end of Cecrops time, faith Saint Augustine, unresistable ) spent more time in the recovery Mofes left Egypt: Agenors successour living of Tyre, than in the conquest of all the Cities

Other opinions there are, as that of Bergof Zidon, I cannot doubt: neither do I deny, Jus out of Josephus, who conceives that Tyre but that he gave that Region the name of was founded by Tyrus the fon of Japhet. And Phanicia, in honour of his fon. But instead for the Region it felf, though Califthenes deof the building of Tyre and Zidon, it is pro rive it, ab arbore dactylorum; and the Greeks bable that he repaired and fortified both: from the word Phonos, of flaughter, because and therefore was called a Founder, as Se- the Phanicians flew all that came on their miramis and Nebuchodonofor were of Babylon, coasts; yet for my self, I take it that Phanix For be it true, that Agenor was of the same the son of Agenor gave it that name. But that Nation and brought up in Egypt: where he either Agenor in Phanicia, or Cadmus his fon learnt the use of Letters (Egypt flourished in in Greece, were the Inventors of Letters, it all kind of learning in Moses time) or were is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute un-

Canaan from the Israelites: who were by and others, had from them the first light of Moser led out of Egypt, to the great loss and all those Arts, Sciences, and civil Policies, dishonour of that Nation: and by Joshua which they afterwards profest, and taught conducted over Jordan, to conquer and possible the Canaanites Land. For though the E-spitians, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the Red Sea, those which inhabited neerer the out-let of and by the reason of the home home. and by the ten plagues, cast on them before Nilus, as they say, borrowed their Divinity

then barbarous, received Civility. Again, when it was first discovered, there was found the Plannicians challenge this invention of written Books after the manner of those tetters and of Learning; acknowledging no- Hieroglyphicks, anciently used by the Egyptithing from the Fegptians at all; neither do ans, and other Nations: and so had those fricans; whence Lucan.

Lasm.15. Phoenices primi (fame fi creditur ) aufi Manfuram rudibus vo. em fignare figuris.

> Phonicians first (if fame may credit have) In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that Cadmus was the fon of Agenor, and was a Phænician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that answer made by Zeno; when he in a kind of reproach was called a Stranger, and not a Phanician.

Liber I. Si patria est Phoenix quid tum? nam Cadmus

Phoenix ; cui debet Gracia docta libros.

If a Phanician born I am, what then? Cadmus was fo: to whom Greece owes The Books of learned men.

ancient : and from the Records and Chronicles of Tyre, Josephus the Historian confirms governed Phanicia. a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians again subscribe to none of these reports: ruled in Juda, the Tyrians had a King apart: flourished among them: when Atlas lived of Tyre of Edom &c. as of feveral Kings. in Mauritania : Nilus and Vulcan in Egypt : all kind of learning?

and Arts flourished most, both in Fogpt and Hieremie prophesied. Affiria, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his in-

But true it is, that Letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: with the other; as well in this as in many by Alexander effected the more unworthy

and Philosophy: and from them the Greeks, other knowledges: for even in Mexico, they allow that Agenor and his fons were A-Americans a kind of Heraldry; and their Princes differing in Arms and Scutchions, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobility of other Nations, Jura naturalia communia, Junia.

& generalia &c. Natural laws are common, and general.

CHAP. VIII.

## 6. II.

# of the Kings of Tyre.

DUt whatfoever remaineth of the Story Dand Kings of Phanicia (the books of Zeno, Sachonia ho, Mnascas, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the fame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, Josephus and Theophilus Antiochenus.

Agenor lived at once with Josua, to whom fucceeded Phanix, of whom that part of Canaan, and so far towards the North as Aradus, took the name of Phanicia: what King Out of doubt the Phenicians were very succeeded Phenix it doth not appear; but at fuch time as the Grecians befieged Troy Phasis

In Hieremies time, and while Jehojakim but affirm conftantly, that the great Zamolxis for Hiereny speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, canth

In Xerxes time, and when he prepared and Ochus in Phanicia. Yea, some of the that incredible Army wherewith he invaded French do not blush to maintain, that the Greece, Tetramnestus ruled that part of Phæancient Gaules taught the Greeks the use of nicia about Tyre and Zidon: who command-Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we ed, as some Writers affirm, Xerxes Fleet, or raknow that our Bardes and Druides are as ther, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which ancient as those Gaules, and that they fent himself brought to his aid: for at this time it their fons hither to be by them instructed in seemeth, that the Phanicians were Tributaries to the Persian: for being broken into Re-Lastly, whereas others bestow this inven- guli, and petty Kings in Hieremies time, they tion on Moses, the same hath no probability were subjected by Nabuchodonosor 3 of whose at all 3 for he lived at such time as Learning conquests in the Chapter before remembred,

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded Tetramnestus, remembred by D. Siculus in his 14. Book.

strato, his successor, and King of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of his before the general Flood: either by Seth or dependency upon Darius, and that his Pre-Enos, or by whom elfe God knows; from deceffors had served the East Empire against whom all wisdom and understanding hath the Grecians. But divers Kings, of whom proceeded. And as the same infinite God is there is no memory, came between Tennes and strato. For there were confumed 130. years and fomewhat more, between Xerxes whereof the one hath not had commerce and Alexander Macedon. And this man was ther submitted himself by the instigation of both pretend to write out of Menander Ehis subjects ( who foresaw their utter ruine phessus, do in no fort agree in the times of by refistance) than that he had any disposi- their reigns, nor in other particulars. tion thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

1963 reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, chance that the fon of smach mentioneth in ted certain games and prizes for women- Princes of the Tyrians. dancers, and fingers, whom he to this end and delights. Of the strange accident about David complaineth, Pfal.83. the death of one *Strate* King of these coasts, the death of one *Strate* King of these coasts, the strate King of the coasts and the strate King of the coasts, the strate King of the coasts and the strate King of the coasts and the strate King of the strate King of the strate King of the coasts and the strate King of the

Remail. having heard that the Persians were neer mus sometimes Hieromus but Tatian and Zohim with an Army too weighty for his naras, Chiram. He entred into a league with ftrength, and finding that he was to hope for David, and fent him Cedars, with Maious and little grace, because of his falling away from Carpenters, to perform his buildings in Hiethat Empire, and his adhearing to the Egyp- rusalem, after he had beaten thence the Jebutians he determining to kill himself, but fain- fites. The same was he that so greatly affished ting in the execution, his wife being prefent, solomon: whom he not only furnished with wrested the Sword out of his hand, and slew Cedars, and other Materials towards the raihim: which done, the also therewith pierced sing of the Temple, and with great sums of her own body, and died.

the other Strato driven thence, he gave the and furnished Solomon with Marriners and though otherwise a wise man, and exceeding ans. Hiram lived 53. years.

Popular or Aristocratical: and by times and Josephus. turns subjected to the Emperours of the East, Abdastartus the eldest son of Ealeastartus, there remaineth no further memory of them, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 2c. years, than that which is formerly delivered in the according to Josephus: but after Theophilus Tribe of Affer.

Samuels time, it doth not appear: Josephus the eldest of them held the Kingdom 12. the Historian, as is said, had many things years. and Theophilus Antiochenus, there may be ga- 12. years.

of reftitution, because (saith Curtius) he ra- Tyrians; but these Authors, though they

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians, that Josephus and Theophilus remember, whom Of this Strate, Athenaus out of Theopompus Theophilus calls Abemalus : the fame perand most voluptuous; also that he appoint his forty and fixth Chapter, speaking of the Cap. 46.

To this Abibalus Suron succeeded, if he be Pren E. chiefly invited, and affembled: that having not one and the same with Abibalus. David vang Ly. beheld the most beautiful and lively among (faith Eulebius out of Eupolemus) constrained them, he might recover them for his own use this Suren to pay him Tribute, of whom also

money, but also he joyned with him in his After Alexander was possest of Zidon, and enterprize of the East India, and of Ophir: Kingdom to Hephaftion to dispose of: who Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the having received great entertainment of one most excellent Navigators; and lent him 120 of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, talents of gold. Of this Hiram, there is not core. offered to recompence him therewith; and onely mention in divers places of Scripture, 2 Same, 5 willingly offered to establish him therein: but in fosephus in his Antiquities the 7. and 1 Kin. 1.9 but this Citizen, no less vertuous than rich, 8. Chap. 2.& 2. in Theophilus his third book, 1 Chro. 14. defired Hephaftion that this honour might in Tatianus his Oration against the Greeks : 2 chr. 2.3, be conferred on some one of the blood and and in sonaras, Tome the first. This Prince 9. race of their ancient Kings: and prefented feemeth to be very mighty and magnificent, unto him Balonymus, whom Curtius calls Ab- he despited the 20. Towns which Solomon dolominus, Justine, Abdolomius, and Plutarch, offered him : he defended himself against Alynomus: who at the very hour that he was that victorious King David: and gave his called to this regal Estate, was with his own daughter in marriage to Solomon, called the hands working in his Garden, fetting herbs Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented and roots, for his relief and sustenance: to worship Aftaroth, the Idol of the Phanici-

Baleastartus, whom Theoph. Antiochenus cal- 1 Kin. 11. These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: leth Bazorns, succeeded Hiram King of Type Timb 17, whose estate being afterwards changed into and Zidon and reigned 7 years according to

he reigned 12. years, and lived 54. who be-The Kings of Tyre, who they were before ing flain by the four fons of his own Nurse,

wherewith he garnished his Antiquitles from Aftartus brother to Abdastartus, recovered the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of Josephus the Kingdom from this Usurper, and reigned

thered a descent of some twenty Kings of the Affarimus, or Atharimus, after Theophilus, a Joseph 54.

CHAP. VIII.

9. years, and lived in all 54.

brother to the three former Kings, flew A- years together, ere he prevailed. (tarimus, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived

50. Years.

Eadezor, or Bazor, the fon of Ithobalus, or reign Cyrus began to govern Perfia. Ethbaal, brother to Jezebel, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6: years, and lived in

Foleph 6.

Alettimus succeeded Badezor, and reigned Joseph. but 9. years (faith Jefephus) he had two fons, Theoph. 9 Promalion and Barca, and two daughters, Elifa and Anna.

Premalion reigned after Mettimus his Father 40. years, and lived 56. In the feventh year of whose reign, Elisa failed into Africa, and built Carthage, 143. years and 8. moneths after the Temple of Solomon : which by our accompt was 289. years after Troy was ta- discourse of divers other Nations, there is ken, and 143. before Rome: and therefore one Bozius that hath written a Tract at that fiction by Virgil of Eneas and Dido must large, intituled, Deruinis Gentium. And albe far out of square. For Pygmalion, covetous though the great and many alterations of Sicheus hisriches, who had married his found in this and other Cities, yea, in all fifter Elifa, flew him traiteroufly as he ac- things under heaven, have proceeded from companied him in hunting: or if we believe his ordinance, who onely is unchangeable, Justine and Virgil, at the Altar: whereupon and the same for ever; yet whereas the said Virgit.l.,1. Elifa fearing to be dispoiled of her husbands Bozius, inforcing here-hence, that the prospetreasure, fled by Sea into Africa, as afore-faid: whom when Pygmalion prepared to pursue, he was by his mothers tears, and by gion; to prove this his affertion, supposeth threats from the *Oracle* arrested. Barca active Tyrians to have been Edumeans, defeencompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the ded from Esau, Jacobs brother: first, it can erection of Carthage: and from him sprang hardly be believed, that Tyre, when it flouthat noble Family of the Barca in Africa, of rished most in her ancient glory, was in any furname of Solomon.

but in vain.

large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it Sea, in which there were three Illands, called

third brother, followed Astartus, and ruled | was gathered, that this Prince died, or was flain in that long fiege of Nabuchodonofor : Phelles the fourth fon of Baleastartus, and who surrounded and attempted Tyre 13.

Baal followed Ethobales, and reigned to. years a tributary, perchance, to Nabuchodono-Hhobalus (or Juthobalus, in Theophilus) for: for after his death, it was governed by fon to the third brother Aftarimus, who was divers Judges, succeeding each other: First the chief Priest of the Goddess Aftarta, which by Ecnibalus, then by Chellis, Abarus the was a dignity next unto the King, revenged Pricft, Mittonus, and Gerafius, who held it athe death of his father, and flaughtered his mong them some 7. years, and odd moneths: Toloph 31 Uncle Phelles: and reigned 32. years; the after whom Balatorus commanded therein fame which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is as a King for one year: after him Merbalus called Ethbaal, whose daughter Jezebel Achab, sent from Babylon, 4. years: after him Irom, fent thence also, 20. years. In the 17. of whose

## 6. III.

of Bozius his conceit, that the Edumaans inhabiting along the Red Sca, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phonicia the knowledge of the true God.

F the great mutations of this Kingdom and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a which race descended many famous Cap- fort truly devout and religious. But to this but if tains, and the great Hannibal. Servius inter- end(besides the proof which the Scriptures 1.5.47. prets this name of Dido by Virago, because of give of Hirams good affection when Solomon her man-like acts: others from Jedidia, a built the Temple) he brings many conjectural arguments; whereof the strongest is their Eluleus succeeded Pygmalion, and reigned pedigree and descent; it being likely in his 36. years: the same that overthrew the opinion, that the posterity of Esau received Fleet of Salmanaffer, in the Port of Tyre: from him by Tradition the Religion of Anotwithstanding which he continued his braham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were fiege before it on the Land fide five years, Edumeans, he endeavours to fhew, partly by weak reasons, painfully strained from some After Eluleus, Ethobales governed the Ty- affinity of names, which are arguments of rians, who vaunted himself to be as wife as more delight than weight: partly by autho-Daniel: and that he knew all secrets ( faith rity. For Strabo, Herodotus, Pliny, and others, Ezekiel) of whom the Prophet writeth at witness, that the Tyrians came from the Red

Torns, Aradus, and Sidon: which very names Such the City of Bildad the Subite; as both (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to fuch Chorographers who best knew those the Cities of Phanicia. Confidering there- parts, do plainly flew, and the holy Text for that all the coast of the Red Sea, was maketh manifest. For Job is said to have ex-(in his opinion) under the Edumeans: as ceeded in riches, and Solomon in wisdom: Elah and Estongabar; or under the Amale- all the people of the East; not the Inhabi-Lites, who descended of Amales the Nephew tants of Mount Seir, which lay due South of Elan, whole chief City was Madian, so from Palestina. True it is, that Eliphaz the called of Madian the fon of Abraham by fon of Ffan had a fon called Teman; but that Cethura, whose posterity did people it: the fathers were wont in those dayes to take consequence appears good (as he takes it) name of their sons, I no where find. And that the Tyrians originally were Edomites: Ismael also had a son called Thema: of whom differing little or nothing in Religion from it is not unlike, that Theman in the East had the children of Ifrael. Hereunto he adds, the name: for as much as in the 7. Chapter that Cadmus and his Companions brought of the Book of Judges, the Midianites Amanot into Greece the worship of Aftartis, the lekites, and all they of the East are called Idol of the Sidonians. That the Parents of Ismaelites. And he that well confiders how themselves differed much in their Philoso-durst give battel to the Host of Is ael, where-

males of Edom: neither was it for their de- Egypt. votion to God, and good affection to Ifrael, But conjectural Arguments, how probathat the Edomites were so ill intreated. It ble soever, are needless in so manifest a case. feemeth that the piety and ancient wifdom For in the 83. Ifalm, Edom, Amalec, and Tyre, of Eliphaz the Themanite was then forgotten, are named as distinct Nations: yeathe Tiriand the Edumans punished, for being such ans and sydonians being one people, as all as David in his own dayes found them. Al- good Authors shew, and Eozius himself conthough indeed the City of Teman whence felleth, were Canaanites, as appears, Gen. 1c. Eliphaz came to reason with Job, is not that it, and 19. appointed by God to have been in Edimmea, but another of the same name, destroyed, and their Lands given to the lying East from the Sea of Galilee, and adjoing East from the Unit, the country of Job: and to Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of Carnan,

Thales and Pherecydes being Phanicians, great and strong a Nation Amalec was, which phy from the Idolatrous cultoms of the in were 600000, able men, will hardly be-Greeks. That in Teman, a Town of the Edu- lieve that fuch a people were descended means, was an University, wherein, as may from one of Esan his grand-children. For how appear by Eliphas the Temanite, who difpu- powerful and numberless must the forces of ted with Job, Religion was fincerely taught. all Edom have been: if one Tribe of them, Such is the discourse of Bozius, who la- yea, one Family of a Tribe had been so bouring to prove one Paradox by another, great? furely Mount Seir and all the Regideserves in both very little credit. For nei- ons adjoyning could not have held them. ther doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were But we no where find that Edom had to do Edumeans, they were then of the true Reli- with Amalec, or affifted the Amalekites, when gion, or well affected to God and his people: Saul went to root them out. For Amalec is neither is it true that they were Edumeans, no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of at all. In what Religion Efau brought up his Edom: but a Nation of it felf, if diffinct children, it is no where found written; but from the Imaelites. The like may be faid of that himself was a profane man, and disa- Midian, that the Founder thereof being son vowed by God, the Scriptures in plain terms to Abraham by Cethura, doubtless was no express. That his Posterity were Idolaters, Edomite. And thus much in general for all the is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the Seigniory of the Red Sea coast, which Bozins fecond Book of chronicles. That the Edo- imagines the Edumeans to have held: if the mites were perpetual enemies to the house Edomites in after-times held some places, as of Ifrael, fave only when David and some of Elan and Estongabar on the Red Sea shore. his race, Kings of Juda, held them in fubje- yet in Mofes time, which was long after the ction, who knows not? or who is ignorant building of Tyre, they held them not. For tion, who knows not? Of who is ignorant building of them, and them not. For of Davids unfriendly behaviour amongh them, when first they were subdued? surely, all the borders of Edom: within which lit was not any argument of Kinred or Allimits had Midian stood, Mosts must needs ance between Tyrus and Mount Seir, that have known it: because he had sojourned Hiram held fuch good correspondence with long in that Country: and there had left David; even then when Joab flew all the his wife and children, when he went into

not Coulins to Irael, nor preferrors of the than the Greeks, and being very ambitious, he from Religion. For though them faid, Blef would fain have purchased divine honours; fall be God that hath fait king Davida wife which his Daughters, Nephews, and others fin: we cannot infer that he was of Davids of his house obtained; but his own many elegican Princes, his confederates. Certain he had any. Thales and Pherecydes are but it is, that the Sydonians then worshipped lingle examples: Every salvage Nation

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fime Idolatry. ing the Temple, he did it for his own ends, ledge of the true God. Onely they made receiving therefore of selomon great pro- no good mention of the Gods of Greece: vision of Corn and Oyl, and the offer of whom being newly come thither, they knew twenty Towns and V. Mages in Galilee. And not. It is no good argument to fay, that if we rightly confider things, it will appear Cadmus and Thales being Tyrians, are not that Hiram in all points dealt Merchant-like known to have taught Idolatry, therefore with Solomon. He allowed him Timber, with the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is which Libarus was, and yet is over pefter- of force, That Carthage, Utica, Leptis, Cadiz, ed, being otherwise apt to yould filks; as the and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which I Andarine Silks which come from thence, and think, the Islands before mentioned in the other good Commodities. For Corn and Red Sea to have been, for they traded in all Oyl, which he wanted, he gave that which Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first behe could well spare to Selomon. Also Gold ginnings: therefore the Tyrians who plantfor Land: wherein sclomon was the wifer; ed them, and to whom they had reference, who having get the Gold first, gave to Hi- were so likewise. rum the went Villages that he had : with which the grian was ill pl. afed. But it was on-wards is acknowledged by Bozius, who a necessary policy which inforced Tyrus to would have us think them to have been hold league with Ifrael. For David had fub- formerly a strange kind of devout Edomites. dued Moah, Ammon, Edom, the Aramites, In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he and a great part of Arabia, even to Euphra- stileth men of contrary opinion, Impios petes: thorow which Countries the Tyrians liticos, as if it were impiety to think, that on Camels, to their Fleets on the Red Sea, have not known his Name, doth favour Vertheir Trade.

frruments of pleasure.

Religion. The Turk hath taid as much of misfortunes beguiled him of fuch hopes, if Aliaroth; and drew solomon also to the hath some wisdom excelleth the Vulgar, even of civil people. Neither did the moral Whereas Hiram aided solomon in build- wildom of these men express any true know-

This their Idolatry from Solomons time were wont to carry and re-carry their Wares God (who even among the Heathen, which and back again to Ijrus: fo that Solomon tue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded being Lord of all the Countries through moral honesty, with temporal happiness. which they were to pals, could have cut off Doubtless, this doctrine of Bezius would better have agreed with Julian the Apostata, But the Ifraclites were no Sea-men, and than with Cyril. For if the Affyrians, Greeks, therefore glad to there with the Tyrians in Romans, and all those Nations of the Gentheir adventures. Yet Solomon, as Lord of the tiles, did then prosper most, when they drew Sea-towns which his Father had taken from nearest unto the true Religion: what may the Philithims, might have greatly diffrested be said of the foul Idolatry which grew in the Tyrians, and perhaps have brought them Rome as fast as Rome it self grew: and was even into subjection. Which Hiram know- enlarged with some new superstition, almost ing, was glad (and no marvel) that Solomon upon every new victory? How few great rather meant, as a man of peace, to imploy battels did the Romans win, in which they his Fathers Treasure in magnificent Works, vowed not either a Temple to some new than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. god, or some new honour to one of their old Therefore he willingly aided him, and fent | gods? yea, what one Nation, fave onely him cunning workmen, to increase his de- that of the Jews, was subdued by them, light in goodly Buildings, Imageries, and in- whose Gods they did not afterward entertain in their City? Onely the true God, As these pailages between Solomon and which was the God of the Jews, they reject-Hiram, are no fireng arguments of piety in ed, upbraiding the Jews with him, as if he the Tyrians: fo those other proofs which were unworthy of the Roman Majesty : shall Bozins frames negatively upon particular we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish examples are very weak. For what the Re- conclusion which Heathen Writers used aligion of Cadmus was, I think, no man knows. gainft the Christians in the Primitive Church: It feems to me, that having more cunning That fuch Idolatry had caused the City of

Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those in their own brains any strange Chimera's of abominations did also bring with it the de- Divinity, condemnal such in the pride of cay of the Empire? It might well be thought their zeal, as Atheifts and Infidels, that are Religion. Such is the blind zeal of Bozin, who writing against those whom he fallly dogs are oftentimes incouraged by those, terms impious, gives strength to such as are who having the command of many tongues, impious indeed. But such indiscretion is when they themselves cannot touch a man ufually found among men of his humour; in open and generous opposition, will wound who having once either foolifhly embraced him fecretly by the malicious vertue of an the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned Hypocrite.

CHAP. IX.



CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

6. I.

of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

was the second son of Joseph, whose issues nothing but a few Cottages filled with Grewhen they left Egypt were in number 45000. cian Monks. all which dying in the Defarts, (Josua excepted)there entred the Holy Land of their tween Manasse and Benjamin: who bounded with which he seduced the Israelites. Ethraine by the North and South; as fordan, and the Mediterran Sea, did by the East and West.

tain somron, which overlooketh all the Damascens a third time cast it down. bottom, and as far as the Sea-coast. It was remembred in the Scriptures: and magnifi- And under it Bethoron of the Levites, built cent it was in the first building; for as Bro- as it is said by Sara, the daughter of Ephraim. chard observeth, the ruines which yet remain, and which Brochard found greater threw Seron and Lysias, Lievtenants to Antiothan those of Hierusalem, tell those that be- chus. This City had Solomon formerly rehold them, what it was when it frood up- paired and fortified. right: for to this day there are found great ftore of goodly Marble pillars, with other Samir, of which Jos. 10. and Saron, whose hewen and carved from in great abun- King was flain by Josua: it is also mentioned dance, among the rubble.

Aving now past over Pha- It was beaten to the ground by the sons nicia, we come to the next of Hircanus the high Priest: restored and Territory adjoyning, which is built by the first Herod the son of Antipater: that of Ephraim: fometimes who to flatter Casar called it Sebaste. Heretaken per excellentiam, for the in were the Prophets Helifaus and Abdias whole Kingdom of the ten Tribes. Ephrain buried: and so was John Baptist. It now hath

Near Samaria towards the South, is the hill of Bethel, and a Town of that name: on children grown to be able men, 32500. who the top of which mountain Jeroboam erected fate down on the West side of Jordan; be- one of his golden calves, to be worshipped:

In fight of this Mountain of Bethel, was Sichar. job. that ancient City of Sichemsafter the reftau- 4,50 ration called Neapolis, now Pelofa, and Napo- Joseph. 11. The first and chief City which Ephraim lasa: It was destroyed by simeon and Levisan. 1. had, was Samaria, the Metropolis of the King- in revenge of the ravishment of their sister dom of Ifrael, built by Amris or Homri King Dina: and after that by Abimelec evened with thereof, and feated on the top of the Moun- the foil. Jeroboam raised it up again: and the

Under Sichem toward the Sea Standeth Judginits afterward called Sebaste, or Angusta, in ho- Pharaton or Pirhathon, on the Mountain A. 2 King 139 nour of Angust. Casar. This City is often malec, the City of Abdon Judge of Israel.

> Betweeen Bethoron and the Sea, flandeth 70,12.18; Ads 9.35. and of this Saron the Valley ta-

to the ground by the Romans, those Ravens it had a Bishop Suffragan. and spoilers of all Estates, disturbers of Com- Neer to Lidda or Diaspolis standeth Ra-

most and lavage barbarous Nations.

beheaded and buried: in whose honour and bulon, which they say, adjoyneth to sephomemeny infinian the Emperor caused a fair ris; a fourth, which they make the same Church to be built over his Tombe; thefe with silo; and a fifth, which is this Rama, in be Tyring his words: Relicta a dextris locis the hills of Ephraim, called Rama-Suphim, maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per late pa- where Samuel lived, and wherein he is bu-St George tentem planition Flutheriam pertranseuntes, ried. Liddam quæ eft Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris Georgii usque hodie Sepulchrum oftendi- are Helon,or Ajalon of the Levites, of which Book, ch. 7 tur, pervenerunt, ejus Ecclesiam quum ad hono- 1 Chron. 6. Apollonia, of which Josephus in his Joppe, palling over the great open Plain of E- lifba, findeth it in Benjamin. lutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diospolis: On the other side of the Mountains of where the sumptuous Tomb of the famous Mar- Ephraim Standeth Gosna, one of the Topartyr S. George is at this day shewed; whose chies or Cities of government, the second in thurch when the godly and orthodox Prince of dignity, of which the Country about it tathe Roman, High and mighty Justinian, had keth name.

keth name, which beginning at Cofarea Pa- of Genius, How long shall this Sepulchre stand? lefting, extendeth it felf alongle the coast as occasioned the uprore of the people against far as Toppe, faith Adrichome : though indeed him: as fearing least he would give attempt the name Sarons is not particularly given to overthrow that beautiful Temple. This to this Valley, but to every fruitful plain Re- also Marcellinus reports; who though he fav gion: for not onely his Valley is to called, that this Georgius was also deadly hated of to wit between Cefare, and Joppe, but that the Christians, who else might have rescued also between the Mountain Tabor and the him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the Sca of Galilee: for fo S. Hierome upon the alhes of two others, were therefore cast into five and thirtieth Chapter of Flay, interprets the Sea. lest if their Reliques had been gathe word Saron: and fo doth the same Fa- thered up, Churches should be built for ther in his Commentaries upon Abdia, read them, as for others. But for my part, I rather Saron for Allaron: understanding thereby a think that it was not Georgius, whose name Plaine neer Lidda: which Lidda in his time lives in the right honourable order of our was called Diospolis, or the City of Jupiter, Knights of the Garter, but rather another. one of the Toparchies of Judaa, the fift in whom Tyrius abovecited witneffeth to have dignity (or the third after Pliny) where S. been buried at Lidda or Diospolis. The same Luke 13. Peter (non fua, fed Christi virtute) cured #- also is confirmed by Vitriac. S. Hierome affirms saguan Sign.com. near. N ger calls all that Region from Anti-that it was sometime called Tigrida, and 664. libanus to Joppe, Sarona. This Joppe was burnt while the Christians inhabited the Holy Land.

mon-weales, usurpers of other Princes King- matha of the Levites, or Aramathia: afterdoms; who with no other respect led than ward Rama, and Ramula, the native City of Steinle to applific their own glory, troubled the ofeph, which buried the body of Christ. There Tribe of whole world: and themselves, after murde- are many places which bear this name of Boojamin are many places which bear this name of the things are many places. ring one another, became a prey to the Rama; one they fet in the Tribe of Inda neer fet. Thecua in the way of Hebron; another in In Diaspolie (faith Wil. of Tyre) was S. George Nephtalim, not far from Sephet; a third in Za-

From hence to the North alongst the coast rem cjusdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Antiquities, and in the wars of the Jews. Also Princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus Balfalifa for which Junius, 2 Reg. 4.42. reads Ants. multo studio & devotione prompta adificari planities Shalista) they place hereabout in 31. detail. praceperat, c.c. They having left (faith he) on this Tribe of Ephraim; but Junius upon 1. the right hand, the Sea Towns, Antipatris and Sam. 6. where we read of the Land of Sha-

commanded to be built, with great earnestness Then Thamnath-Sarah, or according to the and present devotion, &c. Thus far Tyrius : by Hebrew, Thimnath-Serach : one also of the whose testimony we may conjecture that ten Toparchies, or Prasidencies of Judaa, which Jule : this S. George was not that Arrian Bishop of they call Thamnitica, a goodly City, and Thimad Alexandria; but rather some better Christi- strong, seated on one of the high Hills of E-chant. an : for this of Alexandria was flain there in phraim; on the North of the Hill called Gaas; 70/9 10 an uprore of the people, and his afhes cast which City and Territory Israel gave unto into the Sea, as Ammianus Marcellinus re- their Leader Josua; who also amplified it ports. And yet also it may be, that this Geor- with buildings, neer which he was buried. gins was a better Christian than he is com- His Sepulchre remained in S. Hieroms time, without it Library monly thought: for his words of the Temple and over it the Sun engraven, in memory of loin History wrought in 'Josua's time.

thouland lews overthrew the Army of Ni- City of Samuel.

many years, till the Philiftims got it.

Ratters now called Byra.

prophefied; and neer it Ephron, one of those his father-in-law. Cities which Abijab recovered from Jerobo-Chetzron, ver 25.

lee King:adding that for the building thereof the fustained her life. with other Cities, Solomon raised a Tribute upon the people. But it feems that Mello, or Millo is a common name of a ftrong Fort or Then I. Cittadel: and fo Junius, for domus Millo. Of the Kings af the ten Tribes, from Jeroboam reads incola munitionis, and for Solomo adifiresearch cavit Millo, he reads adificabat munitionem,

F the first Kings of Ifrael I omit in this sales and fothe Septuagint read it the days in that

Pplace to speak, and reserve it to the Catranspace. And without doubt the Millo which talogue of the Kings of Juda: of whom ham ne. Solomon built, cannot be that of Sichem, but hereafter. another in Hierusalem.

Taphnach, whose King was slain by Josua; and sion from Juda and Benjamin, now it follow-Janoach, or Janoah, spoiled by Teglasphalassar: eth to speak. The first of the Kings Jero-2 Ning 15 Pekab then governing Ifrael, with divers boam the fon of Nebat, an Ephrathite, of Zere-Mizzas others, but of no great fame. The Mounda, who being a man of strength and coutains of Ephraim sometime significe the greatrage, was by Solomon made overseer of the test part of the Land of the sons of Joseph, on buildings of the Munition in Hierusalem, for the West of Jordan: several parts whereof as much as belonged to the charge of the

that greatest of wonders which God 16.24. \* the Hill of Gahas, Judg. 2.9. the Hill . Also the of Tfalmon, or Salmon, Judg. 9.48. the Hills of till of In the places adjoyning standeth Adarsa, the Region of Tsuph, or Tsophim, Judg. 9. 5. Where 6or Addle, where Judas Machabaus with three where Rama-Tophim flood, which was the larger the

ennor, Lievtenant of Spria; neer to Gaser, or The great plenty of fruitful Vines upon sense as Gezer, which Jassus took, and hung their the sides of the Mountains, was the occasion based, King; a City of the Levices. It was after- that Jucob in the spirit of prophecy, Gen. 49. And the ward taken by Pharaoh of Egypt; the peo- 22. compared Josephs two branches, Ephraine two tops ple all flain, and the City razed 5 solomon re- and Manaffe, to the branches of a fruitful of Hills, Vine planted by the Well fide, and spreading where the To the Eaft of this place is the Frontier City her (a) Daughter branches along the Wall: bledings of J fleti, of which Jof, 16.3. otherwise rele- which Allegory also Ezek, 22. in his Lamer- where the the, whence David had part of his Pratorian tation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten Tribes, endings Souldiers, under the charge of Benaia, Then whose head was Ephraim) prosecutes as also were toke readoute that high and famous Mountain and City of in his Lamentation for Juda, he followeth people; of silo, whereon the Ark of God was kept fo the other Allegory of Jacob, Gen. 49.9. comparing Juda to a Lion. Upon the top of one 27. & Jof. To this they joyn the City of Muchmas, or of the highest of these Hills of Ephraim, 8 Michmas: in which for athan Machabaus in- which overlooketh all the Plains on both at feenhabited, a place often remembred in the fides of fordan, they find the Castle called Jacob in 1 gary 4. Scriptures. It standeth in the common way Dok: which they make to be the same with this profrom Samaria towards Hierufalem: and is Dagon, of which Josep. 1. bell. Jud. 2. in which rather u-Caftle as it is I Mac. 16. Ptolomy most traite- feth the Then the Village of Naioth where Saul roully at a banquet, flew Simon Macchabeus word

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephra-thestheres am; after the great overthrow given him. im, they name Gaas, remembred in the second more Then Kimbtfaim, of the Levites, of which Jof. of Samuel, c.23. v. 30. where though Junius Plainly 21.22. which Junius thinks to be the fame read, Hiddai ex una vallium Gahass: yet the Colonies with Jokmeham, of which I Chro. 6.28. As for Vulyar and Vatablus read Giddai, of the ri-which Absaloms Baalasor, which they find hereabout, ver of Gaas. Also in this Tribe they place the in the Junius reads it, in the Plain of Chatzor; and river of Carith, by which the Prophet Elias phrase are jumble 1 tasts in the Tribe of Juda; as Jof. 15. we abode during the great drought: where he called read of two Chatzors in that Tribe; one neer was (b) fed with the Riavens: and after that of the Me-Kedesh, ver. 23. and the other the same as the River was dried up, he travelled (by the repolit: Spirit of God guided) towards Sidon: where as in Jo-In this Tribe also they find the City of he was relieved by the poor widdow of Za-elsewhere Mello; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with repta, whose dead son he revived and increa-citen the Sichemites in making the Bastard Abime- sed her pittance of Meal and Oil: whereby 17.6.

to Achab.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten The other Cities of mark in Ephraim, are Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diviare the Hill of Samrom, or Samaria, I Reg. Tribes of Ephraim and Manaffe: and so many

above in

the Edumaan, when he was carried young 'twenty years and died. into Egypt from the fury of David, and his To Baasha succeeded Ela his son, who at to shake the Kingdom of Judea, that him-fulfilled. ail the fooils which David took from Ada- inforc't him to burn himself.

upon the people to worthip (an imitation of the E- two children, Achab and Athalia. birt chap gyptian Aris, faith S. Ambrose, or rather of Epitle to Jarons Calf in Horeb :) further he made ele-Crion of his Priefts out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chief Sear and Palace at sichem: He despited the Of Achab and his Successors, with the captivity warning of the Indaan Prophet, whom Jofephus calleth sidon, and Glycus Joel: his hand thereafter withered and was again restored: but continuing in his Idolatry, and hardenposterity.

King of Juda, and died after he had gover- He suffered Jezabel to kill the Prophets of reigned in his stead: so Nadab lived King but of Jezabel.

after the partition, made war with Afa King for which, the Prophet (whom Glycas calleth

of thems a rought in those works. During of Juda: he seated himself in Thersa: and for which time as he went to Hierafalen, he en- tified Rama against Juda, to restrain their excountered the Prophet Ahijah: who made cursions. Hereupon Afa entertained Benhadad him know that he was by God deftined to of Damsfeus against him, who invaded Negbe King of liveland to command ten of the thalim, and destroyed many places therein: twelve tribes. After this, fearing that those the mean while Afa carried away the matethings might come to solomons knowledge, rials, with which Baasha intended to fortifie he fled into Egypt to Shiflak, whom Eufebius Rama: but being an Idolater, he was threatcalleth ofocheres, whose Daughter he mar- ned by Jehn the Prophet, that it should beried: the Predecetior of which shiftak (if fall his race, as it did to Jeroboam: which not the same ) did likewise entertain Adad afterward came to pass: He ruled sour and

Captain Joab; which Adad the King of a feast at his Palace of Thersa, was in his cups Egipt married to his Wives fifter Taphnes; Ilain by Zambris, after he had reigned two uting both him and Jeroboam as instruments years: and in him the prophesic of Jehn was

fell might the capiller spoilit, as he did: for Zambris succeeded Ela, and assumed the in the fifth year of Rehohoam, Shifhak fack't name of a King feven daies; but Ambris in 18 months the City of Hierufalem, and carried thence revenge of the Kings murder, fet upon Zamall the treasure of David and Solomon, and bris, or Zimri, and inclosed him in Therfa, and

dezor of Soha, with the prefents of Tohu, King | Ambris or Homri fucceeded Ela, and transof Hamath, which were of an inestimable serred the Regal seat from Thersa to Sa- t Kircus maria: which be bought of shemer, built, This lerobeam after the death of Solomon and fortified it. This Ambris was also an became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though Idolater no less impious than the rest: and he were permitted by God to govern the therefore subjected to Tabrenmon King of sfraclites, and from a mean man exalted to Syria, the father of Benhadad, according to that State: yet preferring the policies of the Eusebins, Nicephorus, and Zonaros: but how world before the service and honour of God this should stand, I do not well conceive; see-(as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule ing Benhadad the fon of Tabremmon was inthould repair to Hierusalem to do their usual vited by Asa King of Juda, to assail Baasha within Sacrifices, they might be drawn from him King of Ifrael, the father of Ela, who foreby degrees) he erected two golden Calves, went Ambris. This Ambris reigned twelve one in Dan, and another in Bethel, for the years, fix in Therfa, and fix in Samaria, and left

## §. 111.

of the ten Tribes.

Chab.or Ahab succeeded Omri, who not onely upheld the Idolatry of Teroboam, ed, upon occasion that the Prophet return- borrowed of the Egyptians: but he married ing, was flain by a Lion; Abijab makes him Jezabel the Zidonian: and as Jeroboam folknow that God purposed to root out his lowed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: fo did Achab of his Zidonian : and crected t King, it He was afterward overthrown by Abia an Altar and a Grove to Baal in Samaria. ned two and twenty years; whom Nadab the most high God. God sent samine on the his fon fucceeded : who in the fecond year of land of Ifrael. Achab met Elias: Elias prevaihis reign, together with all the race of Jero- led in the trial of the facrifice and killed the boam, was flain, and rooted out by Baafha, who false Prophets; and afterward flieth for fear

Benhadad not long after befieged Samaria: Baasha the son of Ahijah, the third King & taken by Aehab, was by him set at liberty: fed Naboth by a false accusation to be stoned. was, Am I God to kill, and to greelife, that he Then joyning with Josaphat in the war for doth fend to heal a man of his Legrolie : adthe recovery of Ramoth, he was flain, as Mi-ding, that the Aramite fought but matter a had foretold him.

tre, Ochozias, Joram, and Jous: befides fe- promifing that he should know that there enty other fons by fundry wives and con- was a Prophet in Ifrael: and fo Naaman was

Madites fell from his obedience : he bruiled but his fervant Gehazi accepted a part therehimself by a fall: and fent for counsel to of: from whence the sellers of spiritual 2 King 1.5 Feelzebub the god of Acharon. Fliah the Pro- gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are whet meeteth the Mellenger on the way : Simonians, of Simon Magus. and misliking that Ochozias fought help from Afterward Benhadad King of Aram, or that dead Idol,alked the Meflenger, if there Damafeus, having heard that this Prophet were not a God in Ifrael? Ochozias fendeth did discoverto the King of Ifrael whatsoetwo Captains, and with each 50, fouldiers, to ver the Aramite consulted in his secretest tring Eliah unto him, both which with their counsel fent a troop of horse to take Elisha: Attendants were confumed with fire. The all whom Elifba ftruck blind, and brought third Captain befought mercy at Eliah's them captives into Samaria: Joram then alkhands, and he spared him, and went with him ed leave of the Prophet to flay them, Elifha to the King, avowing it to the King that he forbade him to harm them: but caused them must then die; which came to pass in the se- to be fed, and sent back to their own Prince cond year of his reign.

over the walls, threatning, unless the fiege him, rooting out the whole posterity of were diffolved, that he would offer him in Abab. facrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King Jehn, who reigned after Jehoram, destroyof Edom befought those of Juda and Israel ed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but to break off the fiege for the fafety of his also their religion; for which he received a fon: which when the other Kings refused promise from God, That his feed should oc-

After this the King of Aram fent to Jo-

Affelians) reprove th him: afterward he cau-my of the Leprolic. The answer of January of quarrel against him. Elisha hearing there-He had three fons named in the Scrip- of, willed the King to fend Nauman to him; healed by washing himself seven times in o hozats succeeded his father Achab. The Jordan. Elistra refused the gifts of Naaman;

in fafety.

Jeram, the brother of Ochozias by Jezabel, The King of Aram, notwithstanding these succeeded: He allured Josaphat King of benefits, did again attempt Samaria, and Juda, and the King of Edom to affilt him a- brought the Citizens to extream famine. gainst the Moabites, who refused to pay him Joran imputeth the cause thereof to the the tribute of 20000. sheep. The three Kings Prophet Elisha. Elisha by prayer caused a wanted water for themselves and their hor-noise of Chariots and Armour to sound in fesin the Defarts. The Prophet Elisha cau- the air, whereby the Aramites affrighted fled feth the ditches to flow. The Moabites are away, and left the fiege. An act of great adoverthrown: their King flieth to Kirhara- miration, as the same is written in the second 2 Kings 7. feth, and being belieged, according to some of Kings. After this, when Azael obtained Expositors, burnt his son on the walls as a the Kingdom of Syria by the death of his facrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved Master, Joran entring upon his frontier, took with compassion, returned and left Moab, Ramoth-Gilead: in which war he received wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, divers wounds, and returned to Jezreel to as it feems with better reason, understand be cured. But whilest he lay there, Jehu (who the Text to speak of the son of the King of commanding the Army of Joram in Gilead, Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption was anointed King by one of the children of to have been taken prisoner by the Moathe Prophets sent by Elisha) surprised and bites, and that the King of Moab showed him slew both him and all that belonged unto

to yield unto, and that Moab, according to cupy the Throne unto the fourth generation see his former threatning, had burnt the King on. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of Jeroboam, of Edoms son upon the Rampire, that all for which he was plagued with grievous the Affailants might discern it, the King war, wherein he was beaten by Hazael the of Edom being by this fad spectacle inra- Aramite, who spoiled all the Countries to ged, forfook the party of the other Kings, the East of Jordan: in which war he was for want of whole affiltance the fiege was flain, faith Cedrenus; whereof the Scriptures are filent. Jehn reigned 28. years.

Joachaz, or Jehoachaz the fon of Jehu fucram, to heal Naaman the Captain of his Ar- ceeded his father, whom Azael and his son a King. 233 Benhadad

value.

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jecied, leaving him onely 50, horfe, 20, cha- ach, Kedefh, Hazor, and Gilead, with all the riots, and recor. foor : and, as it is writ- Cities of Galilee, carrying them captives inten in the Scriptures, he made them like to Afgria: he was drawn in by Ackaz King dust beaten into powder. loachaz reigned of Judas, against Pekah and Rezin, the last er

who when he repaired to Elifha the Pro- a third time borrow the Church-riches, and phet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet therewith ingaged the Affrian, who first promised him three victories over the Ara- suppressed that Monarchy of Syria and Das vites; and first commanded him to lay masers, and then of Israel: and this inviting his hand on his bow, and Elifta covered the of the great Afgrian, was the utter ruine of Kings hands with his, and bad him open both States, of Ifrael, and of Judea. Pekah the window Westward (which was to- reigned 20. years. 2 Kiss 14 Jaschaz had loft. He also overthrew Ama- with the Cuthe (inhabiting about Cutha, a ged this life for a better.

one and forty years.

reigned in his fread, governed fix moneths, and fometime the Vaffals of the Adads of being flaughtered by Menahem of the Ga- thus did this Affyrian advise himself better

ten thousand talents of filver, which he ex- decayed; and thereby they gave that danverned twenty years.

Pekahiah, or Phaceia, or after Zonaras, in his place. In this Pekah's time, Phulaster, or King of Israel. Tiglat-Phylasser invaded the Kingdom of Is-

Berhadul often invaded, and in the end fub-rael, and vven Jion, Abel-Beilmaacab, Janothe Adades. For Achas being wafted by Pe-After Josephaz, Joss his fon governed Ifrael, kab of Ifrael, and by Rezin of Damaseus, did

ward Damaseus ) and then shoot an arrow Then Hoshea, or Osea, who siew Pekah, bethence out. He again willed him to beat came the vallal of Salmanaffer; but hoping the ground with his arrows, who smote it to shake off the Asprian yoak, he sought aid thrice, and ceased: The Prophet then told from So, or Sua, or Sebicus King of Egypt: him, that he should have smitten five or six which being known to the Assirian, he cast times, and then he should have had so many him into prison, besieged samaria, and mavictories over the Aramites as he gave flered it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes throkes. And so it succeeded with Jeas, who into Nineve in Asserta, and into Rages in overthrew the Aramites in three battels, and Media, and into other Eastern Regions, and recovered the Cities and Territory from there dispersed them: and re-planted Sa-Benhadael the fon of Azael, which his father maria with divers Nations, and chiefly gia King of Juda, who provoked him to River in Persia, or rather in Arabia Descrita) make the war, whereupon he entred Hiern- and with the people Catanei bounding upfalem and facked it with the Temple. This on Syria, and with those of Sepharvajim low reigned fixteen years, and died; in (a people of sephar in Mesopopotamia upwhose time also the Prophet Elisha exchan- on Euphrates, of whose conquest Senacherib vaunteth) also with those of Ava, which Jeroboam the third from Jehn, followed were of the ancient Avins, who inhabited leas his father, an Idolater, as his predecef- the Land of the Philistims in Abrahams time, fors; but he recovered all the rest of the dwelling near unto Gaza, whom the Caphlands belonging to tirael, from Hamath which torins rooted out: and at this time they is near Libanus, to the dead Sea, and reigned were of Arabia the Defart, called Havai, willing to return to their ancient feats. Zucharias the fifth and last of the house To these he added those of chamath, or of Jehn, flain by Shallum his vaffal, who Iturea, the ancient enemies of the Ifraelites, Shallum held the Kingdom but one moneth, Damascus, which so often afficted them. And than the Romans did. For after Titus and Menahem, who took revenge of Shallum, Vespasian had wasted the Cities of Judea used great cruelty to those that did not ac- and Hierusalem, they carried the people aknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those way captive: but left no others in their that were with child. This Menahem be- places, but a very few simple labourers, being invaded by Phul, bought his peace with lides their own thin Garrisons, which soon acted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from e- gerous entrance to the Arabians and Saravery man of wealth in Ifrael. Menahem go- cens, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and Phacesia succeeded, and after he had ruled displantation, happened in the year of the two years, he vvas flain by Phaca, or Pekah world, 3292, the fixth year of Ezekiah King the Commander of his Army, vvho reigned of Juda: and the ninth of Hosea the last

A Catalogue of the Kings of the te	TRIBES. 10. Jehn		Years. Years.
6. Omri II Ye	ars. 12. Joas ars. 13. Jeroboam ars. 14. Za.barias ars. 15. Shallum ayes. 16. Menahem ars. 17. Pakabia ars. 18. Phaca cars. 19. Hosca	Reigned 41	Years. Years. Moneths. Moneth. Years. Years. Years.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, and the other half of Manasse.

### 6. I.

of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Towns.

62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their sons 66400. Judas Macchabans burnt the rest of the Sy-debt far. bearing arms. The first famous City in this rian Fleet: the fire and flame whereof was Tribe on the Sea-coast was Joppe, or Japho, seen at Hierusalem, 240. furlongs off. It had as in the 19. of Josua: one of the most anci- sometime a Bishops seat, saith Will. of Tyre; ent of the world, and the most famous of o- but there is no fign of it at this time, that thers on that coast, because it was the Port such a place there was. of Hierusalem. From hence Jonas imbarked After Jamnia is the City of Geth.or Gath. of the Macchabees this City received many fets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistim Cichanges: and while Judas Macchabaus go- ties, and in the place of Anthedon. But Vola-, verned the Jews, the Sprians that were garri-fon'd in Joppe, having their Fleet in the Port, his opinion 3 for Ptolomy fets Anthedon fur

by Cestims the Lievtenant utterly burnt and bitation and Seminary of the Anakims, strong meda was fastned with chains: and from unto Goliath.

Ow following the coast of the thence delivered from the Sea-monster by Mediterran Sea, that portion of Perseus. This fable (for so I take it) is con-Land affigned to the Tribe of firmed by Josephus, Solinus, and Pliny. Mar- Lib. ; 115 Dan, joyneth to Ephraim, where-of I spake last: of which Fami-lhewed the bones of this Monster to the Soline 47: ly there were numbred at Mount Sinai people of Rome. S. Hierome upon Jonas cap. 9.

himself when he fled from the service of sometime Anthedon, saith Voluteran. And God towards Tharfis in Cilicia. In the time to Montanus feems to understand it. For he F 146. invited 200. principal Citizens aboard them, to the South of Joppe: and Geth was the first and cast them all into the Sea: which Judas and not the last (beginning from the North) revenged by firing their Fleet, and putting of all the great Cities of the Philistims : and the companies which fought to escape to the about fixteen miles from Jopie: where S. Hierome in his time found a great Village It was twice taken by the Romans, and of the same name. It was sometime the lia-

ruined. But in the year of Christ, 1250. and Giant-like men, whom Josua could not Micheam. Lodowick the French King gave it new Wals expel, nor the Danites after him, nor any and Towers: It is now the Turks, and called of the Ifraelites, till Davids time: who flew Jaffa. There are certain Rocks in that Goliath, as his Captuins did divers others Port, whereunto it is reported, that Andro- not much inferiour in strength and statute

Roboans

Roboam the fon of Solomon rebuilt Geth : | a fair Village. And this was the last of the Ozias the fon of Amazia destroyed it again. | Sea-Towns within the Tribe of Dan. It was also laid waste by Azael King of Syria. Fulke the fourth King of Hiernfalem, built a Eastward from Azotus; and beyond the Caffle in the same place out of the old ruines. Fountain of Æthiopia, wherein Philip the A-Whether this Geth was the same that Will. of postle baptized the Eunuch, are Thorab, or Lib 21. 6. Tyre in the Holy war calls Ibiilin, I much Sarxa, and Esthaol, and between them Castra doubt : the errour growing by taking Geth Danis neer Hebron : though this place where for Anthedon.

femes, or the house of the Sun. In the fields the other also were bordering Towns beadjoyning to this City (as isthought) was tween Dan and Inda. the Ark of God brought by a yoak of two After these within the bounds of Juda, but Kine , turned loofe by the Philiftims : and belonging to the Danites, they find Gedor, or the Bethfemites prefuming to look therein, as it is 1 Mac. 15. Cedron, which Cendebaus Or ta nance of God. After which flaughter, and Macchabees overthrown. ther not the great lamentation of the people, it was Then Modin the Native City of the Macthe City it called the great \* Abel, faith S. Hierome. Be- chabees : and wherein they were buried, on the great neditius Theologus findes three other Cities of whose Sepulchre the seven Marble Pillars. this name; one in (a) Nephtalim: another which were erected of that heighth, as they the field , in Juda: and another in Islachar. Hierome ferved for a mark to the Sea-men, remained which findes a fifth in Benjamin.

flone the Keeping the Sea-coaft, the strong City of the Rocaron offerethit self, sometime one of the Ark, the five Salrapies, or Governments of the Philia.

There are besides these the City of Caria-Miss the Ark, the five Salrapies, or Governments of the Phili-thiarim, that is, the City of the woods: seat-& sea, or 16th 4. in bred in many places of Scripture.

Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This Azo great flaughter by Judas Macchabans: and by Plam tus or Aschool, was also an habitation of the A- Lechis, whose King was slain by Josua, in the father nakims, whom Josua (b) failed to destroy, which also Amaziah was slain: The same of Phirate though he once possess their City. Herein which Senacherib took, Ezekias reigning in 29. yeers frood a fumptuous Temple, dedicated to the Juda. together, (c) Idol Dagon: the fame Idol whith fell whence the ground of it self, after the Ark see in Josua c.19 from the ver. 41. where also see seems by the Philistims carried into it is added that the Danites portion was too of the eff- their Temple: and in the second fall, it was little for their number of Families: and Albad, to utterly broken and defaced. Neer it was that therefore that they invaded Leshem, and inwit, the famous (d) Judas Macchabaus slain by Bac- habited it: which City, after amplified by part has chides and alcimus the Lievtenants of Deme- Philip, the brother of Herod Antipas, was calving peri trius. Afterward it was taken by Jonathas: led Casarea Philippi, as before, and made the this siege, and the rest of the Citizens being put to the Metropolis of Ituraa, and Trachonitis: of c ! Sam. fword, all that fled into the Temple of Da- which coasts this Philip was Tetrach: but of 5.4 d. Muss gon, were with their Idol therein confumed this City see more in Nephtalim. In this Tribe 2 1 Mace. with fire: neer which also he overthrew there are no Mountains of fame. 10 Jos. Apollonius.

The Cities which are within the Land Sampson was born , may seem by the words, Not far from Geth or Gath Standeth Beth- Judg. 18. 12. to be in the Tribe of Judah, as

there were flain of the Elders seventy, and the Lievtenant of Antiochus fortified against 1 Sam 6 of the people fifty thousand, by the ordi- the Jews, and neer which himself was by the 18

many hundreds of veers after their first set-

Eben, or lonia: It was one of those that defended it yeers in the house of Aminadab: till such Sum. 6.1. Aben, which sig. self against the Danites and Idumaans. It time as David carried it thence to Hierusa-16:24.21. nifieth a worshipped Beel-zebub, the god of Hornets lem. Of this place (as they fay) was Zacharias Mai, 23. flows, to or Flies. To which Idol it was that Abaziab the son of Barachias, or Jeboiada, who was 33. In. Abaziab the son of Jarael son to enquire of his health: slain between the Temple and the Altarialso Man. 11. nifieth whose messengers Eliah meeting by the way, Vrias, whom Joachim King of Hiernsalem 13.76 mouning whole hereigness meeting by the way, or the way, whole because the mouning a see in caused them to return with a forrowful an- slaughtered, as we find in Jeremy. Many o- 12.11, a see in caused them to return with a forrowful anseph c 7 fwer to their Master. This City is remem- ther places which they place in this Tribe, 19. rather, as I take it, upon prefumption than Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to warrant, I omit : as that of Caspin taken with

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe,

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Nor-Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a ther-most riseth out of the Mountains of Ju-25. 00 Bishops seat while Christianity flourished in da: and passing by Modin, falleth into the cap. 18. 2. those parts. But in S. Hieroms time it was yet Sea by Sachrona. The other hath the name

of Sorek or Sored, whose banks are plentiful; times it had a Bishop and after that, when it whom Sampson loved.

## ş. II. THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

der of Egypt: who being the second son of It is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it Jacob by Lea, there were increased of that as he did Azotus and Gaza. Family while they abode in Egypt, as they Next to Afralon flood Gaza, or Cazera,

red, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea- belike he re-built it, and Gaza in the Persian mandities coast, belonging to Edumea, of which the tongue is as much to say, as Treasure. This the na first City adjoyning to Dan, was Ascalon.

in this the fire fee of Hymenaus; and that Ascalus being imploy- Caleb: but the strength of the Anakims put and Mr. Nicolaus in his History, faith Volatteran. Diodorus Siculus in his third Book remem- of the Defart.

breth a Lake neer Ascaion, wherein there hath been a Temple dedicated to Derceto, fed it, and flew five hundred Senators in the the Goddess of the Syrians; having the face! Temple of Apollo, which fled thither for Saninto this Lake, and fed and relieved by but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though Tibullus the Poet:

Alba Palæstino saneta Columba Syro.

Palestine.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Gazara. Cities of the Philistims. It bred many learned Vol. 11 14 men (faith Volatteran, as Antiachus, Sosus, Cyg- standeth Majoma the Port of Gaza: to which rus, who wrote the story of Bithynia.

old and under to be flain. In the Christian commanded it to be called Gaza maritima.

of Vines which have no feeds or frones : the was by the Saladine defaced, Kichard King wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, of England, while he made war in the Holy tafte, and favour, &c. In this Valley of Sorek, Land, gave it a new Wall and many buildtaffe, and favour, &c. in this variety of sorer, Land, gave it a new variation and many to called from the River, inhabited Dalila ings. Fine murus cum Saladinus diruifet, Richardus Anglorum Rex infrauravit, faith Adri- meon, chomeus.

In Davids time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philiftims: for he nameth Gath and Ascalor onely, when he lamen. teth the death of saul and Jonathan : not The Tribe of Simeon takes up the reft speaking of the other three. Tell it not in 2 Sam 1; of the Sea-coast of Canaan, to the bor- Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon:

were numbred at Mount Sinai, 59300. able which the Hebrews call Huzza, the Syrians, Amen, all which ending their lives in the De- zan, of Azonus as they fay) the fon of Hereufarts, there entred the Land of Promise of les. Other profane writers affirm, that it was their iffues 22200. bearing arms, who were built by Jupiter. Pomp. Mela gives the buil-"in part mixed with Juda, and in part feve- ding thereof to Cambyfes the Persian; because Gaza was the first of the five Satrapies of the Vol. 1.15 The Reguli, or petty Kings thereof, were Philiftims, and the South bound of the land breson called Ascalonita: of which Volatteran out of of Canaan towards Egypt. But this City was Xanthus, in the History of the Lydians, re- far more ancient than Cambyses, as it is proved ports, that Tantalus and Ascalus were the sons by many Scriptures. It was once taken by ed by detamus King of the Lydians, with an him from it. At fuch time as alexander Ma. Steph de him from it. Army in Spria, falling in love with a young edon invaded the Empire of Perfu, it recei-16.16. where Woman of that Country, built this City, and ved a Garrison for Darius : in despight 1 Kings 6: in upday called it after his own name: The same hath whereof it was by the Macedonians after a Tole, 13, long fiege demolished, and was called Gaza ant. 19.

Alexander Janeus King of the Jews Surpriof a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as ctuary: but this Gaza was not set up in the I have faid before in the story of Ninus, was same place again, to wit, on the foundations the mother of Semiramis, feigned to be cast which Alexander Macedon had overturned, Doves. And therefore was the Dove wor- the other was but two mile off. It was a shipped both in Babylonia and Syria, of which Town of great account in the time of the Machabees, and gave many wounds to the Tems, till it was forst by Simon : of which he made fo great account, as that he purpofed to reside therein himself, and in his ab-The white Dove is for holy held in Syria sence lest John his Son and Successour to be Governour. In Brochard his time it was still a goodly City, and known by the name of Brock Hill.

At the very out-let of the River of Befor, nus, Dorotheus the Historian, and Artemido- the priviledge of a City was given by the great Constantine, and the place called Con-In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked stance, after the name of the Emperours Son. Herod born, that feeking after our Saviour, But Julian the Apoltata foon after favouring niftain.1. caused all the Male-children of two years the Gazeans, made it subject unto them, and 6.4. No.

don, defaced by Alexander Janneus, restored lad, so named I Chro. 4.29 for which Jos. 19.4. by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name we have Eltholad. Chatzar-Susa, so named. of Agrippa, the favorite of Augustus.

the great Antiochus: and beyond it Rhino- for Gadda is Turma, and Sula Equitatus. an 19.21 cura, whose Torrent is known in the Scriptures by the name of the Torrent of Egypt, till nicles, Chorma is named, which they think to calle it the Septuagint converted it Rinocura : to dif- be the same with that of which Num.14.45. Falle F. ference it, Ff. 27. 12. giving the name of the to which the Amalekites and Canaanites pur. page of City to the Torrent that watereth it. Pliny fued the Ifraelites: But that Chorma cannot the thream calls it Rhinocolura: and Josephus Rhinocorn- be in Simeon , nor within the Mountains of teens to be sicher, ra: (a) Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, Edumaa. For Israel fled not that way: but See in 4/ that at this place the world was divided by back again to the Camp, which lay to the fer, c.7. lot, between the three Sons of Noah.

the mar- Befor they place Gerar: which the Scripture this Tribe: fo called of the Oath between gent. (a) Exist. Placeth between Kadesh and Shur, Gen. 20.1. Abraham and Abimelec: neer unto which relad Mar. That it was need to the vide and therefore also called the City of Isaac, because he dwelt nice or in shebab, it appears Gen. 20.31. and therefore Antorus. no marvel that as elsewhere Beer-sheba, so long there. While the Christians held the 60% 10 19 sometime Gerar, be made the South bound Holy Land, they laboured much to strength-

vered the prey.

City of Letters, the University, as they fay, places. or Academy of old Palastine. In Saint Hierom's The Mountains within this Tribe are few, name, as it feems, of fome of the Anakims, as vers are, Befor, and the Torrent of Egypt, called Hebron was called Orbs Arbahi. For even Shichar, as is noted in Affer. hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by Othoniel, incouraged by Ca-36/11.21 lebs promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that Josua and the Hoast of Israel were at the surprise, it appears Fos. 10. 39. This City Jos. 21.15. is named among those which out of Simeon and Juda were given to the Levites. And hence it feems they attribute it there were multiplied in Egypt 74600. to this Tribe.

jin, of which Jos. 19.7. which also Jos. 21.16. greeable to the greatness of this number \*And also Simeon, (for which Junius thinks Hasham is were the portions allotted to Dan and Sime-

On the other fide of Befor standeth Anthe- Josua these two are distinguished) also Tho-Jos. 19.5 for which Jos. 15. we have Chatzar. Then Raphia, where Philopater overthrew Gadda, both names agreeing in fignification:

> In the same places of Josua and of the Chro-South of Edumaa, in the Defart.

Within the Land, and upon the River of The fame places also name Beersheba in (a) Engh. Freech between to the Wilderness of Beer- Hagar wandered with her son Ismael. It was Grants of Canaan. It was of old a diffinct Kingdom on this place, flanding on the border of the from the Phil/lim Satrapies: the Kings by Arabian Defart, and in the South bound of one common name were called Abimelechs; Carrain. It hath now the name of Gibelin. S. Hierome faith that afterwards it was called The other Cities of Simeon which are named Regio falutaris, the healthy Country: so that it in the places of Josua, and of the Chronicles was no marvel that Abraham and Isaac lived above noted, because they help us nothing much in those parts. Of King Afa's conquest in story, I omit them. In the time of Ezekia of the Cities about Gerar, see 2 Chron. 14.14. King of Juda, certain of this Tribe being More within the Land was Siceleg, or Tig- | strengthened in his own Territories, passed lak, which was burnt by the Amalekites, to Gedor, as it is I Chron. 4. 39. (the fame frems if when David in his flying from Saul to the place which Jos. 15.36. is called Gedera and the Lind Philiftims had left his carriages there, but Gederothaima) which at that time was inha-o: Jule David followed them over the River of Be-bited by the islue of Cham: where they seat-fifty men for, and put them to the flaughter, and reco- ed themselves: as also five hundred others of graph of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of Amalec this Chap Next Dabir sometime Cariath-Sepher, a in the Mountains of Edom, and dwelt in their Chine of

time, it feems, it had the name of Daema: and that of sampson the chiefest: unto which Jos. 15.49. it is called Orbs Sanna: from the he carried the Gate-post of Gaza. The Ri-

# 6. III.

# THE TRIBE OF FUDA.

F Juda, the fourth fon of Jacob by Lea, all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the Besides these, there are many others in Desarts. And of their sons there entred the Tribe of Simeon, but of less fame, as Ha- the Land of Canaan 76500. bearing arms. Ais reckoned for one of the Cities of the Le-vites, given out of the portion of Juda and terward Judaa: within the bounds whereof named 1 Chron.6.59. though \* in the place of on included. And many Cities named in

those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong un- beaten and put to flight: As following the to the Children of Juda: who had a kind of victory as far as Gerar, which at the same Soveraignty over them: as Succoth, Carta- time he recovered. thiarim, Lachis, Bethsemes, Thiglag, Beersheba, Not far from Jether standeth Jarmith, and others. The multitude of people within whose King was slain by Josua, and the City this small Province (if it be meted by that overturned. Next unto it is Marela the Naground given to this Tribe only) were in- tive City of the Prophet Michae: between credible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had it and Odolla, Judas Macchabaus overthrew not warranted the report. For when David Corgias, and fent thence ten thousand Drag- 2 Matte 122 numbred the people, they were found five mas of filver to be offered for facrifice. hundred thousand fighting men.

with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the us beautified it greatly. Then Ceila, or Keila, entrance of Judea from Idumea: whose King afterward Echela, where David sometime first surprized the Israelites as they passed by hid himself: and which afterward he delithe border of Canaan towards Moab, and vered from the affaults of the Philistims: 15/25/11.14.100k from them some spoyls, and many primeer which the Prophet Abacue was buried: 16/11.14.100k from: who being afterward overthrown by whose monument remained, and was seen the Ifraelites, the fons of Keni, the Kinfmen by S. Hierome. of Moles, obtained a possession in that Ter-

Following this Frontier towards Idumea if it fignified the City of four: because the pens is and the South, Ascensus Scorpionis, or Acrab- four Patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isac, and bim is placed: the next to Arad: fo called Jacob, were therein buried, but of Adam it because of Scorpions, which are said to be in is but supposed: and it is plain by the plathat place: from which name of Aerabbim, ces, Jof. 14. 14. and 15. 13. and 2c. 11. that Hierome thinks that the name of the Jopan Arbab here doth not fignific four, but that it Frontier Towns.

Hat mon, of no great fame. Turning now from Idumea towards the

North, we find the Cities of Danna, Shemah, test Cities of Canaan, built seven yeers before Aman, the other Afor, or Chatfor, Behaloth, Tfoan, or Tanis, in Egypt: and it was the head and the two Sochoes: of all which fee Jof. and chief City of the Anakims, whom Caleb 15. 15. also Carioth, by Jos. 15.25. called Keri- expelled: to whom it was in part given, to Jacout of oth: whence Judas the Traitor was called wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the rest to ther chro. If-carioth, as it were a man of Carioth. Then the Levites. It had a Bishop in the Christian that this Hetham, the abode of Sampson, which Reboltimes, and a magnificent Temple built by Beiban, boam re-edified. Beyond these, towards the Helen the mother of Constantine. wee with North border, and towards Elutheropolis, is Not far hence they find Eleutheropolis, or in the City of Jethar, or Jathir, belonging to the free City, remembred often by Saint bounds of the Levites. In Saint Hierom's time it was Hierome. Then Eglon, whose King Dahir aflonged to called Jethira: and inhabited altogether fociated with the other four Kings of the A-Simon, with christians: neer unto this City was morites, to wit, of Hiernsalem, Hebron, Jarflist, 48. ment, and Zara King of the Arabiment, King of Juda, and Zara King of the Arabiwere by Josua uterly overthrough
ment, who brought into the field a Million of hence the next City of fame was Emans, as

Odolla, or Hadullam it felf, was an ancient Gen 38. 1. The Cities of Inda were many. But I will and magnificent City, taken by Fosica, and Joseph 19. remember the chiefelt of them: beginning the King thereof flain. Fonathan Macchaba-1 Sam 23.1

Neer it is Hebron, sometime called the Ciritory: who before the coming of the Ifrae- ty of Arbah, for which the Vulgar hath Carialites, dwelt between Madian and Amalek. tharbe: the reason of this name they give as chie, called Acrabathena, was denominated: was the name of the Father of the Giants, of which we have spoken in Manasses. On called Anakim, whose son as it seems Anak the South fide also of Iudaa they place the was: and Achiman, Shelhai, and Talmai, Cities of Jagur, Dimona, Adada, Cedes, Albana, (whom Caleb expelled, Jol. 15.) were the Jethnam, and Affor, or Chatfor, most of them fons of Anak, Num. 12.23. The name of Anak fignifieth Torquem, a chain worn for or-And then Ziph: of which there are two nament; and it feems that this Anak, inplaces so called: one besides this in the bo- riched by the spoils which himself and his dy of Juda, of which the Defart and Forrest father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got adjoyning took name: where David hid this name: and leaving the custome to his himself from Saul. After these are the Cities posterity, left also the name: so that in Laof Esron, Adar, Karkah, and Ascemuna, or time the name of Anakim may not amis be expounded by Torquati.
The City Hebron was one of the ancien-

fighting men : and was notwithstanding terward Nicopolis, one of the Cities of Government Was also

vernment or Prafidencies of Judaa. In fight the glorious guilt flields of Antiochus flined formerly beaten both Apollomus and 87-08

gave a third overthrow to Gorgias , Lievi-

nant to Antiochus.

70/ 10 11. Mice 1 3 an earthquake, faith Eufebine. In the C. ite an times it had a Bithops feat of the Discess in Brach. 1of Cafarea of Paleftine.

From Emans toward the West Sea, there had taken him prisoner. are the Cities of Nahama, Bethdagon, and Gader, or Gedera, or Gederothains, of which, them of no great estimation ) we may pass 1 and of Gederoth, \* Fof. 15, 36, and 41. Then by, until we come to the magnificent Castle ciro 139. Azecha, to which ofua followed the flaugh- of Herodium, which Herod erected on a Hill, as sabore Azecha, to which of un followed the flaughthe Tille of Turpentine, as the Vulgar readeth, I Sam. wards the Dead Sea, and adjoyning to the Jonius, 17, 2, whence (as it feems) they feat it neer Defart of Jeruel, between it and Teken, is that for is Vd. unto Soco, and unto Lebna of the Levites. Clivans floridus, where, in the time of Jeholarufalem: And next unto this flandeth Ma- one another, when they had purposed to hee s the ceda, which Jojus atterly dif-peopled.

eaung in East standeth Bethsur, otherwise Bethsura, and day after, solemnly came and blessed God Bethlor: one of the strongest and most for so strange a deliverance. fought for places in all Juda. It is feated on a Now the Cities of Juda which border the a Chinate.

gainst the Syrian Kings.

of whom David. It had also the honour to of the Presidencies thereof. thereof never end.

con faper of the same name : and therefore was this of City of Achinoan, the wife of David, the mo-Mach. 2. c. our Saviour called Bethleem Juda.

and Hiernfalem: on whose Hils adjoyning, Ifrael and Jefrael: and because the 2 Sam. 17.

of this City, Judus Muchabans (after he had like lam to of fire in the eyes of the Ferrs. The Ciry of " hezek was also neer unto Beth- See in lerm, which Adoni-Fezer commanded ; who hough to had during his reign tortur'd 70. Kings, by In the yeer 1301, it was ov turned by cotting of the joynts of their Fingers and and made them gather bread under

bie: but at length the same end befeel bleefelf by the fons of Juda, after they Take

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of as saucre ter of the five Kings before named, a City of mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, 70f. 14. bred in the Tale great strength in the Valley of (a) Terebinth, exceeding beautiful and strong. And to early hath It revolted from the subjection of the Fews phat, the Fews stood and lookt on the Moa- : Chin :: while Foramthe fon of Josaphat ruled in Hie- bites, Ammonites, and Edomites, malfacring 16 & 16 joyn against Juda: neer which place is the On the other fide of Emans towards the Valley of bleffing, where the Jews the fourth

high Hill; and therefore called Bethfur (the Dead Sea, are thefe; Aduran beautified by "Some high Hill ; and therefore called retipin (the Dead Sea, are their; Aduran Deautined by Some house on the Rock, or of firength.) It was for. Roboam: and Tsbar, which the Vulgar cal. Silvent tilled by Roboam, and afterward by Judar leth \* Segor: so called because Lot in his pray Thin and Miscelahans. Lyfius forc't it: and Antiochus er for it, urged that it was but a little one: fernan-Eutapor by famine, Jonathas regained it : and whence it was called Tobar, which fignifieth e.io. fig. it was by Simon exceedingly fortified a- a little one: when as the old name was Be- roll prince lah, as it is Gen. 14. 2. In the Romans time it Harshy. Betbleen is the next unto it within fix miles had a Garrison, and was called (as they fay) 60m.19 to of Hiernsalem, otherwise Lebem: sometime Pannier: in Hierom's time, Balexona. Then Hierom in Hierom's Ephrata; which name, they say, it had of Engaddi, or Hen-gaddi, first Asasonthamar: chasfasher Calebs wife, when as it is to called by Moses neer unto which are the Gardens of Balfa-thunn. before Caleb was famous in those parts, Gen. mum, the best that the world had called opo-38, 16. Of this City was Abessan, or Ibsan balsamum: the most part of all which Trees Judge of Ifrael after Jephtab, tamous for the Cleopatra Queen of Egypt fent for out of Juthirty fons and thirty daughters begotten dea, and Herod, who either feared or loved by him. Elimelee was also a Betblemite, who Anthony her Husband, caused them to be with his wife Naomi fojourned in Moab du- rooted up, and presented unto her: which ring the famine of Juda in the time of the the re-planted neer Heliopolis in Egypt. This Judges, with whom Ruth the daughter-in- City was first taken by Chedorlaomer, and the law of Naomi returned to Bethleem : and Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the Gon. 14 ? married Booz, of whom Obed, of whom Islai, most remarkable Cities of Judea; and one

be the native City of our Saviour Jefus | The rest of the Cities are many in the In- 1 Est. Mr. Christ; and therefore shall the memory land, and among them Jestrael: not that which was the City of Naboth, of which al-Hieroz in In Zabulon of Galike there was also a City ready; but another of the same name, the ther of that Ammon whom Absalom flew : al-From Betbleem some four or five mile stan- so, as some think, the City of Amasa, Absadeth Thecua, the City of Amos the Prophet: loms Lievtenant, and the Commander of his Jol. and to this place adjoyning is the City of Army. But this feemeth to be an errour Bethewaria, in the way between Bethfira grounded upon the neerness of the words something 25. Amaja's father is called an Israelite, who, est Son of Abraham, the Ismaelites: and by in the first of the Chron. 2. 17. is called an Ketura, his last wife, the Midianites. And Imaelite: indeed the Hebrew Orthography again, by Lot, Abraham's brothers fon, thefe theweth that Amasa's father is not said to be two valiant Nations of the Moubites and on, though otherwise an Ismaelite.

CHAP. X.

and Mountains: as those of Engaddi upon them descended ) these issues and alliance the Dead Sea: and the Mountains of Juda, of Abraham, all but Jacob, whose children which begin to rife by Emans, and end neer were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontier Taphna, and these part Juda from Dan and places adjoyning. Simeon. Of others which stand single, there Esan and his sons held Idumea, which is that of Hebron, at the foot whereof was bounded Canaan on the South, Ifmael took that Oak of Mamre, where the three An- from the South-east part of the Dead Sea; gels appeared to Abraham; which Saint Hie- stretching his possession over all Arabia Perome calleth a Fir-tree, and faith, That it trea, and a part of Arabia the Defart, as far food till the time of Constantine the young- as the River of Tygris, from Sur to Havilah. er. There is also that Mountain called Col- Moab took the rest of the coast of the lis Achille, on the South of Ziph: on the top Dead Sea, leaving a part to Midian, and pafwhereof the great Herod, inclosing the old fing over Arnon, inhabited the Plains be-Caffle, crected by Jonathan Macchabeus, tween Jordan and the Hils of Abarim, or and called Malfada, garnished it with twenty seven high and strong Towers: and Ammon sate down on the North-east si therein left Armour and Furniture for an of Arnon, and possess the Tract from Rabba ble strength.

for their unnatural fins.

6. IV. THE TRIBE OF REUBEN. and his Borderers.

from Sehon King of Hesbon.

Mount Sinai 46000. who dying with the was prepared for the Ammonites. rest in the Desarts, there remained to pos- Now where it is written, that Arnon was thing of their borderers: to wit, Midian, beaten the Moabites out of the plain Coun-Moab, and Ammon, whose Land in our Writires, between Abarim and Jordan, and driters are confusedly described, and not easily ven them from Hesbon over Arnon; and this distinguished. And first we are to remember, hapned not long before Moses arrival upon that out of Abraham's kindred came mighty that border, when Vaheb governed the Moor Edom, the Idumaans: by Ismael the eld-name was Balac, the son of Zippor. And it

of the City Jefrael, but an Ifraelite in Religi- Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly peffelt by In this Tribe there were many high Hils the Canaanites 5 and by the Families of

Ammon fate down on the North-east fide

hundred thousand men; being, as it seem- afterward Philadelphia, both within the 305.13. eth a place unaccellable, and of incompara- Mountains of Gilhead, and without them as far forth as Aroer, though in Moles time he In the Valley afterward called the Dead had nothing left him in all that Valley: for Sea , or the Lake Afphaltitis , this Country the Amorites had thrust him over the River had four Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and of Jaboc, as they had done Moab over Arnon, Nam. 21. Gomorra, descroyed with fire from Heaven As these Nations compassed fundry parts of 14. Canaan, so the border between the River of Fabor and Damasews, was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territory on the East side of Fordan, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by Moses to the Tribes of Ren- Gen. 14. ben, Gad, and half Manaffe; whereof that part which Moab had, was first possest by the Emims, a Nation of Giants weakned and bro-The feats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and ken by Chedorlaomer, after repulfed by the Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wan Moabites, as before remembred. That which the Ammonites held, was the Territory and ancient possession of the Zamzummims, or Nthe other fide of the Dead Sea, Reu- Zutei, who were also beaten at the same I ben the eldest of Jacobs sons inhabited: time by Chedorlaomer, Amraphel, and the of whose children there were numbred at rest: and by them an easie way of conquest

fess the Land promised 43700, bearing arms. the border of Moub, the same is to be under-But before we speak of these, or the rest that stood according to the time when Moses inhabited the East side of Jordan, some- wrote. For then had Sehon or his Ancestor Families: as by Isaac and Jacob the Nation abites. For he that ruled Moab when Moses called Israel, and afterward Jews: by Esan, past Arnon, was not the son of Vaheb, but his

may be that those Kings were elective, as the Edumeans anciently were.

Now, all that part of Moab, between Arnon and fordan, as far North as Essebon, was inhabited by Reuben. And when Ifrael arrived there out of Egypt, it was in the possestion of schon of the race of Canaan by Amorens: and therefore did Jephtah the Judge Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readof Ifrael justly defend the regaining of those eth Jethlon. The Vulgar or Hierome follownites : because (as he alledged) Moses found them in the possession of the Amorites, and not in the hands of Meab, or Ammon: who Julg. 11. (faith Jephtah) had 300. years time to reco- Ilipt into jethson. ver them, and did not : whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And left any should marvel why the Ammonites in Jephtahs time should make claim to these Countries: whereas Moses in the place Num. 21.v.26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the Moabites, than of the Ammonites : it is to be noftors got from the Ammonites, as much of Se-

kons was from the Moabites. which in this place tab's time; for fometime the one Nation, repaired, but in vain. Others fay, that these of John is senetime the other of all those borderers Springs arise out of the Hills of Macharus, faid to have been acquired the Soveraignty: and again, that in this Tribe. The like fountains are found the Am- the Ammonites. And therefore taking advan- dan: of all that part of the world the strongmonitor by tage of the time, they then fought how to est In-land City and Castle, standing upon a the place, recover it again. Yet at such time as Moses Mountain every way unaccessible. It was Deat att overthrew Schon at Jahaz, the Ammonites first fortified by Alexander Jannaus, who provestnate against to the Amorites all that part of their made it a frontier against the Arabians; but as Schon possession which lay about Aroer, and be- it was demolished by Gabinius in the war from Arnon unto Jaboc, even unto the chilof Jabee was the South bound of Ammon within the Mountains, when as anciently they had also possessions over Jaboc, which via, the mother of Tiberius Casar. at length the Gadites possest, as in the thirteenth Chapter of Josua, verse twenty five, it appears.

| II.

Of the memorable places of the Renbenites.

"He chief Cities belonging to Reuben were these, Kedemoth, for which the Jin ... Countries against the claim of the Ammo- ed the Septuagint, those two Verses, 26. and 37. in Fol. 22. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the Septuagint read Kedfon for Kedmoth, which Kedson by writing

This City which they gave to the Levites, Destaye imparts her name to the Defart adjoyning : It was a from whence Moses sent his Embassage to marginal sehon. In the same place of Josua, where this Dean 3. Kedemoth is mentioned, the Vulgar for Betfer where the & villa ejus , reads Bosor in solitudine Mijor, Sept. ken the word without any ground from the Hebrew : Mifor, lig. whence Adrichomius makes a Town called nitying ted, that Deut. 3. 11. when it is said that the Misor, in the border between Reuben and which st. Iron bed of Og was to be feen at Rabbath, the Gad. Farther from Kedemoth, near the Dead in Curpt chief City of the Ammonites, it is also fignified, that much of the Land of og, which the tainous, hath few Cities ) they place two Jost 17.00. Ifraelites possessed, was by him or his Ance- Towns of note, Lafa or Lejhafb, of which Ge-c. 9.0 nesis 10. The Greeks call it Callirhoe: anesis 10. near which there is a Hill from whence there is Gen. And as the Canaanite Nations were leated floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter folants Joint to confusedly together, that it was hard to and sweet water; all which soon after their top 14 or nones that diffinguish them; so also were the sons of rifing, being joyned in one stream, do make the one that of the one that of the one that of the one that of the math. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough traction of sinews: to which Herod the el-fals. Hommon, why Ammon commanded in chief, in Jeph-der, when he was desperate of all other help, which in have been bequited in Coveringing, and a gain, that it is the first the following seen of the Land which Gad held, name in the Pyrenyes, and in Peru, called the Baths of the Ingal, or Kings. The other Town is was taken bad, and as far South as Areer, belonged to Macherus, the next between Lafa and fortween it and Jaboc : Sehon and Og, two with Ariftobulus, faith Josephus. It was thither pout 450 Kings of the Amorites, having displanted (saith Josephus) that Herod sent John Baptist, Josephus both Moab and Ammon of all within the Mountains. For it is written in Numb.21.24. ter being utterly overthrown by Aretas King hier in his. that Israel conquered the Land of Schon of Arabia, and himself after this murther never prospering. Not far from Macherus was dren of Ammon: fo as at this time the River Bofor, or Bozra, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and near it Livias upon Jordan, which Herod built in honour of Li-

> To the North of Livias is Setim, or Sit- Num. 25.16 tim: where the children of Israel imbraced the daughters of Midian, or Moab; and where Phineas

bi with his spear, bringing due vengeance Bel-fathim) which is reckoned by Mules in upon them when they were in the midft of that place of Numbers for the 42, and last their fin; and from hence Fosua sent the dif- place of the Israelites incamping in the time coverers to view fericho, ftaying here until of Moses: This place is also called stittim: Num.15.16. he went over Jordan. As for the Torrent sewhich word if we should interpret, we tim, which in this place Adrichomius dreams should rather bring it from Cedars than of reading foel 3. 18. irrigabit torrentem Se- from Thorns, with Adrichomius and others. tim: The Vulgar hath torrentem (pinarum: It was the wood of which the Ark of the Taand Junius, vallem Cedrorum: expounding bernacle was made. it not for any particular place in Canaan:but ced. grow as the cedars, Pfal. 92. 13.

a little before his death, is in the beginning be changed, because they taited of the Moa-

Jol. 13. , which even now we spake.

the felt, as in this place of Deuteronomy there is no chief place of whose worship seems to have

the Region of suphor suphah: which doubt- brought Balaam to curie the Ifraelites. less was about these plains of Moab towards the Dead Sea: where the Country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called: as also the Red Sea was called Mare Suph, for like Of divers places bordering Reuben, belonging

The place in these large plains of Moab where Moses made those divine exhortati-July 1.13. Ons, fome fay was Bethabara, where John of note over Arnon, which adjoyned to 1 Sam. 15. Josephan. led Beth-bara. Josephus sayes it was where af- the City of Phalti: to whom Saul gave his

Phineas pierced the body of Zimri and Cof- Num. 33.49. (that fome call Abel-fathaim.and

Toward the East of these plains of Moab, for the Church, in which the just being pla- they place the Cities Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibma. and Hesbon the chief City of Schon, and Fl-The plain Country hereabout, by Moses balel, and Kiriathaima the seat of the Gi-Nom 31 37 called, The plains of Moab, where he expoundants Emim. Of the two first of these Moses Gen. 14.5. ded the book of Denteronomy to the people feems to give a note that the names were to Num. 31. of the fame book precifely bounded by Mo- bites \*Idolatry. For Nebo (in fteed of which, 13, Nomen Gs. On the South it had the great Delart of Junius, Ela. 46.1. reads Deus vaticinus) was derum with Faran, where they had long wandred. On the name of their Idol-Oracle, and Baal-me-enorum ne the East it had chatseroth, and Dizahab (of on, is the habitation of Baal. Of the same Idol recordamini which two, the former is that Gazorus, of was the Hill Nebo in these parts denomina- in ore tuo. which Ptolomy in Paleftina: the later was a ted: from whose top, which the common Val 164.

Trast belonging to the Nabathæi in Arabia Translators call Phaseab, Moses before his pures sam The fame Petrala, where was \* Mezahab, of which, Gen. death faw all the land of Canaan beyond nomine eo. asit tems 36.39.) by the Geographers called Medava, Jordan. In which ftory Junius doth not take in moit aliewhich and Medaba. On the West it had Jordan, and Phasgab, or Pisgab for any proper name: but Host 2.17. Samilia on the North it had Laban (in Junius editi- for an appellative, fignifying a Hill: and so noming Ex-Meliba, on, by the fault of the Print, Lamban, Deut. also Vatablus in some places, as Num. 21.20. halimorum whence we red of the I.I. ) the same which the Geographers call where he noteth, that some call Pigah that above ejus redoithe I.I.) the same which the Geographers call where he hotel, that some can regard that specified Libias: and some confound it with Livias, of top which looketh to Jericho, and Hair as it they used looketh to Moab, which opinion may be for Note it Also on the same North side towards the somewhat strengthened by the name of a dothnot which also on the name North fide towards the nonewhat intergeneed by the name of a appearance which also confines of Culofria, it had Theophel: where-City of Reuben, mentioned Jos. 13.20. called Baul. meen the wars of about sometime Pella of Culospria stood: Ashdoth-Pissa, which is as much as decursus it seems Drida which was in the Region of Decapolis; and, Pige: to wit, where the waters did run down they named force. ginit Hacarthe as Stephanus faith, was sometime called Bustrom Pifea. In the same place of Josua there is time Bajith Accounties, this It is also noted in Moses to be over against also named Beth-Peor, as belonging to Reu- as Esa 15.2 1 Chose, 19 or near unto Suph, for which the Vulgar bensio called from the Hill Peors from whence time Bulk-Manage hath the Red Sea, as also Num. 2.14 it transla- also Baal the Idol was called Baal-Peor; meon, Esp 1/1. 16. 2. teth the word Suphab in like manner: whereaddition of any word in the Hebrew to fig- been Bamoth-Bahal, of which also Jos. 12. in nifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when the Cities of Reuben: for which, Num. 22.41. this word is fo to be taken, useth the additi- they read, the high places of Baal (for fo the on of Mara, thereby to distinguish it from word fignisieth) to which place Balaak first

II.

to Midian, Meab, or Edom.

"Here were besides these, divers places baptized, which in the story of Gideon is cal- Reuben: amongst which they place Gallim, with ter the City Abila stood, near Jordan, in a daughter Michol from David: but Junius place fet with Palm-trees: which fure was thinks this Town to be in Benjamin: gathe same as Abel-sittim in the plains of Moab, thering so much out of Esa. 10. 29. where it

With better reason perhaps out of Num. 21. impregnable, he was content by the perswa-19, we may fay that Mathana and Nahaliel from of Antipater, to take a composition of were in those confines of Keuben: through money, and to quit it. Yet Amalias King of which places the Ifraelites past after they Inda (after he had flaughtered ten thousand had left the Well, called Beer: Then Debla- of the Arabians in the valley called Salinawith the rest of the Cities of Moab.

Madian also is found in these parts, the chief City of the Madianites in Moab: but not that Midian, or Madian by the Red Sea. wherein Tethro inhabited. For of the Madianites there were two Nations of which these exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand Israelites, sent by Moses out of the Plains of Moab: at fuch time as Ifrael Elsy is 1. South border of Moab adjoyning to Edom, from the pursuit of the Allyrian and Persian 1 King 14 and sometime reckoned as the chief City of Princes, the King of sodom met him in the first and strongest City: the same perhaps Dale, could not be in these parts. which Pliny and Strabo call Nabathea, whence also the Province adjoyning took name: which name feems to have been taken at first from Nabajoth, the son of Abraham by Kethura. For Nabathea is no where understood for all Arabia Petræa (at least where it is not mif-understood) but it is that Province which neighboureth Judea. For Pharan in-E Chron. 5. habited by Ismael, whose people Ptolomy calthose Territories of the Culites, Madianites, Amalekites Ismaelites, Edomites, or Idumaans, the Lands of Moab, Ammon, Hus, Sin, and of Cg King of Basan, were parts of Arabia Petrea: though it be also true that some part of Arabia the Defart belonged to the Amalekites, and Ilmaelites; all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of Chronicles the fifth. calls Hagarens, of Hagar.

is named among the Cities of Benjamin. | Roman Army, and finding the place in thew thaim, which the Prophet Hieremy threatneth rum) wan also this City. S. Hierome findes Ruth the Moabite to be natural of this City. In the mean time, when the Christians held the Kingdom of Hierusalem, it had a Latine Bishop having before been under the Greek will Time **Church.** It is feated not far from Hor, where for, far, Aaron died, and on the other fide towards Num : of Moab became Idolaters, and received an the North is the River of Zared, or Zered, by Dear, 13 which Mofes encamped in the 38. station. Adrickomius describeth the waters of Memrim, or rather Nemrim, in his Map of Reuben. began to accompany their Daughters: their not far hence, and between Zared and Arfive Kings with Balaam the Soothfayer, were non: and so he doth the Valley of Save: but 1013.17 then flain, and their Regal City with the the waters of Nimra, or Beth-Nimra (for 1915). rest destroyed. The other Madianites over which it seems Adrichomius writ Nemrim whom Jethro was Prince or Prieft, forgat not refresh the plains of Moab; and the confluthe God of Abraham their Ancestor; but ence of those waters of Nimra are in the relieved and affifted the Ifraelites in their Tribe of Gad. Save also cannot be found in painful travels through the Defarts: and this place, that is, to the South of Arnon, and were in all that passage their guides. In the under Midian. For after Abraham returned Edom, there is that Petra, which in the Scrip- Valley of Save, or Saveb, which is the Kings tures is called Selab, which is as much as ru- Dale, where Absolom fet up his Monument, as \* 50 741 pes, or petra. It was also called Joetheel, as it feems, not far from Hierufaiem. And at the forther His appears by the place, 2 Kings 14. It was fame time Melchisedec King of Salem also en-brew, Ber built (faith Tofephus) by Recem, one of those countred him. But Abraham coming from relative to five Kings of the Madianites: flain as before the North, and Melchifedee inhabiting, either and fealing is faid : after whom it was called Recem. neer Bethlan, otherwise Scrthopolis in the half the edition Now, they say, it is called Crac, and Mozera. Tribe of Manasse, or in Hierusalem (both pla-con of re-tables) The Soldans of Egypt, for the exceeding cesslying to the West of Jordan) could not Death 3.17 strength thereof, kept therein all their trea- encounter each other in Arabia: and there-though fures of Egypt and Arabia: of which it is the fore Save, which was also called the Kings it hath

II. IV.

reason o

this name

he because

it iovas to

Of the Dead Sea.

TOw because the Sea of Sodom, or the of Moal, Dead Sea, called also the Lake of Asphal-called Har titis, and the Salt fea (in diffinction from the both Most leth Pharanites, in ftead of Ismaelites, and all Sea of Tiberias, which was fresh water) also Deut 341. the sea of the Wilderness, or rather the sea have costof the Plains, is often remembred in the losh in Har Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I bash, that think it not impertinent to speak somewhat plains, to thereof. For it is like unto the Caspian sea, wit, of zee which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The Mac.9:11 length of this Lake Josephus makes 180, fur-whence longs (which make 22 miles and a half of minimizing) ours) and about 150. in bredth, which make gines aci-This City Petra, Scaurus befieged with the 18. of our miles, and somewhat more. Pliny ty in zalve makes ariba

have of late years feen this fea, did account be the Ancestor or Predecessor of Balae, the and two and a half of theirs (which is ten Moles by arms, by the examples of schon, and of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, Ta- | 0g, he hoped by the help of Balaams curlings citus maketh this report: Lacus est in immenso or inchantments, to take from them all ambitu. Specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravi- strength and courage, and to cast on them tate odoris accolis peftifer : neque vento im- some pestilent diseases. And though Balaam pellitur, negue pifces aut fuitas aquis volucres at the first, moved by the spirit of God blest patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido Urael, contrary to the hope and defire of feruntur, periti, imperitique nandi perinde at- Moab: yet being desirous in some fort to tolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and ( as latisfie him, and to do him service he advised it were ) a fea of a corrupt tafte: of finell in- Moab to lend Madianitif women among the fections, and peftilent to the borderers: it is Israelites: hoping by them, as by lit instruneither moved nor raised by the winde, nor ments of mischief, to draw them to the Idolaindureth fifth to live in it, or fowl to fwim in it. try of the Heathen, but in the end, he receiv-Those things that are cast into it, and the un- cd the reward of his falling from God, and of born up by the water. At one time of the of the Princes of Midian. year cafteth it up kitumen: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder are not named; faving that we find in of other things) hath also taught. It is used the first of Chronicles the fourth, that chim, in the trimming of ships, and the like busi- and the men of Chozeba, and Touth, and

were sometime fruitfull, and adorned with great antient things: to wit, as some expound it, theruines remain, the ground looking with a are no where extant or remaining, or as ofad face, as having lost her fruitfulness; for thers, bac trins fuere, these Families of Juda whatfoever doth either grow, or is fet thereon, were once thus famous: but now their postebe it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripe- rity choose rather to abide in R.dylon, and be nels having nothing within them, but moulder Clay-workers to the King there. into albes: Thus far Tacitus. And it is found other Apples or Oranges, which do still ed Ifrael, and commanded them 18 years: grow on the banks of this curfed Lake, do which Eglon, Elud flew in his own house, and but had their hands also bound behind them. yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not fink.

Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrey within Arnon Reuben polielt.

F the Kings of Moab, whose Countrey

makes it a great deal less: but those that of Num. v. 14, nameth Laheb, which seems to it (faith a Weissenburg) eight Dutch miles son of Zippor: which Balac sent for Balaam Nam 21. (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: to curfe Ifrael. For fearing to contend with 1/1/24. skilfull of swiming, as well as the skilfull, are his evil counsell, and was flain among the relt

After these times the Kings of the Moulites Sureph, all being of the thue of fuci., fome-And then of the Land, he speaketh in this time had the Dominion in Moab: but as it is fort : The fields not far from this Lake, which written in the same Verse, These also are proved Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the particulars of these mens governments .

Then we find Eglon King of Morb, who Judges 3. by experience, that those Pomegranates, and with the help of Ammon and Amalec masterlook fair, and are of good colour on the out- afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name fide, but being cut, have nothing but dust the King of Moab had unto whom David within. Of the Bitumen which this Lake cast- fled fearing Saul, it doth not appear: or 1 Sam 22. eth up, it was by the Greeks called Asphaltitis. whether it were the same against whom Saul Vespasian desirous to be satisfied of these re- made war, it is not manifest, for neither are ports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and named. But in respect that this hisabite was caused certain Captives to be cast into an enemy to Sanl, he received David, and reit, who were not onely unskilfull in fwiming, lieved him; knowing that Saul fought his life.

After this, David himfelf entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same : Sam S. Kings time: for he flaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributary: whereupon it was faid of David, Mond 1 Chro. 2. is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my those: meaning, that he would reduce them to fuch an abjection, and appoint them for base services: and that he would

tread down the *Idumsans*. The next King after Davids time of the (within Arnon) Reuben posses (though Moabites, whose name liveth, was As ska, who not taken from Moab, but from Schon the falling from Juda, (perhaps in remembrance Amorite) few are known. Junius in the 21. of the feve, ity of David ) fastened himself

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hab, 10:00 A ambs, and 200000. Rams with within, and in the middle of the River of the wooll: who revolting again from Ifrael Arnon (and so distinguished from Harober, after the death of Ahab, was invaded by Je- which is faid in the same places to be on the kerent, with whom joyned the Kings of Juda bank of Arnon) is Har of the Moahites, the and Idumon and being by these three Kings same Junius proveth one of Numbers, ch. 21. prest and broken, he fied to Kir-hareselb, as v.15, where Arnon is said to be divided into is eliewhere shewed. There is also mention divers streams, where or among which Har made of the Moabites without the Kings is feated: And the same is confirmed by the name ; when that Nation, affifted by the place of Jos. 13. ver. 25. where Harober is Ammonites and Idumeans, invaded Jehosha- laid to be scated before Rabbab: which that: and by reason of some private quarrels Rabbah, as it seems, cannot be the Rabbah of among themselves, the Modbites and Am- the Ammonites ( for they seat not 11 arober monites fet upon the Idumeans, and flaugh-neer it, nor in fight of it) and therefore by tered them: and then one against another, Rabbab here, we must understand Rabbab of consolio as Jehofhaphat had a notorious victory of Atoab, which they make to be Ar, or Har, and ver them all, without either blood or wound. To we must needs distinguish it from Haroher, defects: for Alejba lived with jeneram, and index once expense the Grant-live jeopte war. this Atoabite in Zedekia's time, fourteen Kings called Emins, first weakned by Chedarlaomer is ago hundred and odd years.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

He Territory adjoyning to Reuben, is

Sints.

Aphee. The chief City of Gad was Aroer, which quakes. they make to be the same with Ar, or Rabnever possest by Aloses, it is plain Deutero- ucer Arnon in S tierom's time. noiny 2.9. where God forbidding Mofes to Keeping the banks of Arnon, one of the heritance to the fons of Lot. New that this rab, of which Elay prophelied, That the me sintle

: 13 to the High of Listland paid tribute to A- City, which in divers places is faid to be Also in the time of Hieremy the Prophet, And as for \*Har, (which also gave the name Date, there was a King of Mab which is not nato the coast adjoyning )it seems it continued on a med , which was after Mefts of Most many in the possession of the Most ites , after they the is defects: for Melha lived with Jehoram, and had once expelled the Giant-like people with of Juda coming between, who wasted three and his Associates: but Haroher by the enter-less change of times fuffered many ancient changes, as being won from the Mondites by Se-the Cite bon, and from him by the Ifraclites, and from of nutthem, as it feems in the ftory of Jephta by the the colinies Ammonites : and from the Ammonites again was and by the Israelites under the conduct of Jephta. edby s. S. Hieroms time the greatest part of this 14.

that of Gad: whereof all that part City perished by an earth-quake, as also Zoar, pign which joyned to the Mountains, was fome- in which Lot faved himself in the defruction manie time in the possession of the Ammonites, as of Sodom, seated not far hence; which, they gas far to the South as Areer. Of the children of fay was therefore called Vitula confernant, rate Gange. Gad, the feventh fon of Jacob by Zelpha, the because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was a man Sam, 13: hand-maid of Leathere parted out of Egypt, thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for the last same 13: hand-maid of Leathere parted out of Egypt, thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: and died in the Defarts, 45550, and of their which cause also Hieroms seems to think that micro fons there entred the Land promifed, this Zoar was called Saliffa, or Bal-Saliffa, as if upon 45000, bearng Arms: for the half Tribe of Baal had been a remainder of the old name wheath Manafic, the River of Jaboc divided them : Balah, or Belah, (of which Gen. 14.2, and Sa-min from Reuben, the Cities of Hesbon, Elbele, and lifta, which hath a fignification of the ternary states nipa, which nath a nguineation of the ternary a plan number, had alluded to the three earth country

Brochard takes Harober to be Petra, but min, and bath Mosh, the great or commanding Mosh. erroneoully, as before it is noted; feeing that with Policy and Polic But the learned Junius attending diligently Petra was in the South border of Moab ad-Riter to those words of Moses, Deut. 2.36. Ab Hajoyning to Edom. whereas Harober is in the wheeth rebero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & ci- North-East border. Between Harober and especial vitate insa qua oft in sluwine: Where the City Fordan they seat Dibon, which is attributed to be to the River is distinguished from the City upon the Gadites, because they are said to have a must be Gadites. the bank of the River, as also in like manner, built it, Num. 32.34 though Jof. 13.0.17, it is a positive bank of the River, as also in like manner, built it, Num. 32.34 though Jof. 13.0.17, it is a positive bank of the Reubenites. Of the Reubenites. rober, which doubtles belonged to the Ga- this City among the rest of Moab, both Efig dites (as Numb. 32.34. it is faid that they built and Hieremy prophefied, that it should perish, it) was indeed feated neer Har of the Mos- and the Lakes about it run with the blood bites, but divers from it. For that Har was of the Inhabitante. It was a great Village

touch it, faith he hath given Har for an in- next Cities of fame to Aroer, was Bethnim-

ters thereof frould be dried up: and all the vales cording to Josephus, sometime Bataramptha) ve to or Manalje it is not certain: only that it was lias had belonging unto it, according to Jowhich he spake before, ver. 34.35, 36. there- same as Bethfaida. year II. forc it may feem, that this \* Nobach was in Upon the Sea of Califee, near to Julias in he border with Nob, which saul destroyed, of this we hillopi. Of a noble woman of this City, which etite funden shall speak (a) in the Tribe of Benjamin. for safeguard in the time of War with the and as for that Karkor, where Zebah and Zal- Romans, came with many others into Hiemends munnah rested themselves in their slight from rusalem, and was there besieged. Josephus medocit Gideon, to which place Gideon marched in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hithrough this Nobach and Jogbeha, though story; how for hunger she eat her own together fome place it in Gad, and make it the fame child, with other tragicall accidents herefome place it in Gau, and many to a support of the star with Kir-charer, of which Efsy 15, and 2 keg, upon enfuing.

Of succosts (which we faid I of 13, is placed wrongad. 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it Index 3.10 chares, it is certain, that it was still a princi- dom of sehon) it is plain by the story of Gi-

the Tribe of Gad.

Corone. (b) Jof 1. be Betaramptha, of which (b) Josephus after turn from Mesopotamia built in that place: as Exodit. 39 atile. 3. by Herod called Julias. But whether this Be- also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the

Acquada of those Countries, we read, Alls 7. 43. and which they used after for forty years in Lev. 23.43. hubs, Me to which Junius refers the name of the City the Wilderness. In remembrance wherempoit Rephan, I Mac. 37.) of this question it were of the Feast of Succoth, or Tabernacles, was hard to resolve. But touching Julias (ac- instituted.

of Moab withered. Not far from Bethnimrah the same Josephus placeth in the Region of in this Tribe, Advictionius placeth Jogbeha Peraa, beyond Jordan, which Regio Feraa, and Nobach or Nobe: of both which we read as the Greek word fignifieth, is no more than in the ftery of Gideon: and that Jogbeha was Regio ulterior, the Country beyond the River; in Gad built by the Gadites, it appears, Num- and therefore they which labour to fet hers 32, 35, and therefore Nobach also must down the bounds of this Perea, take more needs be in these parts; but whether in Gad pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this Juanciently called Kenath, Moses witnesseth. Sephus. He makes it to have been built by Nobach alfo (faith he) ment and took Kenath Herod Antipas, and named Julias, in honour with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his of the adoption of Livia Augustus his wife, own name, where because the Verses prece- into the Julian Family: by which adoption Tol and 18: dent speak of the Manufiter, and because it | the was called Julia. Another Julias, he faith 3. e Bel. is not likely that Moses would have severed was built by Philip the brother of Herod, in Juig. 2.8. this feat of the Gadites from the rest, of the lower Gaulanitis, which, he saith, is the

that part of Manafe which was in the East of Perwa, (that is, in the Region over Jordan) 30feb de Jordan, though Adrickomius place it in Gad. they find Vetezobra, as it is called in Josephus, Bell. Judge dim For whereas he supposeth it to be the same for Beth-ezob, which is as much as domus 1.7.6.8.

was in Gad: and if it be the same with Kir- with Ben-haran, in the Valley of the King- Judg 8.5; pal City held by the Moabites, and not in deon that it is near unto Fordan: where it is faid, that as he was past fordan with his In the body of this Tribe of Gad they three hundred, weary in the pursuit of Zebah place Hataroth: of which name the Scripture and Zalmunnah, he requested relief of the witnesseth that two Cities were builded by men of succeth: who denying him, and that the Gadites; the former simply called Ha- with contempt, in Gideons return were by taroth, the later Hatroth-Sophan: for which him tortured, as it feems under a threshing- 2. Sam. 12. later the vulgar makes two Cities, Roth and Car or Tribulum, between which and their 31. Shophan: the name Hataroth, is as much as flesh he put Thorns to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod under the Tribulum In the Valley of the Kingdom of Sehon, and after which fort also David used some together with Bethnimra of which we have of the Ammonites, though not with Thorns, spoken, Jos. 13.27. nameth Beth-haram and but with Iron teeth of the Tribulum. As Succoth: the former, Numb. 32.36. (where for the name of Succoth, which fignifieth fuch it is called Beth-haram) together with Beth- Tabernacles as were made in hafte, either nimra, is faid to have been built by the Ga- for Men or Cattel, Moses, Gen. 33.17. witdites, which (perhaps the rather, because in nesieth that the original of the name was Josua it is called Beth-haram ) some take to from such harbours, which Jacob in his realio the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of Ifrael, as they came from Rather or from Eeth-Aramatha (of which Aramafrield or from Eeth-Aramatha (of which Aramafrield or from Eeth-Aramatha (of which Aramafrield or from Eeth-Aramatha (of which Aramafrield or from Eeth-Aramatha (of which Remphan, an Idol
Markey Beth-Remphan (of which Remphan, an Idol
Markey Or from Fried Comments where the free type their first Tabernacles or Tents:

Other

the wooll: who revolving again from Ifrael, Arnon (and so distinguished from Harober. after the death of Abab, was invaded by Je-which is faid in the same places to be on the kerson, with whom joyned the Kings of Juda bank of Arnon) is Har of the Moabites, the and Jehimon and being by these three Kings same Junius proveth out of Numbers, ch. 21. prest and broken, he fied to Kir-bareselb, as v.15, where Arnon is said to be divided into is elicwhere shewed. There is also mention divers streams, where or among which that made of the Moabites without the Kings is feated: And the same is confirmed by the name; when that Nation, affifted by the place of Jos. 13. ver. 25. where Harsher is Animonites and Idumaans, invaded Jehosha- faid to be scated before Rabbab : which tered them: and then one against another, Rabbab here, we must understand Rabbab of Louis io so a Jehospaphat had a notorious victory of Moab, which they make to be Ar, or Har: and

the bordering places of Ammon.

hundred and odd years.

He Territory adjoyning to Reuben, is Aphee.

Starts.

The chief City of Gad was Aroer, which quakes. they make to be the same with Ar, or Rabnever possest by Moses, it is plain Dentero- ucer Arnon in S. Hierom's time. nomy 2.9. where God forbidding Mofes to Keeping the banks of Arnon, one of the touch it, faith he hath given Har for an in- next Cities of fame to Areer, was Bethnim-

130553 to the Kings of Lizal and paid tribute to A- City, which in divers places is faid to be hab, to 200 . Lambs, and accook. Rams with within, and in the middle of the River of that: and by reason of some private quarrels Rabbab, as it seems, cannot be the Rabbab of among themselves, the Moabites and Am- the Ammonites ( for they seat not Harober monites fet upon the Idumeans, and flaugh-neer it, nor in fight of it ) and therefore by ver them all, without either blood or wound. fo we must needs distinguish it from Haroher, Also in the time of Hieremy the Prophet, And as for \*Har, (which also gave the name ones, there was a King of Mosh which is not na- to the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued Out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoyning lit seems it continued out of the coast adjoint little seems it coast adjoint little seems it coast adjoint little seems it coast adjoint little seems it coast adjoint little seems it coast adjoint little seems it coast adjoint little seems it coast adjoint litt med, which was after Messa of Meas many in the possession of the Measites, after they the it descents: for Messa lived with Jehoram, and had once expelled the Giant-like people week detectes: for melon twed with jenoram, and that once experied the older has people with this Mondite in Zedeki is time, fourteen Kings called Emins, first weakned by Chedorlaomer Lines. of Inda coming between, who walted three and his Associates:but Harober by the enter-less change of times suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the Monbites by Se-the City bon, and from him by the Ifraelites, and from of Hotel them, as it feems in the frory of Jephta by the Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and Ammonites : and from the Ammonites again was tall by the Israelites under the conduct of Jephta. ed by Se

S. Hieroms time the greatest part of this 14. that of Gad: whereof all that part City perished by an earth-quake, as also Zour, pages. which joyned to the Mountains, was some- in which Lot faved himself in the destruction 35time in the possession of the Ammonites, as of Sodom, seated not far hence; which, they was far to the South as Areer. Of the children of fay was therefore called Vitula confernant, Gad, the seventh son of Jacob by Zelpha, the because as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was to take Seast 13: hand-maid of Leathere parted out of Egypt, thrice overthrown with earth-quakes: for fee fair and died in the Defarts, 45550, and of their which cause also Hierome seems to think that mines fons there entred the Land promifed, this Zoar was called Saliffa, or Bal-Saliffa, as if upon 45000 bearing Arms: for the half Tribe of East had been a remainder of the old name wheth Manaffe, the River of Jaboc divided them : Balah, or Belah, (of which Gen. 14.2. and Sa-mikes from Reuben, the Cities of Hesbon, Elbele, and life, which hath a fignification of the ternary states number, had alluded to the three earth-country

Brochard takes Harober to be Petra, but the first bath Mosh, the great or commanding Mosh, erroneoully, as before it is noted; feeing that with the bath of the state of the But the learned Junius attending diligently Petra was in the South border of Month ad hiller to those words of Moses, Deut. 2.36. Ab Hasophera and the single flowers are of the second and the second are of the second and the second are of the seco rohero, que est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & ci- North-East border. Between Harober and enough vonero, que est in ripa summin Arnon, & ci- North-East border. Between Harocer and events witate insa que est in summe: Where the City Fordan they seat Dibon, which is attributed to be to be to be in the River is distinguished from the City upon the Gaditer, because they are said to have some the bank of the River, as also in like manner, built it, Num. 32.34 though Jof. 13.2.17. it is a position (Joseph 2. 2.2. and c.11.9.) thinketh that Ha- laid that Mose gave it to the Reubeniter. Of the land that Mose gave it to the Reubeniter. rober, which doubtless belonged to the Ga- this City among the rest of Moab, both Esq dites (as Numb.32.34 it is faid that they built and Hieremy prophefied, that it should perill, it) was indeed feated neer Har of the Mos- and the Lakes about it run with the blood bites, but divers from it. For that Har was of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village

heritance to the fons of Lot. New that this rab, of which Efas prophefied, That the war shall

in this Tribe, Advictomins placeth Jogbeha Peran, beyond Jordan, which Regio Feran, and Nobach, or Nobe: of both which we read as the Greek word fignifieth, is no more than in the ftery of Gideon: and that Jogbeha was Regio ulterior, the Country beyond the River ; in Gad built by the Gadites, it appears, Num- and therefore they which labour to let bers 32. 35. and therefore Nobach also must down the bounds of this Perea, take more needs be in these parts; but whether in Gad pains than needs. Fourteen Villages this Tuanciently called Kenath, Moses witnesseth. Sephus. He makes it to have been built by Nobach also (faith he) ment and took Kenath Hered Antipas, and named Julias, in honour with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his of the adoption of Livia Augustus his wife, dent speak of the Manassistes, and because it she was called Sulia. Another Julius, he faith 3.00 the is not likely that Moses would have severed was built by Philip the brother of Hered, in Jung. 1.8. this feat of the Gadites from the rest, of the lower Gaulanitis, which, he saith, is the which he spake before, ver. 34.35, 36. there- same as Bethfaida. fore it may feem, that this \* Nobach was in Upon the Sea of Califee, near to Julias in the lorder with Nob, which Saul destroyed, of this we bissor. Of a noble woman of this City, which The state of the s merals munnah rested themselves in their slight from rusalem, and was there besieged. Josephus the election Gideon, to which place Gideon marched in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hithrough this Nobach and Jogbeha, though story; how for hunger she eat her own ngener fome place it in Gad, and make it the fame child, with other tragicall accidents here-Wethat is with Kir-chares of which Elay 15, and 2 Reg. upon enfuing. (3)(hip.12 3. 25. yet there can be no certainty that it it is certain, that it was still a princi- dom of sehon) it is plain by the story of Gipal City held by the Modbites, and not in deon that it is near unto Jordan: where it is the Tribe of Gad.

place Hataroth: of which name the Scripture and Zalmunnah, he requested relief of the witnesseth that two Cities were builded by men of Succoth: who denying him, and that the Gadites; the former simply called Ha- with contempt, in Gideons return were by Shophan: the name Hataroth, is as much as flesh he put Thorns to teare their flesh as Corone.

together with Bethnimra of which we have of the Ammonites, though not with Thorns, spoken, 70f. 13.27. nameth Beth-haram and but with Iron teeth of the Tribulum. As Succoth: the former, Numb. 32.36. (where for the name of Succoth, which fignifieth fuch it is called Beth-haram) together with Beth- Tabernacles as were made in hafte, either nimra, is faid to have been built by the Ga- for Men or Cattel, Moles, Gen. 33.17. witdites, which (perhaps the rather, because in nesieth that the original of the name was enlaces by Herod called Julias. But whether this Be- also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the

taramptha were corrupted from Beth-haram, children of Ifrael, as they came from Ra-(c)L.7.001 or from Beth-Aramatha (of which Arama-messes in Egypt, had their first Station, was up-Greates that there is mention in (c) Josephus) or from on like realist called Succoth: because there stales Beth-Remphan (of which Remphan, an Idol they set by the Court of the Success or Tents: bullet, Me to which Junius refers the name of the City the Wilderness. In remembrance wheremenia Rephan, 1 Mac. 37.) of this question it were of the Feast of Succoth, or Tabernacles, was hard to resolve. But touching Julias (aclinstituted.

an in the reaf frould be dried up: and all the vale cording to Josephus, sometime Bataramptha) of Moah withered. Not far from Bethnimrah the fame Josephus placeth in the Region of or Manafe it is not certain: only that it was had belonging unto it, according to loown name, where because the Verses prece- into the Julian Family: by which adoption 706 ant. 18:

this that part of Manaffe which was in the East of Perwa, (that is, in the Region over Jordan) noted de Jordan, though Adrichomius place it in Gad. they find Vetezobra, as it is called in Josephus, patt Judge and For whereas he supposeth it to be the same for Beth-ezob, which is as much as domus 1.7.c. 8.

Of succost (which we faid Fof. 13. is placed was in Gad; and if it be the same with Kir- with Ben-baran, in the Valley of the King- Judg 8.51 faid, that as he was past Jordan with his In the body of this Tribe of Gad they three hundred, weary in the pursuit of Zebah taroth, the later Hatroth-Sophan: for which him tortured, as it feems under a threshing- 2 Sam 14. later the vulgar makes two Cities, Roth and Car or Tribulum, between which and their 31 they were prest and trod under the Tribulum In the Valley of the Kingdom of Sehon, and after which fort also David used some Josua it is called Beth-haram ) some take to from such harbours, which Jacob in his re-(b) Jost be Betaramptha, of which (b) Josephus after turn from Mesopotamia built in that place: as Exad-12.37 Acquasa of those Countries, we read, Alls 7.43. and which they used after for forty years in Lev. 23.43.

Other

21.52 Banothin Gilead, Machanaim, Chef-during the war between David and the hon, and lakzer, all of them by the Gadites house of Saul. given to the Levites, of which Jahzer, as Of the fourth Town, which was Ramoth in Daughter.

better reconciliation is, That it being a bor- nites.

Other four Cities of Gad are named, Jofua thereof, Abner choice for the feat of Iffbofleth,

Cheshon or Heshon was a chief City of Schon, Gilead, we read often in the Scripture, for whence Num. 22.1. his Country is called the the recovering of which, King Achab loft his Land of Jakzer. It was taken by Mofes, ha- life. Junius thinks that Ramatha Mitfpa, of ving first sent spiesto view it. In the first of which Jos. 13. 26. was this Kamoth in Cilead. the Chronicles it is made part of Gilead. In Concerning the place where Laban and lalatter times (as it may be gathered by the cob sware one to the other, as it was called Prophecy of Elay touching Moab ) it was Gilead, which is as much as a witnefling heap, posjessed by the Monkites : to which place of because of the heap of stones which Laban Flay, also Hieremy in a like prophecy alludes, and his fons left for a monument; so also 48 it was at length regained (but as it feems that it was called Mitspah, which fignifieth from the Ammonites) by Judas Macchabens: over-looking (because there they called ne it is 1 Mic. 5. 8. where Junius out of Jo- God to over-fee, and be witness to their Co-Seplar, reads, Juhzer, though the Greek hath venant) it is plain by the place, Gen. 31. 49. Gazer, For Gazer, or Gezer (as he gathereth That in these parts there was not onely a out of 16(16, 3, and 8, and Jud. 1, 29.) was Town, but likewife a Region called Mitfpa, far from these Countries of Selon, seated in it appears lost 11. 3. where we read of the the West border of Fphraim, not possessed Chrvites under Hermon, in the Country of by the Intelites, until solomons time, for Mitspa, \* the Town of Mitspa, as it feems of other whom the King of Egypt wan it from the Ca-both by this place, and in the eighth verse thinner. maurite, and gave it him as a Dowry with his following, being not in the Hill Country, but feein the Country but feein the Country but feein the Country but feeing that Jephia the Tibeoi Of Cheshon it may be marvelled that in Judge of Ifrael, who after he came home Benjamin. the place of logis, and 1 Chron. 6.81. it should from Tob ( whither his brethren had driven be faid to have been given to the Levites by him) dwelt in the Town of Milfra, who the Gadites, seeing Jos. 13. 17. it is reckoned doubtless was of the Tribe of Manage, and for a principal City of the Reubenites : Adri- thence at first expelled by his brethren, it full. 11.16 chomins, and such as little trouble themselves may feem that they do not well, which place with fuch feruples, finding Cashen, I Mac.5. this Town of Mitfpa rather in Gad than in 36. among the Cities of Gilead, taken by Manasse. By Judas Macchabaus this Town of Judas Macchabaus, makes two Cities of one: Mitspa (whether in Gad or in Manasse) was as if this Cashon had been the Cheshon of Gad, utterly spoiled and burnt, and the Males of [Mas 35] and that of Renben diffinct from it : but the it flain: for it was then possest of the Ammo-

dering City, between Gad and Rcuben, was Between Succoth (of which we have spocommon to both, and that the Gadites gave ken) and the River Jaboc, was that Peniel, or Guarast their part to the Levites, for to also it feems Penuel, which name fignifieth Locum faciei that in like reason Dihon is said in one place Dei; A place where the face of God was seen: built by the Gadites, and in another given to so called for memory of the Angels appear-Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanaiim, ing to Jacob, and wrestling with him there: which word fignifieth a double Army, we the churliffness of which City, in refusing to Jad & v. read Gen. 22. 2. that it was therefore so cal- relieve Gideon, was the cause that in his reled, because the Angels of God in that place turn he overthrew their Tower, and slew the met Jacob in manner of another Hoalt or chief Aldermen thereof. To these places of company, to joyn with his for his defence: the Gadites, they add Rogelim, the City of as also Luke 2. 13. we read of a multitude of that great and faithful subject Barzillai, as it 15 cm. 19. the Hoast of Heaven, which appeared to the seems, not far from Nahanaima, where he su-Shepherds, at the time of our Saviours birth: Stained King David, during Absaloms rebelliand so unto the godly King Ofwald of Nor- on. To these they add the Town of Gaddi, per 314

thumberland, when he was foon after to joyn Arnon, and Alimis, of which Gaddi, being in folias. battel with the Pagan Penda of middle-Eng- Hebrew no more than Gaddita, is ignorantly land, Beda reports, that the like comfort ap- made the name of a place. Arnon also no peared: whence the field where the Battel where appears to be the name of a Town, was fought in the North parts of England, is but ftill of a River. Alimis Adrichomius called Heaven field In this City of Machanai frames of in Assaul, I Mac. 5.26. fo that the im, David abode during the rebellion of name should rather be Alema, but Junius out Abfalom : and the same, for the strength of Josephus reads Malla, for this in Alimis:

thewed touching the Millo of the Seche- undertaking mento wit. Og and Sekon, both mites) he takes this Malle to be Mitspa Moa- Amorites, they recovered again much of is their lost pessessions, and thrust the forse of Marth which Adrichomius finds in this Tribe Lot over the Mountains, and into the Dearts. And as the Kings or Captains of Persta notes to be as far as the furthest of Manafander of the bounds of this Tribe. So also made way for Ammon, Moab, and Edom; for Dathema, of which I Mac. 5. 10. (which Ju- by that great conqueit which Mofes had onius takes to be (b) Rithma, of which Num. ver those two Amorites, Og and Schon, did and 23.18. a place of firength in the Territory the Moabites and Ammonites take opportuof the Ammonites) and in like manner Min- nity to look back again into those Plains; nith, and Abel vincarum, though by fome and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Mathey be attributed to the Gadites, or to their naffites, for fook the worthip of the living borders, yet they are found farther off. For God, and became floathful and licentious; of the two last we read in Jephta's pursuit of they taking the advantage, invaded them, the Ammonites: feated, as it feems by that and cast them out of their possessions: and place of the Book of Judges, the former of were fometime their Masters, sometime their and the south border, and the other of Tributaries, as they pleased or ditpleased them in the East border, both far removed God: and according to the wildom and from the Gadites. But the chief City of the vertue of their Commanders. Ammonites was nearer, and not far from the In this City of Rabba, was the Iron bed this borders of Gad. It is called in the Scriptures of og found, nine cubits of length, and four Dent, 3. relars be formetimes Rabbath, as Deut. 3. 11. but more of breadth. The City was taken in Davids often Rabba. It is supposed to be that \* Phila- time, and the Inhabitants slain with great semight feem delphia which Ptolomy finds in Calofyria. Hie- verity, and by divers torments. At the first note the rome and Califus, in Arabia. It was conquer- allault thereof Urias was shot to death, hameans ed by Gg from the Ammonites: but, as it feems, ving been by direction from David appointnever polleft by the Ifraelites, after the over- ed to be impleyed in the leading or an afthrow of og, but left to the Ammonites: fault, where he could not escape: wherein whereupon at length it became the Regal also many of the best of the Army perished: that which feat of the Ammonites, but of old it was the and wherein D. wid to displeased God, as his missign possession of the Zamzummims: which is as affairs had ill success afterward, even to his and wickedness infamous. The same were weighty and rich Crown of Gold, which tapper was also called Raphaim, of whom was 0g, which the Kings of Ammon wore: or which, as allo called recovered much of that which the Ammo- some expound it, was used to be put on the head of their Idol, weighing a talent, which 2 Sam. 122 ving been first beaten by the Afgrians, and is 60. pound weight, after the common tathe Horims in Seir had been) were after- Metropolitan Bishop, and under him twelve Bel-Ser 13. buinting ward the eafier conquered by the Ammo- others. nites, as the Emims were by Moab, and the The mountains which are described with-Horims by the Idumeans. Yet did the races in this Tribe, and that of Manasse, with a part thes of Emoreus, of whom these Giants were de- of Reuben, are those that Ptolomy calleth the the opini feended, contend with the Conquerors for hills of Hippus, a City of Celosyria: and Stra-strable. miniform their ancient inheritance; and as Sehon of bo, \* Trackones: the fame which continue \* Meshon had dispossest Moab, to had Og of Ba- from near Damaseus, unto the Desarts of Mo- is been 278 Haum, fin the Ammonites, and between them re- ab: and receive diversnames, as commonly fall-breful real with covered the best part of all the Valley, be- Mountains do, which neighbour and bound whenceit Chess, cept tween the Mountains and Jordan. For this divers Countries: for from the South part, as appears,

and understanding Malle to be put for Mil-, ancient inheritance : but having these two lo and to be as much as Munitio (as we have Kings of one kinred, and both valuar and

much to fay, as men for all manner of craft dying day. From hence had David the their affiftants (as the Emims in Moab, and lent. In the time of Christians it had a will Tre.

og was also master of Rabba, or Philadelphia: far Northwards as Astaroth, the chief City chonites re-Mili can And in the possession of the one or of the of Og, they are called Galaad, or Gilead; from gio, in these not be taken of the few Moses and Israel, found there Northward they are known by the parts was known Robbin all those Cities and Countries which were name of Hermon, for so Moses calleth them: the hillfell, but of given to Reuben, Gad, and the half Tribe of The Sidonians name them Shirion, but the country formeother Manaffe. So that though it were 450, years Amorites, Shenir, others, Seir: of which name Dent. 3. 9. joyning, fince that these Zamzummims, or Raphaims, all those hills also were called, which part were expelled, yet they did not forget their Judea and Idumea: and lastly, they are called

Biscons Libanus, for to the Prophet Hieremy makes ing the aids received from the Aramites. Subthem all one, calling the high Mountains of ject to Adadezer, and from the Reguli of Re-Galaad the head of Libanus.

non, falleth into fordan.

Gadites wan from Og, the King of Basan.

with the Moubites, held that part of Arabia the Ammonites continued two years. Petraa called Nabathea, as well within as this time when the Gadites wan it, it was in of Zedekia: after whose taking by Nabuchodothe policilion of Schon and Og, Amorites: and nofor, Baalis fent Ismael, of the blood of the therefore Moses did not expel the Ammo- Kings of Juda, to slay Gedaliah, who served nites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the Nabuchodonosor. iffues of Lot over the Mountains Trachones, or Gilead, as before. After the death of Othoniel the first ludge of Ifracl, the Ammonites joyned with the Moabites against the Hebrem, and so continued long. Jepha Judge He rest of the Land of Gilcad, and of testing of Israel had a great conquest over one of the Kingdom of Og in Basan, with the slightness of the Kingdom of Og in Basan, with the with them again.

ger. This wands, as it may reem, became the many of their man kingdoms take he was confederate of David, having friended him much more ground than the country of Kent. Refields in Saul's time, though Josephus thinks that this Bafan, or, after the Septuagint, Bafanitis. of theif that name.

he had with his father, he most contemptuoufly and proudly cut off the Ambafiadours garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterward, notwithstand-

hob, and Maacab, and from Iftob, yet all those West, the These Mountains are very fruitful, and Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were "the am full of good paftures, and have many Trees overturned: their chief City of Rabba, after Their which yelld Balfamum, and many other me- Philadelphia, was taken; the Crown which find le dicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe weighed a talent of gold, was fet on David's det. dres are the waters of Nimrah, and Dibon, and the head; all fuch as were prisoners, David exc-bills. E. River Tabor: others do also fancy another cuted with strange severity; for with saws there is River, which rifing out of the Rocks of Ar- and harrows he tare them in pieces, and cast twen H. the rest into lime-kills. Josaphat governing don, inthe Juda, they affifted the Moabites their neigh- North bours against him, and perished together bounder Olias made them Tributaries, and they were Num. IR. 12 Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the again by Jotham inforc't to continue that tri- of which udites man from Og, the King of Eafan.

bute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred ta testing of the King of Eafan.

His Tribe of Gad possess that the Counletts of filver, ten thousand measures of Affin. try of the Ammonites, who together wheat, and ten thousand of barley: which Hin. 40.

The fifth King of the Ammonites, of whole : chro 36. without the Mountains of Gilead: though at name we read, was Baalis the confederate

# §. VII. of the other half of Manasse.

the Kings of Ammon, but his name is omitted. land of Hus and Argob or Trachonitis (where wholeh In the time of Samuel they were at peace in also were part of the small Territories of miles were \* Batania, Gaulonitis, Geffuri, Machati, and edwith Afterward we find that cruel King of the Auranitis ) was given to the half Tribe of some of Ammonites, called Nahas, who befieging Ja- Manasse over Jordan; of which those three that The bes Gilead, gave them no other conditions later Provinces defended themselves against birithe 1 5200, 11. but the pulling out of their right eyes. The them for many ages. But Batania Ptolony country of reason why he tendred so hard a compositi- setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as is 1 Kings on, was (besides this desire to bring shame up- a skirt of Arabia the Desart : and all those 16.1. and on Ifrael) because those Gileadites using to other Provinces before named with Petrea, 7th.1. carry a Target on their left arms, which and Iturea, he nameth but as part of Calofy- 1clay on could not but shadow their left eyes, should ria; as far South as Rabba, or Philadelphia: the Edit of by lofing their right, be utterly difabled to likewise all the rest which belonged to Gad. of Nephco defend themselves: but Saul came to their and Reuben, saving the Land near the Dead the right refeue, and delivered them from that dan. Sea, he makes a part of Arabia Petraa: for sainth ger. This Nahas, as it may feem, became the many of these small Kingdoms take not a and wat

Nahas was flain in the battel, when Saul rai- ftretcheth it felf from the River of Jaboc to radiatin fed the fiege of Jaber, who affirmeth that the (a) Machati and Cessiviri: and from the said the rest three were three kines of the Action. there were three Kings of the Moubites of Mountains to Jordan, a Region exceeding his video fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in ore the Hanun succeeded Nahas: to whom when all forts of Cattel. It had also the goodliest and if see David sent to congratulate his establishment, woods of all that part of the world: espe-titus in and to confirm the former friendship which cially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the as it is great the confirm the former friendship which cially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the as it is great to confirm the former friendship which cially of oaks, which bare mast (of which the

of 1 Chr. 5, 10. whence it appears, that it was part of tunes, of which cr. fell. 4 | 5.8.6. (a) So they call them of Mehacuth, of with Makare formewhat hath been spoken toward the end of the fifth Paragraphs this Chapter for the state of this Chapter, fee the 1 Mac. 5. 36. and Dent. 3. 14. and jof. 11.5.

Prophet

Prophet Zacharias; Howle, O ye oaks of Ba-

times (e) Butis, otherwise Berenice; by Selen- chief City of Selon, in the Tribe of Renben; cus King of Syria, it is said to have been cal- he imagineth two more: This Casphor in ested jed Pella, after the name of that Pella in Ma- Manasses, and a City in Gad which he calleth See codon: in which both Philip the Father, and Cashon, of which we have admonished the over in his Sou, Alexander the great, were born. It Reader heretoforc. Of Gamala ( fo called, was taken, and in part demolished by Alex- because the Hill on which it stood, was in was in fashion like the back of a Cammel) which refused to obey the Jors laws: but it was repaired by Pompey, and annexed to the Government of Syria. It is now but a Village. e of the on fire the (e) Temple of their Idols: toge- the place by nature to be almost invincible: of Carnion, of which 2 Macc. 12. 22. Then fishe 5, the strong City of (f) Ephron neer Jordan: ther very memorable accidents: and how which refusing to yeeld passage to (g) Judas at length, after the coming of Titus when it Macchabeus, was forced by him by affault. and taken and burnt with great flaughter.

ber of five thousand, thus perished: besides Jabes Gilead, or Jabesus, was another of the Cities of this half Tribe, which being besiegfour thousand slain by the Romans: so that none escaped, save only two women that ed by Nahas (h) King of the Ammonites, was delivered by Saul, as is (i) elsewhere menti- hid them elves. oned. In memory whereof these Citizens 1. Sam 31 (k) recovered, embalmed and buried the as much East from Tiberias (which is on the bodies of Saul and his fons: which hung de- other fide of the Lake) Josephus placeth Hipbe named, feated by Pliny on a Hill neer the which it standeth: so that it may feem to River Hieromiace, which River Ortelius have been of no small note. It is seated far feems to think to be Jaboc. At the foot of from the hill Country: on the East of the the Hill there spring forth also hot baths , as Lake, as also Pliny noteth, lib. 5. cap. 15. It at Macharus. Alexander Jannaus after ten was restored by Pompey: after by Augustus monethsfiege, wan it, and subverted it. Pom- added to Herod's Tetrarchy: it was wasted

Emath, or Amathus the third, Hierico and Se- borderers. phora in Galilee, the fourth and fifth. The Ci-1 16/15. terrible (n) revenge of Herod, they flew had the name of Adar, or Adara. Not far

themselves: some by strangling, others by from these Towns neer Jordan, in this Valleaping over high Towers, others by drow- ley, flood Geraffa, or Gergeffa, inhabited by

ning themselves.

To the East of Gadara they place Schei fair) and by reason hereof they bred so ma- (o)in which, Jos. ant. 5.13. saith, Jephika was of wife buried: whence others reading with the rain offe indictions into the Sea, by the unclean Vulgar, Jud. 12. 7. Sepultus of in Civitate fina had, the closed for the Civitate fina had, the closed for the Civitate fina had, the closed for the country of t initis which Christ had cast out of one of the Gilehad, (for in una Civitatum Gilehad) ima- u; tee in Gudarens. It had in it 6c. Cities walled and gine Gilchad to be the name of a City, and the libe defenced: all which, after og and his fons to be the fame with sebei. In like manner of Gal. were flain, Jair, descended of Manasse, con- following the Vulgar, 1 Macc. 5. 26. where outred, and called the Country after his it readeth Calphor for Chesbon; the same Aown name, Avoth Jair, or the Cities of Jair. drichomius imagineth it to be ampla & firma The principal Cities of this half Tribe (for Gilebaditarum Civitas: fo of one City Hes-I will omit the rest) are these, Pella, some- bon, or Chesbon, which they call Essebon, the Josephus placeth not far from Gadara, in the lower Caulanitis over against Tarichea , which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake faith Niger. Carnaim, by the River of Jabac, of Tiberias, fee this Josephus in the fourth c pice 3: do was taken by (d) ]ndas Macchabaus: where he feel book of the Jewish war: where he describes ther with all those that fled thereunto for and in the story of the siege, shewes how Sanctuary; and neer it they place the Castle Vespasian with much danger of his own perfon, entring it, was at first repulsed, with owas taken, many leaping downthe rocks

About four miles West from Gadara, and pightfully over the walls of Bethsan, or Sep-pus, or Hippene, whence Ptolomy gives the having thopolis. (1) Gaddara, or Gadara, is next to names to the Hils that compass the Plains in " Mil 14 Pey restored it: and Gabinius (m) made it by the Jews, in the beginning of their re- 701.6.1. one of the five Courts of Justice in Palestine. bellion: when by many massacres of their full. 1.16. Hierusalem being the first, Gadara the second, Nation , they were inraged against their 19.

with their wives and children, to the num-

The next City of note, but of more anci- Of anotizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of entfame, is Edrebi, or Edrai, wherein Og the Edrai Herod, surnamed Ascalonita, accused him to King of Basan chiesly abode, when Moses and the 301.19 Julius Cafar of many crimes: but perceiving Ifrael invaded him: and neer unto this his 37. Deu 3. that they could not prevail, and that Herod Regal City, it was that he lost the battel and i. or 10. was highly favoured of Cefar, fearing the his life. It flood in S. Hierom's time: and light is life.

Mas 28. 28. that Christ coming from the other fide naim, whence I Mac. 5. 26. it is called fin-Saviour a fign from Heaven: the fame place, theth one from the other. or fome adjoyning to it, which S. Mark cal- Not far from Afteroth, Adricomius out of contents 9.3. Mail lee, and from Bethfaida, to be either Magdala faith Breidenbach.

Woe be unto thee Corazim.

two fifties.

the Gergelites, descended of the fifth for of 'Giants, of whose race was og King of Fasan, central Canaan. Citchest Gergestes we read. Mat. 8. In Genesis this City is called Asteroth of Carof the Lake of Tilerias , landed in their ply Carnum, as Joj. 13.21. it is called After coalts: where cating the Devilsout of the roth without the addition of Carnaim. The pell fled, he permitted then to enter into word Carnaim fignifieth a pair of Horns, has a the nerd of Hoggs: in which flory, for Ger- which agree well with the name of their Idol gefites, or Gergefins, S. Luke and S. Marke Afteroth, which was the image of a sheep, as have Gaderens: not asit these were all one it is elsewhere noted, that Afteroth in Deute-(for Gergessa, or Geraja is a distinct Town in ronomy fignished sheep. Others, from the these parts from Gadara ) but the bounds ambiguity of the Hebrew take Karnaim to being confounded, and the Cities neigh- have been the name of the people which inhours either might well be named in this fro- habited this City; and expound it before rv. This City received many changes and ca- + radiantes. For of old the Raphæi which in- Becute lamities: of which Josephus hath often mention. For befides other adventures, it was taken by L. Annius, Lieutenaut to Fespalan: and 1000. of the ablest young men put to words Josephus 200 generalization. The second of the salest young men put to words Josephus 200 generalization. The second of the salest young men put to words Josephus 200 generalization. the fword, and the City burnt. In the yeer but if the Karnaim (or Carnajim) were these veb or 1120 it was rebuilt by Ealdwine King of Da-Raphai, the word would not have been in is form. majous: and in the same year recovered by the dual number: neither would Alejes in time Line Exlamine de Eurgo King of Jerusalem : and by the places of Genesis have faid the Raphei in 161 and him utterly razed. Neer unto Gerafa is the Afteroth of the Karnaim, but either the Ra-nemeter Village of Migedan, or, after the Syriack, phai in Aftero.b of the Raphai, or some other whereup Magedu, or, after the Greek, Magdala, where way fitteft for perspicuity: for this naming on the the Pharifees and Sadduces defired of our of both thus in the same clause, distingui- 420 16.19

leth Dalmanutha. By the circumstances of Brochard and Ereidenbachius placeth Cedar lucidamse which flory it appears that this coast lay be- in the way out of Syria into Galilee , four com, green tween the Lake of Tiberias and the Country miles from Corazin. This City (faith he) is to the tax of Decapolis. Brochard makes both these pla- remembred in the Canticles, and in the book bulous Of this ces to be one; and finds it to be Phiale, the of Judith, and there are that of this City to pant Philips fee fountain of jordan, according to sofephus: understand David in his 120. Pfalm: and inflaming 7. felt. 4 but this Phiale is too far from the Sca of Gali- here the Sepulchre of Job is yet to be scen, Hours.

Mark 6. or Dalmanutha. For as it appears by the Now concerning the Texts which he ci- 1 can. 5. flory, not far hence, towards the North, was teth, it is fo that the Greek hath Galaad in the Defart of Bethfaids, where Christ filled stead of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar 5000, people with the five barley loaves and doth use in that place of Judith, and joyneth Carmel and Galilee. The Canticles and the On the North of this Eethfaida, they place 120. Pfalm do rather prove that Cedar was Julias, not that which was built by Herod, but not hereabout, than any way help Adricothe other by Philip, which boundeth the Re- mins. For that they speak of Scenita Cedarcgion Trackonitis towards the South. It was ni, it is apparent, and as evident by the place fometime a Village, and not long after the in the Canticles, that they were de colores, birth of Christ, it was compassed with a wall much more than any under the Climates of by Philip the Tetrach of Inrae and Tracho the Land of Canaan: whence Junius out of nits: and after the name of Julia, the wife Lampridius and Pliny placeth them in Arabia of Tiberias, called Julias, as hath been fur- Petrea, far from thele parts. Touching the ther spoken in the Tribe of Gad: where it Sepulchre of Job, it is certain that the Ara- Rop Lines was noted that Josephus makes this Julias to lians and Saracens (holding those places) of the lians and saracens (holding those places) of the lians and saracens (holding those places) of the lians and saracens (holding those places) of the lians are lians and saracens (holding those places) of the lians are lians and saracens (holding those places) of the lians are lians a be the same as Bethsaida. Upon the East fide fain many things to abuse the Christians, and cont. this. of the same Lake of Tiberias Sands Coroza- to get mony. Further, it may well be affirm- de certific im, or Corazim, of which Christ in Matthem; ed, that many (if not all) the historical cir- Epole Was beyond the Corazim. cumstances of Job are so obscure, that we say But the principal City of all these in an-schould rather by finding his Country seek to city. I'm cient time was Aftereth: femetime peopled get feme knowledge of him, than by any chapters with the Giants Raphaim: and therefore prefumptions founded upon him, infer what is Departured in the prefumptions founded upon him, infer what is Departured in the control of the contro the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of his Countrey was, and build unto him a City and of his Countrey was, and build unto him a City and the countrey was a countrey was a country and the c by conjecture.

Tabab remembred in the 36. of Cenefis , both Ammon and Moub, did also drive the descended from Efau King also of Idu- Edomites out of those parts, who thence-forman, though Rupertus, Lyranus, Oleafter, ward feated themselves to the South of Iuand Bellarmine are of another opinion, deca, bordering the Defart Paran, and stretchvet Saint Ambrofe, Augustine, (Lryfoltome, ed their habitations over the Defarts as far and Gregorie, with Athanafins , Hippolitus , as Hor where Aaron died. trencus, Eusebius Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eu- Now for this Hus, which gave the name to stachins, and other cited by S. Hierome in his a part of the Land of Trackenitis, whether

placed by Junius between Palastine and Ca- feem long before to have been lost and partin called Hus was thus feated, it may in part be ga- other Nations named between ) where Hus thered out of the place of fer. 23.20. where is spoken of, there Euz is also named. Neik to as it the reckons the Hulbites among the promif- ther doth it hinder our conjecture, that in restiting chous borders of the Ifraelites, whom he the place of Job 32. Elihu the Buzite is faid the form therfore calleth promife uous, or mifeelaniam to be of the Family of Ram: (which Junius this fan.) mon, is, turbam, because their bounds were not only expounds to be as much as of the Family of joyned but confounded, and their seignio- Aram) for that by his Aram we are not to ries mingled one with the other: but of this understand Aram the son of Sem, Junius himplace the words of Hieremy, Lam. 4. 21. spea- self maketh it plain, both in his annotation fpeaketh in the 25. Chapter, must needs be faith, that one of Jobs friends ( which must expounded, as Junius reads them, distin-needs be this Elihu) was of the posterity of guishing the Land of Hus from Edom: O filia Nuchor ( as also in this place he confesseth so Edomi, O que habitas in terra Hutzi; O dangh- much expretly) and in as much as he readeth ter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land not è Familia Aram, or Ram, but è Fimilia Sydiffinguish, but readeth, Filia Edom que Nachor, is called a Syrian. habitas in terra Hus; Daughter of Edom which As for the other three of Jobs friends ( of See Sixus dwellest in the land of Hus: Hence, as it whom by this note of Elihu his being of the Senensu. feems, some of the learned have thought that Syrian Family, or of the Family of Nachor)it Job was an Edomite, as we have faid, and is implyed that they were of other kindreds, King of Edom, which if they understand by as also by the Septuagints addition, that this it Idumea, or Edom, fo called in Moses time, Elibu was of the Land of Hus, or Austis, it is they are greatly mastaken, making this Land implyed that they thought only Flihu to have of Hus to be in Idumea. For it is very pro- been of Jobs own Country.

Of Job himself, whether he was the same like that the Amorites, who had beaten

126. Epift to Evagrius take him for the fame, it were Hus the fon of Aram, as Junius thinks The Land of Huts or Hus, wherein Job in his note upon Gen. 10. 29. or rather Hus dwelt, is from the Greek Ovs, which the sep- the fon of Nachor, Abrahams brother, the ne onen tuagint use for the word Huts, translated by question is doubtful. For my part I rather enchanged the Vulgar fometimes Hus, as Job 1.1. fonce cline to think, that it was Hus the fon of Natheother: time Austris, as Hierem. 25.20. This Land is chor: partly because these Families of Aram logria befides Chamatha (or Hamatha) under by because in Job 32. 2. Fliber the fourth of whence Pulmyrene, in the Countrey called by Ptolomy Jobs triends, which feems to be of Jobs own the Sep-Trachonitis, or Bathane 1, the bounds of which Country, is called a Fuzite, of Buz the bro- him exten Countries are confounded with Easan in this ther of Hus, the fon of Nachor: as also Fer. 800 Aug. Total adoles half Tribe of Manaffes. And that this Land of 25, in the fame continuation (though some tite. king of the same Prophecy, of which he upon the beginning of his book, where he of Hus. Now because the Vulgar doth not so riæ; like as elsewhere Laban, who sprung of

bable that Efan, when he first parted from Ja- Franciscus Brochard the Monk, in his decob, did not feat himself in Edom, or Seir, scription of the Holy Land in the journy from which lieth on the South border of Judea, Acon Eastward, findeth Suetha, and Theman but inhabited seir far to the East of Jordan, on the East of the Sea of Galike: both very and held part of those Mountains, other-near to the Land of Hus: whereof the one wife called Galaad, and Hermon, which by may feem to have denominated Fildad the corruption the Sidonians call Shirion, and Shuchite; the other Eliphaz the Themanite: the Amorites Shenir for Seir; and from this two of the three friends of Job, of the his habitation did Efan incounter Jacob, when which Job 2. 11. But Junius thinks that the he returned out of Mesopotamia, who passed Shuchites were inhabitants of Arabia the Deby the very border of Efan his abiding. It fart, descended of Shuach the son of Abraham is true, that at fuch time as Mofes wandered and Ketura: of whom Gen. 25. 2. perhaps, in the Defarts, that the posterity of Esau in- saith he, the same whom Pliny calls Saccai. habited seir to the South of Judea: for it is So also he thinkerth the Themanites, of whom Eliphaz

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whence Tfopher the third of Job's friends ed with Betfer, or Eozra of Reuben, and with (which in this place of 70h.2 11. are mentio- Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Rened) is by the same learned Expositor, gion in this Tract, and hence Hierome harb thought either to be named of Thimnah by Arga, a name of a City placed by some about transposition of letters (which Thimnah, Gen. the waters of Merom (as they are called by 36.40. is named among the fons of Esau, that Josua) which make the Lake Samachonitis as gave denomination to the places where they Josephus cals it. This Lake, being as it were were feated) or else to be the same Nahamah, in the midst between Casarea Philippi and Tiwhich Jos. 15. 41. is reckoned for a City of berias, through which, as through the Lake Jud. in the border, as he thinks, of Edom. of Tiberias, Jordan runneth, boundeth part And yet I deny not but that near the Land of this half Tribe on the West. When the of Hus, in Basan, as it feems, in the Tribe of frow of Libanus melteth, it is very large, saith Manager, there is a Region which (at leaft) racker d: etherwise more contract, leaving in larer times was called Suitis, or of fome the martili ground on both fides, for Lions like name. For this is evident by the Hifto- and other wilde beafts, which harbour in Debilier, Ty of Will, Tyring, which reports of a Fort in the flarubs that plentifully grow there. ib. 25 & this Region of Suita, or Suites (as he cals it Adjoyning to this Lake in this Country diverfly) of exceeding great frength and of Manafas, Josephus names two places of the for the retaining of the whole Country: thrength, fortified by himfelf in the beginwhich, in the time of Baldwine the fecond ning of the Jews rebelling: Selencia the one.

enters the Lake Tiberiss at Corazin. med in the Scripture, are these: Colun, Gehess- bounds (as also the bounds of Gessur and Maafter the coming of the Ifraelites was called derers to Manaffes towards the North-East) Nobach. Of Nobach or Kenath, and Mitspa of are unknown: only that Gessur was of might, Joseph 29 ven to the Lewites, and Golan made one of the whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked Deut 4 43. Cities of refuge: from which Golan we have and unfortunate Absalom.

Fliphaz was, to have been of rabia the De- both Gaulanitis Superior and inferior, oft in fart : and Fliphaz himself to have been of the Josephus. Behessithera is accounted the chief posterity of Theman the son of Flij haz, which City of Basan by some, but the Writers corwas the fon of Ffau. And fo also Nahamah, rupting the name into Bozra, it is confound-

King of Hiersfalem, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the Christians; having not long before been loft, to the East, the Scripture nameth divers bordering great difadvantage of the Country, while it places towards Damafeur, as Ifedad, Charwas in the hands of the Saracem. The fitua-ram, and Chasfar-Henan, lying in a line drawn tion of this Fort is by Tyrius described to be from the West; of which three Cities we fixteen miles from the City Tiberias, on the read, Ezek 47. 15. with which also agrees East of Jordan: by Adrickomius four miles the place, Num. 34. 8. where for Chauram be-North-ward from the place where Jordan tween Tfedad, and Chatfar-Henan, Ziphron is named. From this Chauram is the name of Other Cities of this part of Manasses na- Auranitis Regio, in Josephus and Tyrius, whose thera, Mitspa of Gilead, and Kenath, which bacath, or Macati, which were likewise bor-Gilead, we have spoken by occasion among it appears in that David married Mahaca the 1 class, the Cities of Gad. The other two were gi- daughter of Thalmay King of Geffur: by "

CHAP. XI.

The History of the Syrians , the chief Borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of Jordan.

9. I. Of the City of Damascus, and the divers Fortunes thereof.

House of pleasure; and is not only remem- that it was founded by Damaseus the son

Amascus of all other in this bor- | bred in many places of Scripture, but by der, and of that part of the the best Historians and Cosmographers. The world, was the most famous, Hebrews, saith Josephus, think it to have been excelling in beauty, antiquity, built by Hus the fon of Aram: of which o fight. and riches, and was therefore pinion S. Hierome upon Esty seemeth to be: 6.14 called the City of joy or gladness, and the though in his Hebrew questions heaffirmeth,

to the state of Eliener, Abraham's Steward; a thing ve- Romanes, in the year of our redemption 626. time, Rezon recovered it again, though he sembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the sea-coast, had no title at all or right to that Principa-lity: but David having overthrown Hada-ing betrayed by the Syriani, they failed of dezer King of sophena otherwise spria soba, the enterprize. er Zoba) Razon or Rezon, with the remain- In the year 1262. Halon the Tartar incomder of that broken Army, invaded Damafee paff it, and having formerly taken the King, mind better the Land and period better the brought him under the Wals, and threatned for the tree of the state of

an enemy to Solomon all his life.

Edomite, who flying into Egypt from David the King was torn afunder before them, and and foab, when they flew all the males in in fine the City taken, Agab the fon of Halon Edom, was there entertained, and married was by his father made King thereof. adad returning again, became an enemy to befreged the City with an Army of 1200000. solomon all his life, and (as fome Wri- (if the number be not miftaken.) He entred ters affirm ) invaded Damascus, and thrust it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch Rezon thence out. In the Line of Adad that with his prisoners; those that retired into Kingdom continued nine descents (as here-the Castle, which seemed a place impregnaafter may be shewed in the Catalogue of ble, he overtopped with another Castle ad-Energy Christerhous, the golden River. Junius takes gypt, they again surprized Damaseus. Lastly, nends.6. the Florentines, after it became Christian: Church, he burnt them and it to the num-3.1.10. the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles ber of 30000, and did fo demolishit, as oi7.49 in that Citadel. Against this City the Pro- those that came afterwards to see their hou-Ning to Damascens, Teglatphalasser, invited by Achaz After this, it was restored and re-possest by

upon that place, five years after the Prophetions. cy. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies; but long after, when Syria fell into the hands of the Romanes, it was taken by Metellus, and Lollins. In the Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop : growing up of their power. Saint Hierome living, as he affirmeth upon the Ads, it was the Metropolis of the Saraceus:

Now be it that Damaseus were founded being taken by Haomer their King from the

by Hus the son of Aram, or by Damaseus

on 15.2 rv unlikely, feeing the City was formerly and in the year 1147. Conrad the third, Em- onubbing known by that name, as appears by Abra- perour of Rome, Lewis King of France, Balel in Chron. ham's calling this his Steward Eliezer of Da- wine the third King of Hiernsalem, Henry with. Tyr. maleo. David was the first that subjected it Duke of Austria, brother to Conrad, Frede-bell fur. to the Kingdom of Juda, after the overthrow rick Barbaroffa afterward Emperour, Theode-146.17 c.t. of Adadezer their King; but in Solomon's rick Earl of Flaunders, and other Princes af- 3-45.

extreme torture unto him, except the Citi-The next King of Damaseus was Adad the zens rendred the place: but they refusing it,

Tuplines the King of Fg. pts Wives fifter: of In the year 1400 Tamberlain Emperour Herold 1.6 whom Taphnes in Fgypt was fo called. This of the Parthians, invaded that Region, and 6 4. these Kings of Spria) to whom the Affgrians, joyning: he forbare the demolishing of the and then the Grecians succeeded. This City City, in respect of the beauty of the Church, was exceeding strong, compassed with wa- garnished with forty Gates, or sumptious ters from the Rivers of Abanah, and Phaspar. Porches. It had within it 9000, Lanterns of whereof one of them, prophane Writers call Gold and Silver: but while he invaded Eit for Adonis. The Country adjoyning is ve- in his returnafter three moneths fiege, he ry fruitful of excellent Wines and Wheats, forc't it: the Mahometans proftrating themand all manner of excellent fruits. It had in felves with their Priefts, defired mercy. But it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by Tamberlain commanding them to enter the phets Amos, Efay, Jeremy, and Zacharias, pro- fes, knew them not by the foundations. And phefied that it should be taken, burnt, de- as a Trophee of his victory, he raised three molished, and made a heap of stones. In the Towers with great art, builded with the time of the last Rezon, and tenth King of the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. King of Juda, carried away the naturals of the Soldane of Egypt with a Garrison of Mam-Damascus into the East: Icaving of his own malukes: And in the year 1517. Selimus Em-Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utter- perour of the Turks wrested it out of the ly ruined by the Babylonians, faith Hierome hands of the Egyptians: in whose possession upon Esay: which thing was performed by it now remaineth inhabited with Mahome-Salmanaffer, according to Junius in his note tans and Christians of all neighbouring Na-

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find no relation of their Kings, or Common-those Adads of Spria Zoba, and Damaseus. wealth vill Dands time, For it flood with- Some account Rezon, others Adad of Iduout the bounds of Canaan: and therefore mea: of whom it is written in the first of neglected by Moses, Josus, and the Judges, Kings, that David having invaded that Rethat it had fome Reguli, or petry Kingsover male children thereof: Adad of the Kings Tun. 1.6, calleth Nubor, inhabiting between Batania and, as Bunting thinketh, this Adad did ex-1 558.14 ria, Loha, and Tohn of Chamath. But it feem- fame in name, with the differences of Fzer, tit, that Danafens was one of the Cities fub-: See. 2. were levied and lent to Hadad-Hezer from Damaseus: as out of his proper Dominions: I Ring it Toku King of Chamath, or Huraa, hearing greatest part of Arabia Petraa, according for the most part were in league and peace after he was carried thither.

the firm of Eliener Abraham's fleward, we nor of our later Writers, who was the first of

as impertinent to that Story. But were it to gion, and left Joab there to defiror all the it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet feed fled into Fgppt; and was there married none of them became famous for ought that to Taphnes the Queens fifter, as before; who is left to writing, till fuch time as Davido- hearing of David's death, and of the death verthew Adadezer Prince of Sophena, or of his Captain Joab (whom indeed all the Swia Zoba: the fame Nation which Pliny bordering Nations feared) he turned again: and Euphrates. Now the better to under-pel Recon out of Damafeus, and was the first frand the flory of those sprian Princes, of the sprian Kings. To me it feemeth other- some whom foon after the Kings of Damajous made wife. For, as I take it, Adadezer, the fon of on their vallals, the Reader may inform himself, Rehob, whom Sanl invaded, was the Foun-That on the North-East parts of the Holy der of that Principallity : and the first of Land, there were three chief Principallities, Adads, who forfaking his fathers name, as he ubercof the Kingsor Commanders greatly grew powerful, took upon him the fulle of vexed or disturbed the Stare or Common-Adad, the great god of the Algrians, faith wealth of Ifrael, namely, Damasens, or Aram, Macrobins, which fignified Oneness of Unive Sophena, or Spria Zoha, and Chamath, or I also find a City called Adada, in the same Chamath Zoha; of which these were the part of Spria: of which whether these Prin-Princes in David's and Solomon's times: Ra- cestook the name, or gave it, I am ignorant, zon, or Rezon of Damalens, Adadezer of Sy- For Adad-ezer, Een-adad, El-adad were the ject to Adadezer when Dand invaded him, was of greatefr power, it appeareth first, bethough when saul made war against Zoba, cause it is against him, that David undertook Damaseus was not named. And as Josephus the war: Secondly, because he levied affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which 22000. Aramites out of the Territory of Damafens, had the name of Adad: who was for had the Damafeens had a King apart, it is in that battel flain with 22000. Aramites of probable that the Scriptures would have Damaseus: whereof, as of the overthrow of given us his name: Thirdly, because Spria Adadezer, Rezon the Commander of his Ar- Zoba, of the most of which Adadezer was my, taking advantage, made himself King King, was an exceeding large Territory, plants of Damaseus, Adadezer, and Adad of Damas-, and contained of Arabia the Defart as far as is. cus being both flain. About the same time to Enphrates, according to Pliny: and the that his neighbour and enemy sidudezer was to Niger. Wholoever was the first, whether utterly overthrown, fendeth for peace to Adadezer, or Adad of Idumea, Rezon was David, and prefenteth him with rich gifts: the fecond: Who was an enemy to Ifrael all I King !! but in dolo, faith S. Hierome; it was craftily the dayes of Solomon. Befides the evil that done of him. Now to the North of the Ho- Adad did, the evil that Hadad did, seemeth ly Land, and to the West of Damaseus, the to be referred to Hadad of Idumsa, lately Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited: but they returned out of Fgspt: to wit, 23. years with the Judans and Ifraelites. But to re- The third King of Damasens, and of Zobah

turn to the Kings of Syria, I mean of Syria both, was Hezion; to Hezion succeded Taas it is taken in the Scriptures, containing bremmum, or Tabrimmum 5 to him Eerkadad, 1 Keel Damaseena, Soba or Zoba, and Chamath, or as is proved in the first of Kings: For Ast 15.15. Hurka; to which I may add Geffur, because King of Juda the son of Abiam, the son of Koit is so accounted in the second of sam. 15. boam, the son of solomon, being vexed and inas joyning in the Territory to Damaseus (for vaded by Bassha, the successiour of Nadab, the Spria at large is far greater, of which Pala- fon of Jeroboam, fent to Benhadab the fen of flina it felf is but a Province, as I have noted Tahrimmon, the fon of Hezion, King of Aram, in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not a that dwelt at Damascus, to invade Israel greed among the Historians of former times, (while Baasha fought to fortifie Rama against

foculd not enter into any of the territories three years after (for fo long the league laftthe time!) who according to the defire of Afa, ed ) Ramoth not being delivered, Achab inhaving received his prefents, willingly in- vaded Gilead, and belieged the City, being which Baasha had brought to fortifie Rama hadad sendeth the Commander of his forces, withal, and converted them to his own use. called Naaman, to Joram the son of Achab

of the History of the World.

fent him out of the Temple, was the most phet, as is aforesaid. After Benhadad beijer, d forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon Samaria again, and being terrified thence invaded Ilrael, before the enterprize of his from Heaven, he departed home, and ficktaken prisoner, was rather the son of Benha-their wars with the Israelites. dad, the first of that name, the confederate of | Hazael or Azael, the first King of the race As and Abiam as before, than the son of Ta- of the Adads of Damaseus, was announted by bremmon. For between the invalion of Benha- Elisha, or Elizens, when he was fent by Benhadad the first, in Baasha's time, and the siege dad to the Prophet, to know whether Benhaof Samaria, and the overthrow of Benhadad | dad fhould recover his prefent fickness: He by Achab, there past 49 years, as may be ga- | waged war with Foram, who received divers thered out of the reigns of the Kings of If- wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Giracl. So that if we allow 30. years of age to lead: from whence returning to be cured at Benhadad, when he invaded Badha, and after Jefreel, he and the King of Juda, Abaziah or that 49. years ere he was taken by Achab, Ochozias, are flain by Jehn, as before is faid. which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely After the death of Joram, Azael continued that Benhadad at fuch an age flould make war against Jehn, and wasted Gilead, and all with no fuch pomp; but the second Benha- over fordan. He then invaded juda, and dad vaunteth, that he was followed with took Gath; but by gifts from Joas he was a-32.Kings: and therefore I refolve, that Benha- | verted from attempting Hierusalem: for he dad the fon of Tebremmon invaded Bassba presented him all the hallowed things which Achab, at whose hands this Ecubadad re-Kings of Juda, had dedicated, and which coived two notorious overthrows: the sinfelf he himself had dedicated; and all the gold second at Aphee, where, with the like num- and in the Kings house. This was the second ber in effect, the Ifraelites flaughtered time that the Temple was spoiled to please 200000. of the Aramites; besides 27000. the Adads of Damasens. For Asa did present which were crush't by the fall of the wall of Benhadad with those treasures, when he in-Aphec. And this Benhadad, Achab again set- vited him to war upon Baasha King of Israel.

Ma: thereby to block him up, that he tier Town, and of great importance. Now raded the Country of Nephralim, and took affilted by Johnston. The Armiter came to 1 No. 224. divers Cities, and spoyls thence: Afa in the succour and light: in which Achale is wound- 3-27. mean while carrying away all the Materials, ed, and dieth that night. After this, Een. 3232. This Benhadads Father Tabremmon was in to be healed of the leprofie, and though Flileague with Afa: and so was his Father He- zeus had healed him, yet he picked a quarzion: for Asu requireth the continuance of rell against foram; and when foram, by Eli- : 10m 5. that friendship from Benhadad, his fon: zens his intelligence had escaped his plot, 2 Kin.s. though it feemeth that the gold and filver he fent men and Chariots to take the Pro-

fon Benhadad, it is conjectured. For Benhadad neth, and fendeth Azael with great gifts to a very when he was prisoner with Achab, spake as Elizeus, to know his estate if he might live, 3/34. followeth: The Cities which my father took Azael returning franthereth him. Zonaras and Mani. from thy father, I will reflore, and thou shalt Cedrenus call this Benhad of Adar, and the fon and \$6.6 make streets or Reepers of the borders for thee in Of Adar : Ames and Filereny mention the Damascus: as my Father did in Samaria And Towers of Benhaclad. Josephus writeth there herein there arifeth a great doubt ( if the Benhadad and his fuccessor Acad were worargument it felf were of much importance) thipped for Gods by the syrians to his time, because Tabremmon was father indeed to for the sumptuous Tempies which they built Benhadad which invaded Baasha, at the re- in Damaseus. The syrians also boasted much quest of Afa: Fat this Benhadad that twice en- of their antiquity, ignorant, faith he, that tred upon Achab, and was the fecond time fearce yet 1100, years are compleat tince

war. Befides all this, the first Fenhadad came those portions of Gad, Reuben, and Manage, 2 Reg. : 2. and Omri; and Benhadad the second invaded Jehosaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah his fathers, 2 Rez. 12. at Samaria, by a fally of 700. Ifraelites: the which was found in the treasures of the Lord, 1 Reg. 151 teth at liberty: to whom he rendreth those And notwithstanding this composition be-Towns that his father had taken from the tween Joss and Azael, yet a part of his Army Predecessour of Achab, but being returned, spoiled the other Provinces of Judea, and 2 Rec. 13. he refused to render Ramoth Gilead, a fron-Illaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, 7.

Azael vexed Joahaz the fon of Jehu, and Adads, as they reigned in order are thus recought him to that extremity as he left him koned: but fifty Horse-men, ten Chariots, and ten thousand Foot-men of all his people.

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## 6. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

A Fter Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of Hazael, reigned in Damascus: who fought against Israel with ill success: for Joas King of Ifrael, the fon of the unhappy Joachaz, as Hazael had taken violently from foachaz.

fucceeded three others by the same name. of whom the Stories are loft, onely Nicholaus Damascenus cited by Josephus, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings 1 Kin, 14, of Joan, recovered Damafeus it felf to Ju- rufalem. It is also some proof that Hazael that

And it is likely, that this conquest upon the Adads was performed: the first of these Israel thrice overthrew. three Adads then living of whom there is no Story. For when as Tehoas the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the fon of Hazael. and had recovered the Cities which Hazael had won from Ifrael; and so left his Kingdom to his fon Joroboam the second; it seemeth that this feroboam without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enter-prize, inftantly followed his fathers good fortune and invaded Damascus.

Razin, or Rezin, after Josephus, Rases; after Zonaras, Rasson the tenth Adad, making league with Pekab, or Phacas King of Ifrael, a-2 Kin. 16 a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Hierusalem : but in Jojanil 9 vain. Then Adad alone invadeth Elath, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a Colony of Syrians. Wherefore Achab brought Teglatphalassar against Razin, who took him and beheaded him, and won Damascus: with whom ended the line of the Adads, and the Kingdom of Damascus: the Assyrians beco-

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- I Adadezer the fon of Rebob.
- 2 Rezin the fon of Eliadad or Razin. 2 Hezion.
- 4 Tabremmon.
- 5 Benhadad who invaded Baalha.
- 6 Benhadad the fecond taken prisoner by Achah.
- 7 Hazael, whom Elisha foretold with tears of his advancement; the same who overthrew Joram King of Ifrael at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a fecond Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which took Geth, he was foretold by Elisha the Prophet, beat and compounded the war with loss, made Benhadad in three several battels: and he the Expedition thirty years, and perchance loft all those Cities to Ifrael, which his father more, after the first Hazael which stiffed his master Benhadad, and had flain Foram the son After this Benhadad the fon of Hazael, there of Achab King of Ifrael. For Joan began to reign in the 7. year of Jebu King of Ifrael; and after he had reigned 23. years, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which(and how long we know not) it is faid that Hazael times it was that Feroboam the second, the son took Geth, and turned his face towards feda, faith the Geneva, but better in Junius, took Geth, was not the same with Hazael that Utque recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham murdered Benhadad, because he could not Jehnda pro Israele; that is, And how he reco- at that time be of good years, being as it vered for Ifrael, Damascus and Chamatha of seemeth, the second person in the Kingdom, Judea; for these Cities sometimes conquered, and Commander of Benhadads men of war. by David, did of right belong to the Tribe To this Hazael (be he the first or second) suc-

8 Benhadad, the third, whom Josh King of

9 Resin, or Rezin, the last, who joyned with Pekab King of Ifrael, against Juda, at which time Achaz King of Juda waged for his defence Teglatphalasser.

Now between Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicolaus Damascenus finds three other Kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but Reguli, as those of Emath, and 1 Samt; Geffur, we find that Tohu was King of Emath, or Camath, in Davids time, to whom he fent his fon Joram with prefents, after Davids victory against Adadezer. Also Senache-

6. IV.

Of Other leffer Kingdoms of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, neverrecovered themselves again.

F Geffur we find two Kings named; to wit, Talmai, and his Father Ammibur: ming mafters both of that and Ifrael. These to Talmai, whose Daughter David married, of If sel, and againft Research te laft King of diffolved, Achaz yet living.

Danafas: which Teglath first invaded Da
Lastly, the Kingdom of Inda it self, being and strong Prince, was content to take the 200. years. composition of a thousand talents of the King of Israel for that present time. But his other Provinces of the Persian Empire, and

ir was that Abfalom fled, who was his mater- carried it (as is before remembred) and nal Grandfather. Of the Kings of sephena, then with great ease possest himself of the or Spria, Soba, or Cwlospria, there are two Cities of Nephtalim; leading with him a great named, Rehob, or Rechob, the Father of Ada- part of the people captive. And his fon Saldezer, and Adadezer himself; and it is plain manasser, whom Ptolemy called Nahonatter. that after his death the feat of the Kings of after the revolt of Holes, forced Samaria. Soba was transferred to Damaseus, a City and rent that Kingdom afunder. So as the better fitting their greatness. After Rezin line and race of Ninus in Sardan apillus, became Lord of both Principalities. And whom Belochus supplanted, the race and Mothe race of these Kings of Syria (which be-narchy of the Syrian Adads in Rezin, whom came so potent, and joyned soba, Damas-Teglath slaughtered; the Kingdom of Israel cus, Emath, and the Defart of Arabia, with in Hofea, whom Salmanaffer overturned; hapother Provinces into one, under Rezin the pened near about a time: that of Ninus in fecond of the Adads) as it began with Da- the daies of Belochus, and the other two in vid, so it ended at once with the Kingdom the daies of Teglatphalasser, and Salmanasser of Ifrael. For Abaz King of Juda waged the his fon. For Sardanapalus perished, off a ru-Allyrian Teglatphalassar against Pekah King ling Juda; and the other two Kingdoms were

massiena, and the Region of soba, and took attempted by senacherib, the son of Salma-Damascus it self, and did put to death Rezin nasser, in vain, and preserved for the time the last, carrying the Inhabitants captive. by God miraculously, was at length utterly This was the fecond time that the Alfgrians overturned. Hierufalem and the Temple attempted If rael. For first Phul Belochus en-burnt 132. years after the captivity of Iftred the borders thereof (Menahem govern- rael and Samaria: the destruction of Ifing Ifrael) who stopt the enterprise of Phul rael being in the ninth year of Hosea: that of with a thousand talents of filver: for this Juda in the eleventh of Zedechia. Now the That Belachus, whose pedigree we will ex- Emperours of Affyria and Babylon held also amine hereafter, being scarce warm, as yet, in the Kingdom of Syria, from the eighth year his feat at Babylon, which he, with the help of Salmanasser; to the last of Baltassar, whom 3603. of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Herodotus calleth Labynitus: in all about 3811. Sardanapalus: having besides this King of 200. years. After these the Persians from Cyrus Syria in his way, who seemed to be a great to Darius their last King, held Syria about

fon Teglath following the purpose of his fa-ther Belochus, and finding so excellent an till it became subject unto the power of the occasion, as the war begun between Ifrael Romans, from whom it was wrested long afand Judah, Pekah commanding in the one, ter by the Saracens, and remaineth now in and Achaz in the other, his neighbour Rezin possession of the Turk, as shall be shewed in being also wrapt in that war, and wasted due place. Thus much of the Nations bordein strength thereby, did willingly accept the ring upon the Ifraelites, with whom they had offer of Achaz King of Juda, his imprest and most to do, both in war and peace, being the entertainment. So, first attempting Damas onely people, whose History in those ancient cus, which lay in his path towards Ifrael, he times carried an affared face of Truth.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Tribe of Benjamin, and of Hierusalem.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.

F the Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth perishing in the Defarts, there entred the and youngest son of Jacob, whom he Holy Land of their islues 45600. fit to bear had by Rachel, there were mustered Arms: and these had their Territory on this at Mount Sinia 35000.able bodies: all which side Jordan, between Juda and Ephraim: The Circa. 8. Cities within this Tribe nearest Jordan, are which he came yearly to give judgement to Lod Hadid and Ono: of which, Lod and Ono the Ifraelites; of which two, Gilgal (as is faid) were built by Shemed a Benjamite: they were was near Jordan on the East side of this Tribe all three re-inhabited with Benjamites, after and Mitspa near the West Sea, towards the the return out of Captivity, as is mentioned, land of the Philistims. Nobem, 11, 35, and Eld. 2.35, where Adri- The third place, which is named with Simon Macchabaus.

built ov Adrian.

anew City Paffeover.

noted, that both it, and Mitspa of Benjamin is Jerem. 41. ( of which also we read oft in the Scripture)

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chomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes be- these two, whither also Samuel used yearly fides Hadid in Nehemia, a City called Lod- to come, is b Bethel: which also was feated in b Junios hadid: This Hadid or Chadid was rebuilt by this Tribe of Benjamin. But to return to Gil-in the gal, which was the first place where the Ark Build Samarim, or Tlemaraim named of Tlemary relided, after they past over Jordan ( from leads Do. one of the fons of Canaan, was another of whence it was carried to Silo, and thence to forting their Cities: and further into the Land stand- Kiriath-Jeharim, and at length to Hierusa-interprets eth Jericho, one of the Toparchies and the lem) here in Gilgal it was that Josua pitched in Kine Kings 16. last of Juda, seated in a most fruitful Valley, up the 12. stones, which were taken out of run, when adorned with many Palm-trees: and there- the channel of Jordan, when it was dry, that the Arite fore essewhere called the City of Palms. From the Israelites might pass over it: by which (sinh) the time of Josua, who utterly destroyed it, Story, as it is let down Jos. 4. it appears, that by the it lay waste untill the time of Achad: in the same day that they passed over Jordan, 130,171 whose daies Chiel of Bethel laid the new they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to the guafoundation of it, in the loss of Abiram his eldeft fon, and built the gates of it in the loss that Samuel hewed Agag the King of the their samuel hewed. of his youngest son Segub: according to the Amalekites in pieces. And as for Mitha, whi wall walls curse of Josua: in which and other respects, ther samuel came yearly to give judgment, where the times it was destroyed by Vespasian, and re-held: as that for the revenge of the Levice but this wife against Gibha, and the Benjamites, Jos. not treak To the South-east of Jericko stood \* Hal-1:000.6. mon of the Levites, of which Joj 21.18. To I Sam. 7.12. Thither also Judos Macchabaus died the South Betharaba, of which fof c. 15. and c gathered the Jews ( when Hierufalem was meetings This Helmonis cal. 18. Then that Gilgal of which there is so much possest by the Heather) as it is I Mac. 3.47. in and be monis cal. mention in the Scripture, where Josua first which place this reason of their meeting is Priess ate of the fruits of the land, circumcifed all added; Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitfpa an didule to bing the they make those born in the Defarts, and celebrated the tea Israeli. Touching this Milifia, to avoid the answ City Passeover. The reason of the name, or rather a me-Scriptures mention four places of this name: whereso morable application of the Etymology of this Mitspa of Juda, of which Jos. 18. (c) Mit-ever they name (for it feems by the place, Deut. 11.30. Spa of Gilead, of which we have spoken al-week, as that the name was known before the com- ready in the Tribe of Gad. Mitspa of the 1 santi. ing of the Israelites into Canaan) is noted of Moabites, where David for a while held him-11. & 14. 5. 9. 0b devolutionem probri Agyptiaci, be- felf, commending his Parents to the King of the six cause their fore-skins (the people being there Moab, 1 Sam. 22.3. and lastly, this chief Mit-case to circumcifed) were tumbled down the Hill: fpa of the Benjamites. And as in this place expound which from thence was called Collis prapu- the chief meetings were held both before thereife tiorum. This Gilgal was also called Geli-Hiernsalem was recovered from the Jebnsties, than to loth, as appears by comparing the places, Jos and also in the time of the Macchabees (as the City and also in the time of the Macchabees). 15.7. and 18. 17. for it was in the borders we have faid) when Hierusalem was held by though of Jordan, of which Jos. 22.13. and Geliloth the wicked under Antiochus, so also in the Junior fignifieth borders. It flood (though in fome time of Hieremy, after the destruction of the ictorite diffance) directly Ealtward, over against the two Hills Garazim and Hebal: upon the one buckodoms or less in Jewry, as Governour or wheether two Hills Garazim and Hebal: of which the bleflings, and on the other the ver those that were left in the land, held his i sam. 10 curfings were to be read to the people, both abiding in this place: until (to the great hurt;) being the Mountains of Ephraim. Further, of the Jews) he was slain by the treason of no other for the fituation of this Gilgal, it is to be Ismael, one of the royal blood of Juela, as it than this

were feated about the midlt of the length of the land of Canaan: for which reason (a) Sa consists, though Adrichmitus and other out of this piece imagination.

(c) 1 s.m. mucl\_choic these two places, to either of Missing or Market which is added, respacement, for Missing on the three quarters, North, Wed, and Eash, to which belolused it constitutes, though Marketmitus and others out of this piece imaginated that the same of the same o

Neer unto this Mitspa, the Scripture men- Ephraim, 1 Sam. 25. I. Which more often is against the Philistims.

the third place where Samuel held his chief thea, Matt. 27. 57. was denominated. meetings for the ministring of Justice, that

CHAP. XII.

performed the Prophecies against the altar places of Idolatry. of Bethel, 2 Reg. 23. whence those coasts! The third City Gibba, which was the Ci-South,

tioneth Bethear, after called Aben-Hezer, called (g) Ramatha, and I Sam. I. I. Rama-(g) O: pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophey have aramathaim-sophim, taking the Article designed affixed in the beginning, for a part of the the place Touching Bethel, which (as it feems) was word, whence they think Joseph of Arama- 34, where

Of a fourth Rama we read, 2 Reg. 8. 29, one of the it was anciently called Luz, and how it was which is Ramoth in Gilead. The first, which three Pretaken by the illue of Joseph ( though it be is most often mentioned , is Kama of Benja which Delonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is min, feated, as we faid, near Bethel the ut-merian Nelson. 11, 31, and 79/13, 22.) and how termost South-border of the Kingdom of resists to another City called Ins. (d) near adjacening the termost South-border with the feet Tribute. (in which and It is in the feet. tan som another City called Luz (d) near adjoyning the ten Tribes: for which cause Bausha in our of the 7 ii. Jos. to it, was built by the man of the City which the time of Afa King of Juda, fortified it, to county of showed the entrance to the Spies, as it is hinder those that did fly from him to As. Sauries and of the occasion of the name from Of this man and of the occasion of the name from Of this man and of the occasion of the name from Of this man and of the occasion of the name from Of this man and of the occasion of the name from Of this man and of the occasion of the name from Of this man and of the occasion of the name from Of this man and of the occasion of the Find. I. and of the occasion of the name from Of this Rama, or Ramatha, I should rather toward Jacob's vision : and how Jereboam, by ere-think Joseph was, that buried Christ be the Entro cting one of his calves here, of Bothel (which cause it was nearer to Hiernfalem, and after and total fignifieth the house of God) made it (e) Beth-the Captivity belonged to judga, as it ap-ward aren, that is, the house of Vanity, Hos. 4. 15. pears, Ed. 2. 26. wherein that it is joyned and agree. mense and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of with Geba, it is plain that he speaketh of that rest (of this place, they are fo well known out of Ruma with whole fromes (after Banfia had whole from this place). the Histories of the Scripture, that we may ceased to build it ) aja (as it is 1 Reg. 23.22.) are fresh built Gebab adjoying to it: both being lying in the mid-The Territory of Bethel, which at the in Benjamin. And as Rama was the South delibe first belonged to the Kingdomof the ten border of the ten Tribes, so was Gebab the tween the Jamel Tribes, from the time of the great victory North-border of the Kingdom of Juda: \* (Woodstand) North-bo in the state of th 1671. 15 was and an and foir continued, which was the North-border, to Beer-fheba in the as appears by the Story of Joss : which which was the South-border, destroyed the Tribe of

I Macc. 11.34 are called Apherama, which ty of Saul (the wickedness of which City in which Tol. Greek word fignifieth as much as, A thing the time of the Judger had almost utterly cased Rewas one of the three Seigniories, or Perfe- founds with Gebah, making one of two (as Southand) Gures which Demetrius in his Epiftle mentio- they are evidently diffinguished, Efgr. 10. Reddensneth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been neth, as added by him to the Dition of the 27.) of which word (b) Gibba, in another been nether been Jews, out of the Samaritan Country. A part from Gibbath, he imagineth Gibbath, ano-in conofit, as appears 2 Chron. 13. 19. was Hephra- ther City in this Tribe, making two of one fluidion, vin, which Jos 18. 23. is called Hophram, be- The vicinity of this City also to Rama of Govern-Benjamin appears, Jud. 19. 13. where the ingageni-Not far from this Ecthel, in this Tribe, we find three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities, often mentioned in three other Cities and the cities of th the Scriptures, Rama, Gidha, and Geba. Of that place of 1 Sam. 22. 6. it feems that the relayer out of the the name Rama, (f) it is noted already, in there was in this Gibba fome Tower or Git. Separation of Fabrains, that there were tarded called a separation of Separation of Fabrains. (1) See the name Rama, (f) it is noted already, in there was in this Gibba some Tower or Cit-Separation (f) the description of Ephraim, that there were tadel called Rama: where Junius reads in read (f). many Towns fo called, because of their excelso, for in Rama: but it may be that 14.33 high fituation. But whereas they find out the name of the Kings Palace in this Ci-Phates: Rama in the Tribe of Juda (as it feems, be-ty, was Rama: as it feems that in Rama for which cause Matt. 2. it appears that it bordered of Samuel, the name of the chief place Januar mathematical transfer of the chief place Januar Land Park Collis Bethlebem ) and also out of Brochard and where Samuel with the Colledge of Prophet Phines Freidenbach make Silo to have been called abode, was Najoth. The great City of Hai (for this word is Rama, and find yet another Rama in Zabu- overthrown by Josua, which Jos. 7. 2. is pla- of times lon; these three have no warrant in the ced neer Beth-aven, upon the East of Bethel, an Appellative fig.

it seems, we have testimony, Jos. 19. 29. and Hill) but Adichania taking notice of this, build, his City Gabach of another in Nephthalim, Jos. 19. 36. of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in Mount

Sel. 8. 23. In foliandinem, in tumulum perpe- an and Persian Kings or Captains, when Let tann. Another City of chief note is recke- was made prifoner) frandeth by the River and Join 2.25. In this Tribe was Gibbon, the of Jordan, in the half Tribe of Manage borchief City of the Heartes: whose cunning to dering Zabulon, which was also called Salem, bind the liralites by oath to fave their lives, and by the Greeks solima. is let down, Jof. ... whence they were reckored among the "Kalimai, or regeliter, and ever built) was a principal City in Josua his west in time: yet not fo renowned as Hazor the norman, the house of God: which oath of faving Metropolis (in those days and before) of all r as much these Geleonites, broken in part after by the Canaamtes. Adonizedek (whom Josia and there Geocomes, prosen in pare and the state of the s Les dail) 2 Sam, 21 1. This Gibean, or Gibbon with was belonging to the febusars it is manifelt: at a fam and febus (of both which we have for how long foever they held it before Mo-Family is spoken) and with Hanothoth the natal place for time, they were Masters and Lords there-it is used to be given to the Levites by the Benjamites. David wan it: and therefore in all likelistics of the begiven to the Levites by the Benjamites. Near to this Hanothoth was Nob, as appears, hood, it was by the Jehujai (the children of 1 Reg. 2.26. where Abiathar the Prieft, which Jebuseus the fon of Canuan ) built; after was of Nob before it was destroyed by sanl, whom it was called Jebus. And so much did reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neb. 9*, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged 31, and though in the time of *Saul* the relithant their lame, and blind, and impotent peoding place of the Ark was at Kireath-jeha- ple should defend it. rim : yet by the lamentable tragedy of David, after he had by Gods affiliance Tabernacle was there for a time.

tance I omit, and come to the City of Hie- breadth: whereof the like hath feldome rufalem, and the Princes and Governours of been heard of, either fince or before. this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of Benjamin, whence Jof. 18. 28. it is Kingdom of the Jews was cut afunder, Shinamed among the Cities of Benjamin.

Of divers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

was in this Tribe, as is proved, Neb. 7, 10.30. \* according to others, that City out of Seem the limits though it be not named by Jof. c. 18, for it which Melchifedee encountred Abraham (in Labraham). was burned by him and laid defolate, as it is his return from the overthrow of the Affrit-Manage,

Hierusalem (whensoever, or by whomsois fent to his grounds at Hanothoth. It is that Nation rely on the strength of the place, 150914

bloud-flied, which saul raised in this place possest it, and turned out the Joinsties, gave (as it is fet down 1 Sam, 21, and 22.) in the it an exceeding great increase of circuit; judgement of Junius, it is proved that the strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and o-Aficinas alfo in this Tribe, Nebem. 9. 31. ther buildings: changing the name from Jewas a place of fame, of which Elay. 10. 28. buffalem, the City of the Jebusties, to Hierawhere also he nameth Gallim, and Migrom salem, which the Greeks call Hierosolima. in this Tribe. In Asiemas Saul had his Camp, After David's time Solomon amplified, beau-1. Sam. 13. 2. ( when he left Gibba to Jona- tified and strengthened it exceedingly. For than ) and there also was Jonathan Maccha- besides the work of the Temple, which was Johnson bens his abode, 1 Mace. 9.73. Of Gifeala in no less admirable than renowned among all Ap. 1. bans his abode, 1 Mace 9.73. Of Gyeata in no iets aumirante manifemente among an original factories and the palaces, Gates, and Wals, 1.16. any here in Benjamin, which they make the could not any where in the world be examnatal place of Saint Faul, whence (they fay) pled: and befides, that it had 150000. Inwhen it was taken by the Romans, he failed habitants, the women and children not acwith his parents to Tharfis, of this I find no counted. The ditch had 6c. foot depth, cut good warrant. Other places of lefs importout of the very rock: and 250, foot of

After the death of solomon, and that the Shac King of Fgypt, and his Predecessor, having bred up for that purpose Adad the Idumean, a chail, and feroboam Solomon's fervant; and both married to Egyptians: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: Shiftac first invaded the Territory of Juda, entred Hieru-Salem, and fack't it, and became Master not 2 King. H T what time Hierusalem was built only of the riches of Solomon, but of all A (which afterward became the Princess those spoyls which David had gotten from of all Cities) it doth not appear. Some there Adadezer, Tobu, the Ammonites, and other are who imagine that Helchifedee was the Nations. It was again fack t, and a part of the Founder thereof in Abraham's time. But, wall thrown down by Joss King of Ifrael;

CHAP. XII. verned Juda.

of Juda impoverished the Temple, and pre-lented Tegaphalasser with the treasures of other Nations. Finally, all the losses, thereof. And Manaffes the fon of Ezekiah, which either the City or Temple had enduthe fon of Achaz, by the vaunts made by Ethe remain, and the very bottom of their magnificent King, who amplified the City, soils, treasures. It was again spoyled by the Baby-lowint. Joskim then reigning. But this unpublished the City, soils, new built the Temple, and with many sumptionists. Joskim then reigning. But this unlonians, Joakim then reigning. But this un-grateful, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perfifting in all kind of impiety, filling the City even to the that great Babylonian King Nebuchodonosor, Of the destruction of Hierusalem by the Roas his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious City and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Wals and Towers which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoyls with the Princes and people, and crulint them bour fourty years. But then did Titus the with the heavy yoak of bondage and fervitude full seventy years, insomuch as sion was revenger of christ his death, and to punish not only become as a torn and plowed-up the Jews finful ingratitude, incompasse it field, Hierusalem an heap ofstones, and rub- with a Romane Army, and became Lord ble, the Mountain of the Temple as a grove, thereof. He began the fiege at fuch time as or wood of thorns and briars, but (as Hie- the Jews from all parts were come up to rome speaketh ) even the birds of the Ayre the celebration of the Passever: so as the on that defiled foil.

nul net, to the Prophecy of Daniel, and the Jews by An extreme famine, with the civil dissension, the grace of Cyrus returned: the Temple opprest them within the Wals; a forcible was again built, though with interruption enemy affailed them without. The Idunaand difficulty enough: and the City meanly ans also, who lay in wait for the destruction Mile 34 fences, for some 60. and odd years, till Net the City, of purpose to betray it: who alhemia by the favour of Artaxerxes re-built so burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonosor

of the E the first; then by Antiochus Epiphanes: and dred thousand souls: and the City was so Kings at again by Apollonius his Lievtenant. By Pom- beaten down and demolished, as those king at pep it was taken long after, but not deftroywhich came afterward to fee the defolation
which came afterward to fee the defolation
thereof, could hardly believe that there
rolling. I thian expedition took as much as he could

bling his of that which Pompey spared. Religion, But the damages which it fultained by the magnificent, and overtopping the rest) to Hiera- violence of facrilegious Tyrants, were com- were spared, as well for lodgings for the falcin to monly recompenced by the industry or Romane Garrisons, as that thereby their vi-

rings to repair the Temple of solomon. The over became victorious. wrong done by Ptolomens Lagi to the second

1 New 16 while Amafia the twelfth King thereof go- on Ptolomeus Philadelphus. The mischief Not long after, Achas the fifteenth King lowers, was amended partly by the great red, might well feem forgotten in the reign the lon of Albaza, by the values in the lost of Herod, that uturping and wicked, but MT Care sekial, to the Emballadors of Merodath, lost of Herod, that uturping and wicked, but left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the dayes of Solomon.

6. III.

manes.

TN this flourishing estate it was at the coming of our Saviour Chirft Jefus: and after his death and afcention, it to continued afcorned to flie over it, or the beafts to tread | City was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all forts: and no manner of Then 70. years being expired, according provision or store for any such multitudes. inhabited, and without Wals or other de- of the Jews Kingdom, thrust themselves into them. Then again was the Temple and Ci- took it. And to be short, there perished : 5/4.4. ty spoyled by Bagoses, or Vagoses, the Liev of all forts, from the first besieging, to the strands of Artaxerxes: after by \* Ptolomens consummation of the victory, eleven hunly the three Herodian Towers, (works most bounty of good Princes, the voluntary con- ctory might be the more necorious and fatribution of the people, and the liberality of mous: for by those buildings of strength strangers. Before the captivity, the people and state remaining, after ages might judge of the Land, through the exhortation of what the rest were; and their honour be godly Kings, made many and large offe- the greater and more shining, that there-

After this fuch Jews as were scattered here Temple, was requited by the bounty of his and there in Judea, and other Provinces,

began again to inhabit some part of the Ci-1 hath in effect loft all her fertility and fruitty; and by degrees to re-build it, and fulness; witness the many hundreds of thous strengthen it as they could, being then at fands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings peace, and Tributaries to the Roman State: of Juda and Ifrael: it being at this time all but after 65. years, when they again offered over, in effect, exceeding frony and barren. to revolt and rebel. Elius Adrianus the Em- It also pleased God, not onely to consume perour flaughtered many thousands of them, with fire from Heaven the Cities of the seand overturned those three Herodian Tow- domites; but the very foil it felf hath felt, ers with all the rest, making it good which and doth feel the hand of God to this day, Christ himself had foretold; That there should God would not spare the beasts that benot stand one stone upon another of that un- longed to Amalec, no not any small number grateful City. Afterward, when his fury was of them to be facrificed to himself: neither appealed, and the prophecy accomplished, was it enough that Achan himself was stoned. he took one part without the Wall, wherein but that his moveables were fo confumed flood Atount Calvary, and the Sepulchre of and brought to affies. Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a City of great capacity, and called it after his own name, Ælia Capitolia. In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a Sow to be cut in Marble, and set it Of the vain and malicious reports of Heather in the front thereof, which he did in despight of the Jews Nation: making an Edict, that they fleuld not from thence-forth ever enplace over-topping it.

cvil. Ty. But the Christian region hounding in bull biodore and Strabo make them Egyptians, bullar. Palafima, it was inhabited at length by all Diodore and Strabo make them Egyptians, Litaria. Nations, and especially by Christians; and Others affirm, that while Ilis governed Egypt, fo it continued 500, years.

Onuphrius Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who that Nation, with whom they planted the

held it 400, and odd years.

Writers, touching the ancient Tews.

F the original of the Jews, prophane they should not from thence-forth ever enterints the City, neither should they dare for much as to behold it from any other high injuriously. **Existing Peaks** infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (faith he) But the Christian Religion flourishing in gathered together a pernicious Nation. the people were so increased, as Jerosolymus It was afterward in the 636. year after and Judas led thence a great multitude of neighbour Regions: which might be meant In the year 1099, it was regained by God- by Moses and Aaron: for the name of Mofrey of Buillon, by affault, with an exceeding fes was accidental, because he was taken flaughter of the Saracens; which Godfrey, up and faved out of the waters. But juguil, Tyr. when he was elected King thereof, refuled to fine, of all other most malicious, doth Infal; 18 cs. 18. be crowned with a Crown of Gold, because derive the Jews from the Syrian Kings; of Christ, for whom he fought, was therein whom, Damascus, saith he, was the first: and crowned with thorns. After this recovery, to him succeeded Abraham, Moses, and Ifit remained under the Succeffours of God-frey four core and eight yearstill in the year trary to himself) that Ifreel had ten sons, 1197. it was regained by Saladine of Egypt: among whom he divided the land of Juda; and lafily, in the year 1517. in the time of so called of Judas his eldest, who had the Selim, the Turks cast out the Egyptians, who greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of now hold it, and call it Cuzumbarec, or the Ifrael he calleth Joseph: who being brought Holy City. Neither was it Jernsalem alone up in Egypt, became learned in Magical that had so often times been beaten down Arts, and in the interpretation of Dreams, and made desolate, but all the great Cities and signs prodigious; and this Joseph (saith of the World have with their Inhabitants, in he) was father to Moles : who with the rest, several times and ages, suffered the same by reason of their foul diseases, and lest thipwrack. And it hath been Gods just will, they should infect others, were banished Eto the end others might take warning, if gypt. Further, he telleth how these menthus they would not onely to punish the impiety banished, when in the Desarts they suffered of men, by famine, by the fword, by fire, and extream thirst and famine, and therein found by flavery; but he hath revenged himfelf relief the feventh day, for this cause even afof the very places they possest; of the wals ter observed the seventh day, and kept it and buildings, yea, of the foil and the bealts Holy; making it a law among themselves, which afterward became a branch of their For even that land, sometime called holy, Religion. He addeth also, that they might not

f:325 Agubeni The desert Ara a Arabia the Stonie Saccæa Agræi Saue or Saha from when the Sabeans spoyled lob Pamerina The htry of & Amonites Tome & Nabatha uminis nowphiladelphia he mountains of Arnen Mountaines of Ara stonie Moabites somtime Eminis Gessur Bestra Asterda Ganden E Ganden E Ganden E Gressuri re a Gressuri re Compani Compani Rapham Edui SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grofly belie before remembred. And therefore doth Ste- cald fee them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratory phanus, the Greek Grammarian, derive the of their Temple, they had the golden head Hebrews, or Jews, from Arabon; having miof an Ass, which they adored. But herein Ta- Itaken the name of Abraham, who was the citus forgetteth himself, having in the fifth son of Heber, in the fixth descent. Their ancihook of his own History truly confelled of ent names were first changed by the two the Tens, that they worthipped one onely grand-children of Abram: for after Jacob. God; and thought it most prophane to re- otherwise Israel, the chief part were called present the Deity by any material figure, by Ifrael, another part after Flan or Edom. Edothe shape of a man, or any other creature: mites; at length the remnant of Jacob, beand they had therefore in their Temples no ling most of the Tribe of Juda honoured the Image or Representation, no not so much as name of Judas, the son of Jacob, and became imany City by them inhabited. Somewhat judeans, or jew: a salfo for a time in the like this hath Alexander Polyhiftor, in Stephanam of Ephraim the son of Toseph, the chief Suptimum the folial popular the first parents of the Jews.

Claudius Iolaus draws them from Judeus, were first rooted out when the Kingdom of whose parents were Sparton and Thebis; Ifrael fell. The Judaans continued their whence it came, that the Spartans or Lace- names, though they suffered the same servidemonians challenged kinred of the He- tude not long after, under Nabuchodonosor. brews: but they did it as descended of Abraham, faith Tolephus. Some of these reports der-went, was first paternal: which continufrom to have been gathered out of divine ed till they ferved the Egyptians, They were letters, though wrested and perverted, ac- secondly ruled by their Captains and Leacording to the custom of the Heathen. For ders, Moses and Josua, by a policy Divine. so have they obscured and altered the Story Thirdly, they subjected themselves to of the Creation, of Paradife, of the Flood; Judges. Fourthly, they defired a King, and and given new names to the children of A- had Saul for the first: Of whom, and his dam in the first age, to Noah and his sons in Successours, before we intreat, we are first the second: and so to Abraham, Haac, and Ja-to speak of their government under Judges, cob, Moses, and the rest of the Fathers, and after the death of Josua: with somewhat of

marry out of their own Tribes, left difco- ficiently answered. For that the Hebrews vering their uncleanness, they might also be were the children of Arphaxad and Heber no expelled by other Nations, as they were by man doubteth; and so chaldeans originally, the Feyptians. These and the like fables hath taking name either of Heber, the son of Sale, or elfe (faith Montanus) of wandring, as is

of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but

The government which this Nation un-Leaders of the Hebrews: all which feignings, the things of Fame in other Nations about as touching the Jews and their originals, 70-fephus against Appion, and Tertullian have suf-

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Josua, to the War of Troy: which was about the time of Jephtha.

of the Inter-regnum after Josua's death: and of Othoniel.

Hen Josua was now dead, who ance of simeon) they became victorious. take the War against the Canaanites, over kind upon his own head: and so by the torwhom (with Gods favour, and the affift- ments which he now felt in his own person

with the advice of the 70. Elders, In the first attempt which they made, they and the high Priest, held authori- not onely slew ten thousand, but made Adoty over the people, and ordered that nibezek prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Common-weal: it pleased God to direct Commander, both of the Canaanites and Pethe Tribe of Juda (in whom the King-rizites. This tyrants cruelty, as elfewhere dom was afterward established) to under- hath been signified, they returned in the same

by his malicious imagination) made him displeasure against them eight years, it pleacontess and acknowledge Gods judgments fed him to have compassion on his people,

against himself.

the Cities of Azetus, Askolon, Ekron, and Hie- Defarts, and into Mesopotamia adjoyning: rusulem, which they burnt, and the Jebusites after which the Israelites had peace fourty after re-edified. They took also the Cities of years, during all the time of Gthoniels go-Hebron, Debir, or Kiriathsepher, and Zephath, vernment. This Othoniel is thought by Toft a- 2602. afterwards Horma. And although it be not tus, to have been the younger brother of 2642. fet down in express words that any one per- Caleb, for as much as in the book of Judges, fon commanded in chief over the people, as he is twice called Othoniel, the fon of Cenaz, Atofes and Jofus did : yet it seemeth that Calebs younger brother. Others do rather Caleb was of greatest authority among them: interpret those words [Calebs younger broand that he, with the advice of Phinees, di-ther ] as if they fignified the meanelt of his rected and ordered their wars. For if any kinred. Indeed it is not likely that Calebs think that they proceeded without a Chief, Daughter should marry with her own Unthe good success which followed their uncle; yet it follows not therefore that Othodertakings, witnefieth the contrary. And it niel should have been the meanest of the was Caleb even while Josus governed, as ap-kinred. Wherefore we may better think that pears, 796. 10. 39. that propounded the at- he was the Nephew of Caleb, (as some learntempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captains: ed men expound it) and as the very words for the performance of which enterprise, he of Scripture seem to enforce. For Caleb was promised his daughter Achsab: which he per- the son of Jephunneth, and Otkoniel the son formed to Othoniel his younger brother af- of Cenas, Calebs younger brother; that is, he ter the conquest: whose behaviour in that was not brother to Caleb, but his younger service was such, as (next unto the ordinance brothers son; to whom it was not onely of God) it gave him the greatest reputation lawful, but commendable to marry with his among them, and may be esteemed the se- Cousin German Calebs Daughter. cond cause of his preferment and election How long it was from the death of Josua, for their first Judge soon after. But while to the government of Othoniel, it cannot be thole of Juda made war with their border- found: but it feems to have been no short ers, from whom they onely recovered the time. For many wars were made in that space mountainous Countries (for they could not against the people of the Land. Laif was drive out the Inhabitants of the Vallies, be-then taken (as is thought) by the Danites; July 1.119 cause they had Chariots of Iron.) The rest of and the best Writers are of opinion, that bethe Tribes fought also to enlarge and esta-tween the times of Josua and Othoniel, that Judg. 1.5; the house of Joseph recovered Bethel, or Lux, of the Levites Wife. For it is written, that in 1 Judg. 1.30 from the Hitties, to did the Amorites recover those dayes there was no King in Ifrael, but from Dan all the plain Countries, and forc't every mandid that which was good in his them to fave themselves in the Mountains. own eyes. And as Juda led the people against And now the Ifraelites, unmindful of Gods the Canaanites, during the Inter-regnum, fo benefits, and how often he had miraculously was he commanded to do against Benjamin, a-fore-time defended them, and made them, even by the Lord God, whose direction they victorious over their enemies (the Elders craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what with their Idolatry, deliver them into the it was in the managing of this action, wherehands of the Aramites of Melopotamia, whom in they so weakened the body of their e-Chushan Rishathaim at that time commanded. State, by esfusion of blood, that in many ages

(before no otherwise known unto him but But after they had felt the fmart of Gods and to raise up Othoniel to be their Judge The Tribes of Juda and Simeon did also and Leader: who by God affifted, deliver-Julyin master and possess during this Inter-regnum ed his brethren from oppression, and infor-(or as some think, before the death of Josua) ced the Aramites to return into their own

blith their own Territorics. In which war civil war brake out between the Benjamites July 15. they laboured with variable fucces: for as and the rest of Ifreel, for the forcing to death 618.00 the house of 3.60th recovered Rothel or I was of the I emits. Wife For it is universe that in 19. being also consumed, who better advised should be done; which sheweth it to have them in the Inter-regnum) did not only joyn been when Josua was dead, and before the themselves in marriage with the Heathen government of othoniel, especially consider-Nations: but (that which was more dete- ing, that all other times wherein they wantstable they served the Idols of Baal, and A- ed Governours, were spent under such opfteroth, with other the dead gods of the Ca-naanites and Amorites. And therefore did them no leave to have attempted such a cithe Lord God, whom they had provoked vil war, if their power had been as great, as

CHAP. XIII. gainst their bordering enemies.

# §. II.

of the History of the World.

of the memorable things of this age in other N tions: and of the difficulty in the compatation of times.

Here lived in this age of Othoniel, Pandon.or Pandareus, according to Homer, the fifth King of Athens; who began to rule in the twentieth year of Othoniel, and goversed forty years. He was father to Eridheus: his daughters were Progne and Philomela, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained Thebestof whose daughter semele was born Diomiss or liber Pater: under whom Linus the Musician lived. In his time also the Cities of Melus, Paphus, and Tharfus were built.

Ida and Daciylus flourished in this age, who are faid to have found out the use of for 4n: Iron: but Genesis hath taught us the conwhere trary, and that Tubalcain long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brass. Not long after this time, Amphion and Zethus species governed Thebes: whom divers Chronolo-Gille gers find in Ehuds time. But S. Augustine making a repetition of those fables, which Jap. 68 th. pa Dei, L. were devised among the Greeians and other 18,613 Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with Triptolemus, of whole parentage there is as little agreement. Vives upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. Augustine de Civit. Dei, and the eighteenth book, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progeny, where he that defires his pedigree than before: I can therefore give no other may find it. Last antius and Eusebius make warrant, than other men have done in these him native of Attica: and the fon of Elenfius | computations: and therefore that fuch and long Boat, which carried in her Prow a gra- are not to require an exact narration of the ven or carved Serpent; who because he truth, sayes biodore. made exceeding great speed to return and to relieve his people with Corn from fome neighbour Nation: it was feigned by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents of Ehuds time, and of Proserpina, Orithya, through the air.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with Othoniel, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of Israel and Juda, be precisely set down, I cannot avow; for the Chronologers, both of the former and latter times, ditter in many par-

they could not bring into the field fuch ticulars; to examine all which would renumbers as formerly they had mustered a- quire the whole time of a long life: and therefore I defire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgment. For whether Eulebius and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themfelves to converfant with thefe ancient Kings; and with the very year when they began to rule) have hit the mark of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest Chronologers have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their own works, but conjecture. Secondly, because their own disagreement and contention in those clider dayes, with that of our own age among the labourers in times, is fuch, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans understanding save his own; but that he is greatly diftracted, after what pattern to erect his buildings.

This difagreement is found not onely in the reigns of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed up, as in that of Abrahams birth; and after in the times of the Judges and the oppressions of Israel, in the times from the egression to the building of Solomon's Temple, in the Persian Empire, the feventy Weeks, and in what not? Wherefoever the account of times may fuffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are fuch, as for ought that I fee, men have fought by fo many wayes to uncover the Sun, that the days thereby are made King of Elensina: which Elensins by careful such Kings and Kingdoms took beginning in industry had fed the people of that Territo- this or that year, I avow it no otherwise than ry in the time of a great famine. This, when as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a upon the like occasion Triptolemus could not private opinion: which I submit to better perform, fearing the fury of the people, he judgments. Namin prifeis rebus veritus non fled thence by Sea in a kind of Galley or ad unquem querenda; In ancient things we

### 6. III.

Tereus, Tantalus, Tytius, Admetus, and others that lived about these times.

Fter the death of Othoniel, when Ifrael fell back to their former Idolatry, God incouraged Moab to invade and suppress them : to perform which , he joyned the

and so (as all kind of mifery readily find- | Thefeus joyned themselves, they agreed toeth out those whom God hath abandoned, gether to recover her: but Plute, or Oreus or for a time with-drawn his help from, (whom others call Aidonius ) had (as they thereby to make them feel the difference fay) a very huge Dog, which fastened on Pr. between his grace and his displeasure) these vithous, and tare him in pieces, and had also Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie worried Theseus, but that Hercules speedily conquest over Ifrael, whom God himself ex-rescued him, and by strength took and maposed to those perils, within which they stered the Dog Cerberus: whereof grew were fo speedily folded up. In this miserable the sable of Hercules his delivering Thesens estate they continued full eighteen years out of Hell.But Zezes, as I take it, hath writunder Felon King of the Modbites and his ten this story somewhat more according to confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are the truth. For Thefens and Pyrithons, faith he. infinite, he turned not his ears from their attempted to steal Proferpina Daughter to crying repetance: but railed up Ebud the Aidonus, King of the Moloffians, who had fon of Gera to deliver them: by which weak Ceres to Wife, the mother of Proferpina: ton of cera to derive titem. The man, though mained in his right hand, yet Proferpina being a general name allo for all confident in the justness of his quarrel, and fair women. This purpose of theirs being fearing that the Israelites were too few in known to Aidonius, Theseus and Pyrithous numbers to contend with the Head of those were both taken; and because Pyrithous valiant Nations, he refolved to attempt upon was the principal in this conspiracy, and the person of Fglon, whom if he could but Theseus drawn on by a kind of affection or extinguish he assured himself of the follow- inforcement, the one was given for food to ing victory: especially giving his Nation Aidonius his great Dog Cerberus, the other no time to re-establish their government, or held prisoner, till Hercules, by the instigation to choose a King to command and direct of Euristhess, delivered him by strong hand. them in the Wars. According to which reso- The Molossi, which Stephanus writes with a lution. Ehud went on as an Embassadour to single(8) were a people of Epirus, inhabiting Fglon, loaden with presents from the Israe- near the Mountains of Pindus: of which tites, as to appeale him, and obtaining pri- Mountains Octa is one of the most famous. vate access, upon the pretence of some se- where Hercules burnt himself. The River of cret to be revealed, he piere't his body with Acheron (which the Poets describe to be in a Poniard, made of purpose with a double Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is edge: and shutting the doors of his closet another Nation of the Molossi in Thessali: but upon him, escaped.

It may feem, that being confident of his Plutarch in his Greek questions. good fuccess, he had prepared the Brength The rape of Orithya, the daughter of Eof Ifrael in readiness. For suddenly after his rothers, King of Athens, taken away by Bomen : whereof not any one escaped. After Athens. In this time also Tereus ravished Philived in peace unto the end of fourscore Philomela from Athens to see her sister, forterm expired in the Worlds year 2691.

forces of Ammon, and Amalee unto his own, known to Fyrithous, with whom Hercules and these are neighbours to the Cassiopai, saith

return, he did re-pas Jordan, and invading ress of Ibrace, is referred to the time of Ebnd. the Territory of Moub, overthrew their Atmy, confifting of 10000, able and strong wind, because Thrace is situate North from which victory, and that Samgar his Successor lomela of which the fable was devised of her had miraculously slain 600. Philistims with conversion into a Nightingale. For Terens an Ox goad: the Land and People of Ifrael having married her lifter Progne, conducting years from the death of othoniel, which ced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that the might not complain; In the dayes of Ehud, Naomi, with Elime- perswading Progne his Wife, that Philomela lech her husband, and with her two sons, tra- died in the mid-way: all which her brovelled into Moab, and so the story of Ruth ther-in-laws merciles behaviour towards is to be referred to this time. About the be- her, Philopsela expressed by her needle upon ginning of the fourfcore years which are gi- cloath, and fent unto Progne. In revenge ven to Ehud, it was that Orcus King of the whereof, Progne caused her onely son Hys to Molossians, otherwise Pluto, stole Proserpina, be cut in pieces, and set before Tereus her as the walked to gather flowers in the fields hufband, fo dreft as it appeared to be fome of Hipponium in Sicilia: or (according to other ordinary food: of which when he Pausanias) by the River cephisus, which else- had eaten his fill, she caused his head, hands where he calleth Chemer, if he mean not two and feet, to be presented unto him: and distinct Rivers. This stealth being made then fled away with such speed towards as the Poets feigned, that she was turned in Zezes, give him another mother. He was into a Swallow. The place where it was faid to be the fon of Jupiter, as some will performed, Strabo finds to be Daulis, in have it; because he had that Planet in his both built near the Rocks Mergi, in the Ter- It is faid, that when he made a feaft to the ritory of Athens. By which, as also by the gods, having nothing more precious, he canname Daulis, where these things are supposed his own sonto be slain and drest to the fed to have been done (whence also Phi- banquet: of whom Ceres ate part of one of lowels is called Daulias ales ) it appears that the shoulders; whereby was signified, that it is true, which Theucydides notes by way those men which seek after Divine knowfaith Thucydides, that Pandion King of A- the reft. Of whom Ovid: thens made that alliance with a neighbour King, from vvhom he might have fuccour, rather than vvith any Tereus, that should have held the Kingdom of Odryse, vehich vas greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for Progne to be turned into, may feem to have been, partly because, as Pausanias sayes, Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her fifter, did for ever after hate that place.

Near this time Melampus ( who is faid to have understood the voices of Birds and Beafts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of Pra-Palls. tus King of the Argives, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by Juno: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did use often to

plough with Kine. In the feven and fortieth year of Ehud, Tros began to reign in Dardania, and gave it his own name; about which time Phemone the chief Priest of Apollo in Delphos, devised the Heroical Verse,

Lydia: whom Enfebius makes King of Phrygia: and also of that part of which the people that he was therefore by them in that fort were anciently Maones. Of Tantalus was devised the fable that some Poets have ap-

Map Evan. plied to the passion of love : and some to the 1. Zeer. covetous that dare not injoy his riches. Enist to febius calls this Tantalus the fon of Jupiter,

Atkens, where her Father Pandion yet lived, by the Nimph Pleta: Diaconus and Didymus Theis: and the Tomb of Terens, Paulanias afcendent, betokening Wifdom and Riches. of digreffion in his Peloponnefian War, That ledge, prefer nothing on earth before it: no this Tereus was not King in that which is not the care of their own children, of all else now called Thracia, or in Odryfa, (as the the most dearest. And where it was devised, Poets call him Odryfus ) but that Phoeis a that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offer-Country in Greece not far from Attica, a ed to his lips, and yet fuffered the torment City whereof is called Daulia, was in Pan- of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, dions time inhabited by Thracians, of which that though he abounded (by reason of his this Tereus was King: whence Pandion, to riches) in all delicacy of the world, yet his have amity with his neighbours, made him mind being otherwise, and to higher defires his fon-in-law: as it is good to believe, transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by

Quarit aquas in aquis, & poma jugacia cap-

Tantalus, hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.

Here Tantalus in water feeks for water, and doth miss.

The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisdom and vertue to mortal men: which story Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and fay, That Tantalus, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirsty of more abundance, was never fatisfied. Of whom Horace against covetoufnels.

Tantalus à labiis sitiens fugientia captat Flumina ; quid rides ? mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur.

The thirfting Tantalus doth catch at streams that from him flee.

Why laughest thou?the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive, where it is feigned of Of the same date was Tantalus, King of Tantalus, that he gave the Nectar and Ambrosia of the gods, to vain and unworthy men, punished.Of which Natalis out of Pindarus :

> Immortalitatem quod furatus, Coetaneis convivis. Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit. Ťτ

Because

CHAP. XIII.

Because that stealing immortality, He did both Nedar and Ambrolia give To guests of his own age, to make them

Whereby it was meant, that the fecrets of Divinity ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleanest meats in a foul stomack, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserved mysteries are often perverted by an unclean and defiled mind.

To you it is given ( faith Christ in Mark ) expounded all things to his Disciples apart. And lived, and had his flesh renewed. Mark 4.34 therefore doth Gregory Nazianzene infer

neciste de tertium & usque ad illud progressio suppedita- wit, was by him advanced; but having Des. vit, fortage de Deo, nobis aliquid amplim con- flain Hyacinthus, he crost the Hellespont, and flaret; If Paul might have uttered the things, fled into Phrygia: where, together with the knowledge whereof the third Heavens, and Neptune, he was entertained by Laomedon, his going thitker, did bring unto him, perad- and got his bread by working in brick, for

part of a wise man, Asino lyram exponere, ant on his Harp: according to him in Ovid, mysteria, qua ita reciperet ut Sus tubam & fi- which saith: dem graculus, & unquenta Scarabaus : quare filentium indixit discipulis nè vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, que meditando facilius quam loquendo apprehendantur; To set an Ass to a Harp or to learn mysteries : which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a Viol, or Scarabies, and unclean flies soveraign ointment. Wherefore he commanded silence to his Disciples , that they should not disclose divine mysteries to the common fort, which are certain Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that witness, faith Paulanias. their fecrets might be hidden from the Vul-

of Aod, or Ebud, with him it is also said, that dusa, the Daughter and Successor of Phoreus, Tytius lived, whom Apollo flew, because he being weakly accompanied as she hunted, dying, and himself therein nourished, he was the siction, That all that looked on Medina's therefore called the son of the earth. Pansa- head, were turned into stones. mias speaking of the grave of this Giant, as- | Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7.

of a furlong. But Tibullus hath a louder lie of his stature out of Homer :

Porrectulane novem Tytius per jugera terra. Alliduas atro viscere pascit aves.

Nine furlongs stretcht lies Tytius, who for his wicked deeds.

The hungry Birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This Strabo doth thus expound; That Apollo killing this cruel and wicked Tyrant Mark + 11 to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God, of Panopea, a City in Phocis, it was feigned by but unto them that are without, all things be the Poets, to the terrour of others, That he done in Parables. So it is said of him, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still

Admetus, King of Thessay, lived also in this Greg is upon a place of S. Paul: 200d fi Paulo liage, whom it is faid that Apollo first served as Uru de reis raio, cuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem calum a Herd-man, and afterward, for his excellent venture we might know somewhat more of God. building of the walls of Troy, not by making Pythagoras, faith Revelin, thought it not the the bricks leap into their places by playing

> Ilion aspicies, sirmataque turribus altis Menia, Apollinea structa canore lyra.

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high, Built with the harp of wife Apollo's Harmony.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laeasier learned by meditation than by babling. boured with his hands, as hired in this work. And therefore did the Egyptians communi- And that he also laboured at the building of cate their mysterics antong their Priests in the Labyrinth in Greece , all the Megariens Passin

In these dayes also of Ehud, or (as some gar: and that they might bestow the more find it ) in the dayes of Deborab, lived Persetime in the contemplation of their covered us, the fon of Jupiter and Danae, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of Peloponnesus, But to proceed with the contemporaries to feek their adventure on Africa fide) Mefought to force his mother Latona. Euphori- near the Lake Tritan was surprised and slain: Take of on hath it thus, that Trims was the ion of whose beauty, when Perseus beheld, he cau distinguished the Daughter of Orchomenus; which sed her head to be imbalmed, and carried with segurities. Elarabeing beloved of Jupiter, to avoid Ju- into Greece: the beauty whereof was such, polleting no's revenge, he hid Elara in the earth, where and so much admired, and the beholders so nign a she was delivered of Tytius: whose Mother associated which beheld it, as thereof grew true she

firms, that his body occupied the third part King of Athens, and Acrifus the 13. or, after

vears, and the tecond 31. years. And Deuepolicy many other expositions are made or
replan lived in this age, being the fon of
replan lived in this age, being the fon of
replan lived in this tale by other Authors: but it is not unreplan lived in by Antea, or Sthenobia, the wife of Pratus of for fo Virgil calleth one of the greatest ships ned. no. the Argives, to accompany her, but refuling of Eneas. it, the accused him to her husband, that he offered to force her: whereupon Pretus ing ignorant of the antiquity of their parent fent Bellerophon into Lycia, about some affairs Javan) derive their name of Iones, is said to of weight, between him and his fon-in-law have been about Ebuds time: Homer calls Johates: giving secret order to Johates to them Jaones, which hath a near resemblance dispatch him: but Jobates thinking it disho- to the word Javan. Perhaps it might be nourable to lay violent hands on him, im- fo that Ion himself took name from Javan: ployed him against Chimera, a Monster vo- it being a custom observable in the Histomiting, or breathing fire. Now the gods (as ries of all times, to revive the ancient name the report is ) pittying his innocency, fent of a fore-father, in some the principal of his him the winged Horse, Pegasus, sprung up of iffue. the blood of Medusa, formerly flain by the The invasion of India by Liber-Pater, is Bellerophon overcame Chimera: and per- gypt, and the death of Josus. formed the other fervices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward to Ebnd, and Samgar, Pelops flourished: who Lycia, the Lycians lay in ambush to have slain gave name to Peloponnesus in Greece, now him: but being victorious also over all those, he arrived to Jobates in fafety:whom Jobates for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdom: after which he grew fo infolent, as he attempted to flie up to heaven upon his Pegasus: whose pride Jupiter disdaining, caused one of his stinging slies so to vex Pegafus, as he cast off Bellerophon from his back, into the Valley of Cilicia, where gain began to forget the giver of all goodhe died blind; of which burthen Pegajus ness, and many of those being worn out, being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew back to heaven: and being fed in Jupiters and of Gods deliverance by Ehud; and afown stable, Aurora begg'd him of Inpiter to ter him by Samgar; the rest began to reduce on before the Sun. This tale is diversly expounded; as first by some, That it pleafeth God to relieve men in their innocent and undeferved advertity, and to cast down ful in begetting and bringing forth both those which are too high minded: accordanger and subversion: of which, all estates ding to that which is faid of Bellerophon: in the world have tasted by interchange of that when he was exposed to extream hat times. Therefore when their fins were azard, or rather certain death, he found both gain ripe for punishment, Jabin King of Hadeliverance and honour: but waxing over-zor, after the death of Ehnd, invaded the terproud and prefumptuous in his glorious for- ritory of Ifrael; and having in his fervice tunes, he was again thrown down into the 900, iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forextremity of forrow, and ever-during mile- ces, he held them in subjection twenty years,

Enfebius, the 14. King of the Argives, began of Galley, of fuch swiftness, that it was calalso their reigns, as it is said, in the time of led the flying Horse: to whom the invention this Judge: of which the first ruled 40. of sayls (the wings of a ship) are also attri-years, and the second 31. years. Also Belle-

Ion alfo, from whom the Athenians (be-poll.

the blood of natanga, inflicta, to transport by some reported as done in this age; but shim; a horse that none other could master or bridle but \*\*Minera\*\*: upon which beast placing him between the coming out of \*\*E-ddi\*\*, i. is. About the end of the 80. years, ascribed called Morea.

# 6. IV.

of Deborah and her Contemporaries.

Fter Ifrael had lived in peace and plen-A ty to the end of these 80. years, they awhich were witnesses of the former misery, mandments. For as Plenty and Peace are the parents of idle fecurity; so is fecurity as fruitry. Secondly by others, That under the till it pleased God to raise up Deborah, the name of Chimara, was meant a cruel Pyrat Prophetels, who incouraged Barac to levy a Plate in of the Lycians, whose ship had in her prow force out of Nepthalim, and Zabulon, to ina Lyon, a Goat in the mid-ship, and a Dra-counter the Canaanites. That the men of gon in the stearn, of which three beasts this Nepthalim were more forward than the rest Monster Chimara was said to be compoundin this action, it may seem to have proceeded ed, whom Bellerophon pursued with a kind partly from the authority that Barac had among them, being of the same Tribe; and kept the Sea-coast, and for sook their habipartly from their feeling of the common tations towards the Land; and the children grievance, which in them was more sensible of Dan, who neighboured the Sea, crept into than in others, because Harror and Harofeth their ships for safety, shewing thereby that the chief holds of Tabin, were in Nepibalim. all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. She So in the dayes of Teptha the Cilcadites took then curfed the Inhabitants of Meroz, who the greatest care, because the Amounites, dwelling near the place of the battel (bewith whom the War was, prefled most upon like fearing the success) came not out to afthem, as being their borderers. Now as it fift threel, and then bleffeth Jael the wife of pleased God by the left hand of Ehad to Heber the Kenite, who nailed sifera in her deliver ifrael from the Moabites: and by the Tent: flewing the ancient affection of that counfel and courage of a woman, to free race to the Ifraelites. For though the Famithem from the yoak of Canan, and to kill ly of Heber were inforced in that milerable the valiant Sifera by Jael the Kenites wife: time of febjection, to hold correspondency fo was it his will at other times, to work the with Jabin the Canasnite, vet when occasilike great things by the weakest means. For on officeed them means, they witnessed their the mighty Affrian Nabuchodonofor, who was love and faith to their ancient Friends. Lasta King of Kings, and refiftlefs, he overthrew ly, the derideth the Mother of Sifera who by his own imaginations, the caufers of his promifed her son the victory in her own brutish melancholy: and changed his match-hopes: and fancied to her self, and described his match-hopes. less pride into the base humility of a Beast, bed the spoils both of Garments and Mai-And to approve that he is the Lord of all dens by him gotten. For conclusion, she dipower, he sometime punisheth by invisible recteth her praise and thanks to God onely firength, as when he llaughtered the Army victorious.
of Semebrib by his Angel, or ashnelid the From the beginning of Jabins oppression Egyptians in Mofes time: Sometime by dead to the end of that peace, which Deborah and bodies, as when he drowned Pharanking the Barac purchased unto Ifrael, there passed 40. waves of the Sea; and the Canaanites by years. In which time the Kingdom of Argos, hail-stones in the time of Josua: sometimes which had continued 544. years, was tranby the minifery of men, as when he over-threw the four Kings of the Eaft, Chedorlao Kingdom, Vives out of Panjanian writesh to mer, and his companions, by the houshold this effect: After Dahane, Lynceus Succeedfervants of Abraham. He caused the Moa- ed in Argos, after whom the Children of 4bites and Ammonites to fet upon their own bas the fon of Lynceus divided the Kingdom: confederate the Army of the Edomites; and of which serious being eldest, held signs it having flain them, to kill one another in the felf: Pratus his brother policit Ephyra, or

speak unto Barac in these words: But this witness Pratus possession, faith Pausanias. journey that thou takeft, Shall not be for thine Now Acrifius was foretald by an Oracle, the fourth of Indees.

sheweth the weak estate whereinto Ifrael whom Persens was born; who when he grew

light of Jehosaphar: and of the like to chefe a Corinth, and Tirynthos, and other Cities, with par inte volume of examples may be gathered. And all the Territory towards the Sea: there be restined to this effect did Deborah the Prophetess ing many Monuments in Tirynthes, which

honour, for the Lord field fell Silven into the that he should be slain by the kon of his bands of a Woman. In which victory all the Daughter Danae: whereupon he caused her strength of the Canaanite Jabin fell to the to be inclosed in a Tower, to the end that ground even to the last man: in the end of no man might accompany her. But the Lady which War it seemeth that Jabin himself a!- being exceeding fair, it is fained that Japiter to perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of turned himself into a golden shower : which falling into her lap, begat her with child: After all which, Deborah giveth thanks to the meaning whereof was, that some Kings God, and after the acknowledgement of all fon, or other worthy man, corrupted her his powerfulness, and great mercies, the Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of was brought for their Idolatry by the Canaa- to mans estate, either by chance (faith Cefnites, and other bordering Nations, in these as)or in shewing his grand-father the invenwords: Wastbere a Sheld or fpear feen among tion of the difens, or leaden ball, flew him forty thousand of Ifrael? She also sheweth unwillingly. After this, Perseus, to avoid the how the Ifraelites were severed and amazed, infamy of Patricide in Argis, changed Kingforme of them confined over fordan, and domes with his Uncle Pratus: and built durst not joyn themselves to the rest; as Adjeane. This imprisonment of Danse, 80those of Reuben in Gilead : that the Afterites phoches reporteth otherwise : and that the

was inclosed in a brazen vault under the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close custody Horace hath this witty observation:

> Inclusam Danaen turris abenea, Robustaque fores, O vivilum canunt Triftes excubie munierant satis Nocturnis ab adulteris :

Si non Acrisium Virginis abditæ Custodem pavidum, Jupiter & Venus Rififent, fore enim tutum iter & patens Converso in pretium Deo.

Aurem per medios ire fatellites, El perrumpere amat faxa, potentius Ith fulmineo.

The brazen tower with doors close barr'd And watchful bandogs frightful guard, Kept fafe the maidenhead Of Danae from fecret love: Till smiling Venus, and vvile Jove

Beguil'd her Fathers dread. For chang'd into a golden showre, The god into her lap did poure Himself, and took his pleasure.

Through guards and itony vvals to break The thunder-bolt is far more weak, Than is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argives were these.

Inachus the first King, who began to reign in the first year of Jacob, and the 61. of Ifalus, Castor misreckoneth 400 years. This Kingdom before the translation, Eusebius but at 417. Io was the daughter of this Ina- Jerubbaal: vvhose fear and unvvillingness, chus: whom the Egyptians called Isis.

Phoroneus,	Sthenelus,
Apis	Danaus,
Argus.	Lynceus,
Pirafus,	Abas,
Phorbas,	Acrisus,
Triopas,	Pelops.
Crotonus.	

After the translation to Mycene, Mar. Scotus finds these Kings:

Perseus, Eurystheus, Sthenelus,

Atreus ) The fons of Pelops by Hippodamia: Atreus by Europe had Thyestes. Agamemnon and Menelaus.

Agamemnon, Ægystbus, Oreftes,

Tilamenus. Penthilus and Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Bunting leave out the two first, and the last, beginning with Eurystheus : and ending with Penthilus. In Tifamenus time the Heraclida returned into Peloponesus: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Barac and Debora, vvere Midas, vvho reigned in Phrygia: and Ilus, vvho built Ilium: vvith othersmentioned in our Chronological Table, as Contemporaries vvith Debora.

s. V.

of Gideon, and of Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, and others that lived in this Age.

Debora and Barac being dead, the Midianites, assisted by the Amalekites, infested Trael. For when, under a Judge, who had held them in the fear of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity: The Judge was no fooner dead, than they turned to their former impious Idolatry. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did fo master them in a short time (the hand of God being withheld from their defence) as to fave themselves, they crept into caves of the mountains, and other the like places of hardest access: their enemies possessing all the plains and fruitful vallies : and in har- Jul. 6. vest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattel, destroying all that grew up: ac: from which time, to the end of sthene- covering the fields as thick as grashhoppers: vvhich servitude lasted seven years.

Then the Lord by his Angel stirred up accounteth to have flood 544. years, others Gideon the fon of Josh, afterward called Jud.6.v.s. and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely fet down in the holy Scriptures : as also how it pleased God by a few select persons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make Jud. c. 6. them know that he onely wasthe Lord of 67. Hofts Each of these 300. by Gideons appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher instruments of more terrour than force, with which he gave the great Army of their enemies an alarum: vvho hearing fo loud a noise, and seeing (at the crack of so many pitchers broken ) fo many lights about them, effecting the Army of Ifiael to be infinite, and strucken with a sudden fear, they all fled without a stroke stricken, and vvere flaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and

CHAP. XIII.

flain. In his return the Ephramites began to the opportunity, and pursued his former quarrel with Gideon, because he made war victory to the uttermost : and finding Zebah without their affiltance, being then greedy and Zalmunna in Karker (luspecting no fur-of glory, the victory being gotten: who ther attempt upon them) he again surprized (if Gideon had failed and fallen in the en- them, and flaughtered those 15000. remainterprize) would no doubt have held theming: having put to the fword in the former felves happy by being neglected. But Gide- attempt 120000, and withall he took Zebah on appealing them with a mild answer, fol- and Zalmunna prisoners: whom because lowed after the enemy, in which pursuit be-themselves had executed Gidion's brethren might over-take the other two Kings of the it; and in his return from the confummatima: which fled.

tions, and were not spoyled by them; or Histories. else they knowing that Zeba and Zalmunna In the end so much did the people revewere escaped with a great part of their Ar- rence Gideon in the present for his victory, my, might fear their revenge in the future. and there own deliverance, as they offered Secondly, it may be laid to the condition him the Soveraignty over them, and to and dispositions of these men: as it is not establish him in the Government; which he For there are multitudesof men, especially neither shall my childe reign over you, but the of those which follow the war, that both Lord shall, &c. But he desired the people envy and maligne others, if they perform any that they would bestow on him the golden praise-worthy actions, for the honour and ear-rings which every man had gotten. For lafety of their own Country, though them- the Ismaelites, neighbours, and mixt with felves may be affured to bear a part of the the Midianites, used to wear them : the fmart of contrary fuccess. And such malici- weight of all which was a thousand and seous hearts can rather be contented that their ven hundred shekles of gold, which makes Prince and Country should suffer hazzard of ours 2380.li. if we follow the account of

Balan, 25 it were that he refreshed himself and his wea- set up the same in his own City of Ophra or st dought were that he refreined himself and his wear let up the faille to the street to Idolatry, the fail s.10, ry and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed Ephra, which drew Ifrael to Idolatry, the

ing tyred with travel, and weary even with before at Tabor, he caused them both to be the flaughtering of his enemies, he defired flain: or (as it is written) at their own rerelief from the inhabitants of Succeth, to quest slew them with his own hands, his Son the end, that (his men being refreshed) he whom he first commanded to do it, refusing Midianites: which had faved themselves on of this marvellous victory, he took reby flight. For they were four Princes of venge of the Elders of Succoth, and of the the Nations, which had invaded and wa- Citizens of Penuel: forgiving no offence fted Ifrael: to wit, Oreb and Seeb, which committed against him, either by strangers, were taken already, and Zebah and Zalmun- or by his brethren the Ifraelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his own chil-Gideon being denied by them of Succoth, dren found foon after his death, according fought the like relief from the Inhabitants to that which hath been faid before. The of Penuel, who in like fort refused to succour debts of cruelty and mercy are never left him. To both of these places he threatned unsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of therefore the revenge, vvhich in his return Succoth, with great and unufual torments, fo from the profecution of the other two Prin- were his own 70. fons, all but one, murtheces, he performed: to vvit, that he vvould red by his own bastard Abimelec: The like tear the flesh of those of Succosts with thorns Analogy is observed by the Rabbines, in the and briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and greatest of the plagues which God brought City of Penuel. Novv vvhy the people of upon the Egyptians, who having caused the these two Cities should refuse relief to male children of the Hebrews to be slain, otheir brethren the Israelites, especially after thers of them to be cast into the River fo great a victory: if I may prefume to and drowned: God rewarded them even make conjecture, it feems likely, first, that with the like measure, destroying their those Citiesset over Jordan, and in the way own first born by his Angel, and drownof all invasions, to be made by the Moabites, ing Pharaeh and his Army in the Red Sca. Ammonites and Midianites, into Ifrael, had And hereof a world of examples might be either made their own peace with those Na- given both out of the Scriptures and other

rare to find of the like humour in all ages. refused, answering; I will not reign over you, Judg 113 and want, than that such men as they mist the shekle vulgar. And because he conver-excl. : like, thould be the authors or actors of any ted that gold into an Ephod, a garment of Judg 8.36 glory or good to either.

gold, blew filk, purple, scarlet, and fine linen, belonging to the High Priest only, and

fame was the destruction of Gideon and his house.

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There was another kind of Ephod befides this of the High Priests, which the Levites uted, and so did David when he danced before the Ark: and Samuel while he was yet young, which was made of linnen only.

Now if any man demand how it was poswritten; That the men of Ifrael being gathe- that the was delivered of the Monster Mino-

of Pandion, who reigned in Athens: Euryst- dalus framed fails both for his own boat, death of Enrysthese, the Kingdom of Mycene was over-born and drowned. fell into the hand of Atreus. This is that A- It is also written of Dædalus, that he made ress, who holding his brother in jealouse, Images that could move themselves, and as an attempter, both of his Wife and go, because he carved them with legs, arms, Crown, flew the children of Thiefter, and and hands; whereas those that preceded cauling their flesh to be drest, did therewith him, could only present the body and head feast their father. But this cruelty was not of those men, whom they carried to coununrevenged. For both Atreus and his fon terfeit, and yet the workmanship was efter, yea the grand children, and all the li- feen some of those that were called the Imanage of Atreus died by the same sword.

fay, having slain his Nephew Attalus, fled to cules. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sun Minos, King of Crete, for succour; where and Moons course, and of the generation of for his excellent workmanship he was great-living Creatures, but in the end he was slain ly esteemed, having made for Minos a Laby- by Hercules his Scholar with his own Harp. rinth, like unto that of Egypt. Afterward he was said to have framed an artificial Cow Sphinx, and Oedipus, are thought to have been for Passphae the Queen, that she, being in persormed. This sphinx being a great rob-love with a fair Bull, might by putting her ber by sea and land, was by the Corinthians self into the Cow, satisfic her lust; a thing Army, led by Occipus; overcome. But that no less unnatural than incredible, had not which was written of her propounding of that shameless Emperour Domitian exhibi- riddles, to those whom she mastered, was ted the like beaftly spectacle openly before meant by the rocky and unaccessible Mounthe people of Rome, in his Amphitheater; of tain near Thebes, which she defended; and by purpose, as may seem, to verifie the old Fa- Oedipus diffolving her probleme, his victory ble. For so it appears by those Verses of over her. She was painted with wings, be-Martial, wherein the flattering Poet magni- cause exceeding swift, and with the body of fieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pa- a Lion, for her cruelty. But that which Pageant, in those vicious times.

Junctam Paliphaen Dicteo credite Tauro Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem. Nec fe miratur Cafar, longava vetuftas Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of Paliphae, Servins makes a less unhonest confile for Gideon with 300, men to destroy struction of it, thinking that Dadalus was of 120000. of their enemies, and afterward her counsel, and her Pandar for the entice-15000. which remained, we may remember, ing of a Secretary of Minos called Taurus. that although Gideon with 300. gave the first which fignifieth a Bull, who begat her with alarm, and put the Midianites in rout and childe; and that she being delivered of disorder; yet all the rest of the Army came two sons, the one resembling Taurus, the in to the flaughter, and pursuit: for it is other her husband Minos, it was feigned red together out of Nephtaly, and out of Asher, taur, half a Man, and half a Bull. But this and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midia- practice being discovered, and Dadalus apnites: for this Army Gideon left in Tents be- pointed to be flain, he fled out of Crete to hind him, when he went down to view the Cocalus King of Sicil: in which passage he Army of his enemies, who with the noise of made such expedition, as it was seigned that his 300, trumpets came after him to the exe- he fashioned wings for himself and his son to transport them. For whereas Minos pursued There lived with Gideon, Egens, the son him with boats which had oares only . Dehew King of Mycene: Atrew and Thyestes and for his sons, by which he out-went those the fons of Pelops, who bare dominion over a that had him in chase. Upon which new ingreat part of Peloponness, and after the vention, Icarus bearing himself over-bold,

Agamemnon was flain by a base son of Thye-steemed very rare. But Plutarch, who had ges of Dadalus, found them exceeding rude.

In Gideon's time also those things were With Gideon also flourished Linus the Herind. supposed to have been done, which are writ- Theban, the son of Apollo, and Terpsichore, Plu Paus. ten of Dadalus and Icarus. Dadalus, they who instructed Thamaris, Orphaus, and Her-1. 9. Again, in this age those things spoken of strab. 1.9.

laphatus reports of sphinx, were more probable.

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bable, did not the time disprove it, for he would take (supposing he were able) against calls her an Amazonite, and the wife of Cad-, one of whom an Oracle should advise him to mus; who when by her help he had case Dra-take heed? to which question when Jaco out of Thebes (neglecting her) he marri- fon had briefly answered, that he would fend ed the fifter of Draco which sphinx taking in him to Colchos to fetch the golden Fleece. despightful part, with her own troop the held Pelias immediately commanded him to unthe Mountein by Thelies, from who nee the dertake that fervice. Therefore Jason prepa-

to those Illands. Hercules, as the killing of Antaus the Giant, selves: Lynceus by Pollux, Idas by Jupiter who was faid to have 60. and odd cubits of with lightning. length, which though Plutarch doth confirm, reporting that there was such a body the ship Areo: in whose Prow was a table of found by Sertorius the Roman, in Lybia, where the Beech of Dodona, which could fpeak.

Esfeb. in Hercules flew Anteus: yet for my felf I think They arrived first at Lemnos; the women of Aug de civil Dei, near the Gardens Hesperides in Mauritania. ple called Dolinnes: over whom then reign-

be a fubtle Sophister.

6. VI.

Of the Expedition of the Argonauts.

written, the fum of which is this:

mothers side to Ejon, who was Jajons sa- who went to seek Hylas the darling of Hercuther, reigning in Jolcos a Town of Theffaly, les, that was ravished by the Nymphs. was warned by the Oracle of Apollo to take Polyphemus built a Town in Mysia called heed of him that wore but one shoe. This Cios, wherein he reigned. Hercules retur-Pelias afterward facrificing to Neptune, invited ned to Argos. From Myfia the Argonauts fai-Jason to him, who coming hastily, lost one led into Bythinia, which then was peopled fhoe in passing over a brook: whereupon by the Bebryses, the ancient Inhabitants of

continued a flary was open the Thecans, till red for the voyage, having a ship built by by Oedipus overthrown. About this time did Argus the for of Phryxus, by the countel of Alinos thrust his bother out of core and Pallas: whereinhe procured all the bravelt held tharp war with the Magarians and other men of Greece to fail with him: as Typhis nians, because his son Androgens was thain the Master of the ship, Orpheus the famous by them. He possest himself of Liegara, by Poet, Castor and Pollux the sons of Tyndarus, the treason of Scylla, daughter of Nijus the Telamon and Pelcus sons of Aacus, and fa-King. He was song Mafter of the Sea, and thers of Ajax and Achilles, Fercules, Theseus, brought the Athenians to the tribute of deli- Zetes and Calais the two winged fons of Evvering him every year seven of their sons : reas, Amphiarans the great Soothsayer, Mewhich tribute Theleus released, as shall be leager of Calidon, that slew the great wild shewed, when I come to the time of the next Boar, Ascalaphus and Jalmenus, or Almenus, Judge Thola. In the end he was tlain at the fons of Mars, who were afterwards at Aril tol. Camerinus or Camicus in Sicilia, by Cocalus the last war of Troy, Laertes the father of Uthe King, while he purfued Dadalus: and was lyges, Atalanta a warlike Virgin, Idas and esteemed by some to be the first Law giver Lyneeus the sons of Aphareus, who afterwards in fight with Caftor and Pollux, flew Caftor, To this time are referred many deeds of and wounded Pollux, but were flain them-

These and many other went with Jason in it but a loud lie. That Antaus was of great which Island, having flain all the males, purftrength, and a cunning wreftler, Eusebius posing to lead an Amazonian lite, were neaffirmeth: and because he cast so many men vertheless contented to take their pleasure to the ground, he was feigned to be the son of the Argonants. Hence they came to the of the earth. Pliny laith, that he inhabited Country about Cyzicus: where dwelt a pec-LIB. C.I. St. Augustine affirms, that this Hercules was ed one Cyzicus, who entertained them not of Greece, but of I phia: and the Hydra al- friendly; but it fo fell out, that looling fo which he overcame, Plato expoundeth to thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his Port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the Doliones to be the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which means they fell to blows, infomuch that the Argonauts flew the most part of the Doliones, together with their Bout the eleventh year of Gideon, was King Cyzicus: which when by day-light they the famous expedition of the Argonauts perceived, with many tears they folemniof which many fabulous discourses have been zed his funeral. Then departed they again, and arrived shortly in Mysia, where they left Peliss the fon of Neptune, brother by the Hercules and Polyphemus the fon of Elates,

Pelias demanded of him what course he the Country, over whom Amyous the son

and devouring or carrying away the great-er part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonauts craved his advice about this task, Medica the daughter of Aand direction for their voyage: You shall etes fell into a most vehemen love of him, do well (quoth he) first of all to deliver fo far forth, that being excellent in Magique, me from the Harpies, and then afterwards to ask my councel. Whereupon they cauto ask my counter.

Whereapon they can led the table to be covered, and meat fet on; which vvas no fooner fet down, than by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine that presently in came the Harpies, and play- wherewith she bade him to anoint both ed their accustomed pranks : when Zetes his body and his armour, which would preand Calais the yvinged young men faw this, ferve him from their violence: further she through the air: Some fay, that both the the ground, from the teeth which he should Harpies and the young men died of weariness fowe, and fet upon him. To remedy was bruifed. From thence forward (as the tale go-

gods, say they, had decreed that after the when Medea perceived to be at hand, she passageof a ship, they should be fixed. Thence slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, the Argonauts came to the Mariandyni, a she scattered his limbs indivers places; of people inhabited about the mouth of the ri- which Æetes finding some, was sain to seek ver Parthenius, where Lycus the King en-tertained them courteoully, Here Idman a the parts of his fon he buried in a place, Southfayer of their company was flain by a which thereupon he called Tomi; the Greek

of Neptune vvas then King. He being a wild Boar, also here Typhia dyed: and Antirong man, compelled all strangers to fight ceus undertook to steare the ship. So they with him at vyhoribats, in vyhich kind of paffed by the River Thermodon, and Mount fight he had tlain many, and was now Cancasus, and came to the River Phasis, which lamelf ilain by Pollax. The Bebryces in re- runs through the land of Colchos. When venge of his death flew all upon Pollux, but they were entred the haven, Jason went to his companions releued him, with great Æetes the King of Colchos, and told him the his companions released from fining the people. They failed from Commandment of Pelias, and cause of his coming desiring him to deliver the golden Jomewhat out of their vvay) wherein Phi- Flecce; which Aeres, as the Fable gooth, neus a South-fayer dwelt, vvho vvas blind, promifed to do, if he alone would yoak and vexed with the Harpies. The Harpies together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowveere faid to be a kind of Birds vehich ing the ground with them, fowe Dragons had the faces of women, and foul long claws, teeth, which Minerva had given to him, very filthy creatures, which when the table being part of those which Cadmus did sowe vvas furnished for Phineus, came flying in, at Thebes. These Bulls were great and fierce

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Whilest Jason was in a great perplexity they drew their fwords, and purfued them told him, that armed men would rife out of in the fight, and pursuit. But Apollonius which inconvenience, she bade him throw faith, that the Harpies did covenant with the stones amongst them as soon as they came youths, to do no more harm to Phineus, and up thick, whereupon they would fall towere thereupon dismissed. For this good gether to blows, in such wise that he might turn, Phineus gave them informations of the eafily flay them. Jason followed her counturn, way, and advertised them withall of the sel; whereto when the event had answerdangerous Rocks, called Symplegades, which ed, he again demanded the Flecce. Out by force of windes running together, Eetes was fo far from approving fuch his dedid shut up the passage; wherefore he sire, that he devised how to destroy the Art willed them to put a Pigeon before them in gonauts, and burn their ship; which idedas the passage: and if that passed safe, then perceiving, went to Jason, and brought to adventure after her; if not, then by no means to hazzard themselves in vain. They an Oak in the Grove of Mars, where, they say did so, and perceiving that the Pigeon had it was kept by a Dragon that never slept. onely loft a piece of her tayle, they ob-files Dragon was by the Magick of Medea caff into a fleep, to taking away the fleep with all their might, passed through ase, onely the end of their Poop Absvrtus.

Æetes understanding the practices of Meeth) the symplegades have stood still, for the dea, provided to pursue the ship, whom word figuractin Division. Afterwards he fent Talus, his custome was to run thrice a day Eridanus: which is Po in Italy.

and carried them they knew not whether; died: others there are that fay he was flain when they came to the Illands Absortides, by Pean, vvho vvounded him vvith an arthere the thip Argo, (that there might want row in the heel. From hence the Argonauts no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to sailed to Agina, where they were sain to them and said, that the anger of Jupiter fight for fresh vvater. And lastly, from Agina should not cease, till they came to Ausonia, they sailed by Eubaa and Locris, home to and were cleanfed by Circe, from the mur- Jolcos, where they arrived, having spent four der of Absirtus. Now they thereupon fail- whole months in the expedition. ing between the coasts of Lybia and Gal- Some there are that by this journey of lia, and passing through the Sea of Sardi- Jason, understand the mistery of the Philovia, and alongst the coasts of Hetruria, came sophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to to the Isle of Aca, wherein Circe dwelt, who which also, other super-fine Chymists draw cleanfed them. Thence they failed by the the twelve labours of Hercules. Suidas coast of the Sprens, who sang to allure them thinks, that by the golden Fleece vvas meant into danger: but Orpheus on the other fide a golden book of Parchment, which is of lang fo well, that he stayed them. Onely sheep-skin, and therefore called golden, be-Butes swam out unto them, whom Venus ra-, cause it vvas taught therein how other metvished, and carried to Lylibaum in Sicily to tals might be transmuted. Others would

nants departed thence, and after a while vels on the same In-land seas. came to frete. In this Island Minos reigned, who had a man of brass given to him ( as fome of the Fablers say ) by Vulcan. This man had one vein in his body reaching from the neck to the heel, the end whereof vvas closed up with a brazen naile; his name vvas

many of his subjects to feek the ship Argo, about the Island for the defence of it. When threatning that if they brought not back he faw the ship Argo pass by, he threw stones Andre they should surer in her stead. In the at it, but Medaa with her Magick demean while the Argonants were driven a- ftroyed him. Some fay that she slew him bout the Seas, and were come to the River by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortal, the Inpiter, effended with the flaughter of drew out the naile that stopt his vein, by Allirius, vexed them with a great tempest, which means all his blood ran out, and he

fignifie by Jason, Wisdom, and Modera-Having past the syrens, they came be- tion, which overcometh all perils: but that tween scylla and Carybdis, and the stragling which is most probable, is the opinion of Rocks, which seemed to cast our great store Dercilus, that the story of such a passage was of flames and smoak. But Thetis and the Ne- true, and that Jason with the rest went inreides, conveyed them fafe through at the deed to rob Colchos, to which they might arappointment of Juno. So they coasted si- rive by boat. For not far from Caucasus there cilie, where the Beeves of the Sun were, and are certain steep falling torrents vehich touched at Coregra, the Island of the Phe- vvash down many grains of Gold, as in maaces, where King Alcinous reigned. Mean ny other parts of the World; and the peowhile the men of Colches, that had been ple there inhabiting use to set many fleeces fent by Ætes in quest of the ship Argo, of wool in those descents of waters, in which hearing no news of it, and searing his anger, the grains of gold remain, and the water if they fulfilled not his will, betook themfelves to new habitations: Some of them
dwelt in the Mountains of Corgre, others in
dwelt in the Mountains of Corgre, others in the Islands of Absyrtides, and some coming the bottom of Pontus, are Poetically conto the Pheaces, there found the ship Argo, verted into those fiery Bulls, the armed men and demanded Medea of Alcinous: whereto rifing out of the ground, the Dragon cast Alcinous made answer, that if the were not afleep, and the like. The man of brass, the Fasons wife, they should have her; but if Syrens, Scylla and Charibdis, were other hazthe were already married, he would not zards and adventures which they fell into take her from her husband. Arete, the wife of in the Mediteran Sea, disguised, as the rest, by Alcinous, hearing this, married them: where- Orpheus, under Poetical morals: all which fore they of colchos; not daring to return Homer afterward used (the man of brass exhome, stayed with the Pheaces, so the Argo- cepted) in the description of Ulysses his tras. VII.

CHAP. XIII.

tus, O.c.

ny; of all which none escaped but Jotham Cedars of Libanon. the youngest, who hid himself from his pre- Now (as it is an easie matter to call those fent fury: all which he executed on one men back whom rage without right led flone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath on Gaal the fon of Ebed withdrew the Cibeen written of in any age. Such is humane tizens of Sechem from the Service of Abimeambition, a monster that neither feareth lech; who therefore after some affaults en-God (though all-powerfull, and whose re-tred the place, and mastered it; and in convenges are without date, and for everlast- clusion fired the Town, wherein their Idoll ing) neither hath it respect to nature, which Baalberith was worshipped, and put all the but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beauty which never dieth, and ber, himself was wounded in the head with with love that hath no end. All other a frone thrown over the wall by a woman; passions and affections, by which the souls of men are tormented, are by their contra-commanded his own Page to pierce his body, ries often-times refifted or qualified. But thereby to avoid the dishonour of being slain ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is by fo feeble a hand. it self the child and darling of Satan; look- While Abimelech usurped the Government eth onely towards the ends by it felf fet the Lapitha and Centaurs made war against down, forgetting nothing ( how fearfull the Thebans. These Nations were descended and inhumane foever) which may ferve it: of Apollo, and were the first in those parts remembring nothing, whatfoever justice, that devised to manage horses, to bridle and piety, right or religion can offer and alledge to fit them: infomuch, as when they first on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamen- came down from the Mountains of Pindus, table effects of like attempts, to the error or into the plains, those which had never feen Palapira weakness of the undertakers, and rather horsmen before, thought them creatures introduction praiseth the adventure, than feareth the like compounded of men and horses; so did the success. It was the first sin that the World Mexicans, when Ferdinando Cortes the Spahad, and began in Angels: for which they niard first invaded that Empire. were cast into Hell, without hope of re- After the death of Abimeleck, Tholo of demption. It was more ancient than man, Islachar governed Ifrael 23. years, and after

and therefore no part of his natural corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Devil, which felt the mart thereof, taught him to forget or Abimelech, Tholan, and Jair, and of the one as out of date, and to practife the the Lapythæ, and of Theseus, Hippoly- other, as besitting every age, and mans con-

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dition. Jotham, the youngest of Gideons sons, Fter the death of Gideon, Abimelech his having escaped the present peril, sought by A base son, begotten on a Concubine of his best perswasions to alienate the sechethe Sechemites, remembring what offers had mites from the affilling of this mercilels Tvbeen made to his father by the people, who rant, letting them know, that those which defired to make him and his their perpetual were vertuous, and whom reason and reli-Princes; and, as it feemeth, supposing (not- gion had taught the safe and happy estate withstanding his fathers religious modesty) of moderate subjection, had refused to rethat some of his brethren might take on ceive as unlawful, what others had no powthem the Soveraignty, practifed with the In- er to give, without direction from the habitants of Sechem (of which his mother King of Kings: who from the beginning was native ) to make election of himself; (as to his own peculiar people) had appointwho being casily moved with the glory, to ed them by whom and how to be governhave a King of their own, readily conde-ed. This he taught them by the Olive, which feended; and the better to enable Abime- contented it felf with its Fatness, the Figgelech, they borrowed feventy pieces of filver tree with its fweetness, and the Vine with Talenat of their Idoll Baalberith, with which treathe good juice it had: the Bramble onely, fure he hired a company of loofe and def- who was most base, cut down all the rest, and perate vagabonds, to affift his first detesta- accepted the Soveraignty. He also fore-told ble enterprise, to wit, the flaughter of his them by a Prophetical spirit, what should befeventy brethren, the fons of Gideon, be- fall them in the end, and how a fire should gotten on his Wives, of which he had ma- come out of the Bramble, and confume the

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to be descended of lair the son of Manasse,

Deut 3.14 who in Moses time conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same after his

Of these Judges, because there is nothing the like to Cercyon, by vvrestling, vvho uelse written, it is an argument, that during fed by that art to kill others. He also rid bance, and in peace.

to reign in Troy, who at such time as Hercu- of them to one, and part to the other bough, les sacked Ilium, was carried away captive and by the springing up tare them asunder. with his sister Hessone into Greece, and being afterward redeemed for ranfome, he re-built mischievous thieves and murtherers. He

and so far enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all Asia the Territory of Atheus, Theseus having the less. He married Hecuba the Daughter of taken their Queen Hippolita prisoner, begat Cissess King of Thrace, and had in all (faith on her Hippolitus; with whom afterward Cicero) fifty fons, whereof feventeen by He his mother-in-law Phedra, falling in love, cuba, of whom Paris was one, who attempand he refufing to abuse his fathers bed,

which followed.

fome Writers call him the fon of Neptune his Sea-Calves, as Hippolitus paffed by the and Æthra: but Plutarch in the Story of his Sea-shore, and so affrighted his horse, as castlife, findshim begotten by Ægeus, of whom ing the Coach over, he was (by being inthe Grecian Sea between it and Afa the less tangled therein) torn in pieces. Which mi-

him seven of their sons every year for tri- which it is seigned, that Diana intreated Afbute, whom he inclosed within a Labyrinth, to be devoured by the Monster Minotaur: and to restore him to life: which done, bebecause belike the sons of Taurus, which he cause he was chaste, the led him with her into

of them: among these seven Theseus thrust field sports. himself, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Countrey of that ther sought his life, thinking to escape by flavery occasioned for the death of Androge- Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive

as, Minos his fon.

ceived from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himself through all the crool he lived with Diana, that is, the life of a ked and inextricable turnings of the Laby- Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of rinth, made in all like that of the City of those ancient prophane Stories Plutarch faith Crocodiles in Egypt, by means whereof ha- well, that as Comographers in their deferip-

given order, that if he came back with vi- the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fish-

This instruction being either forgotten or world of fictions and fabulous discourses. neglected, Ageus descrying the ship of Theseus True it is , that Theseus did many great

him Jair the Gileadite 22. years, who feems Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called of his name Ægeum.

One of the first famous acts of Theseus, was the killing of seyron, vvho kept a passage beown name, Havoth Jair. For to this Jair there tween Megara and the Peloponnelian Ifthmos. remained thirty of those Cities which his and threw all vyhom he mastered into the Ancestor had recovered from the Amorites | Sea, from the high Rocks. Asterward he did all their times Ifrael lived without diftur- the Country of Procrustes, who used to bend down the strong limbs of two trees. When Jair judged Ifrael, Priamus began and fastned by cords such as he took, part and greatly strengthened and adorned Troy; overthrew the Army of the Amazenes, who

ting to recover his Aunt Hesione, took Helena Phedra persivaded Thesens, that his son offethe Wife of Menelaus, the cause of the war red to force her : after which it is seigned, that Thefeus besought Neptune to revenge Thefeus the tenth King of Athens, began this wrong of his fons by some violent death. likewise to reign in the beginning of Jair . Neptune taking a time of advantage, sent out

took name. For when Minos had mastered serable and undeserved destiny, when Phathe Athenians, to far as he forc'd them to pay dra had heard of the strangled her self. After

begat on Passphae the Queen, had the charge Italy, to accompany her in her hunting, and It is probable that Hippolitus, when his fa-

many wounds in forcing his passage and e-And having possest himself of Ariadnes scape; which wounds Asculapius, to wit, some affection, who was Minos daughter, he re- skilful Phylician, or Chirurgion, healed a-

ving flain Minotaur, he found a ready way to tions of the World, where they find many return. But vyhereas his father Ægens had valt places whereof they know nothing, fill

ctory and in latery, he should use a white fail es, and with Mathematical lines, so do the in fign thereof, and not that mournful black Grecian Historians and Poets imbroder and fail under which they left the port of Athens: intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a

with a black fail, did cast himself over the things in imitation of Hercules, whom he

to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some say, per Oftracifmum, by the Law of Lots, or names

CHAP. XIII.

written on thels, which was a device of his He stole Helen (as they fay) when she was fifty years old, from Aphidna, which City Caltor and Pollux overturned, when they followed after Thefeus to recover their fifter. Eralistratus and Pausanias write, that Theseus begot her with child at Argos, where she doth Ovid, Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit | this objection : ille petitum, &c. The rape Eusebins finds in the first of Jair, who governed Israel twenty two years, to whom succeeded Jephta or

Tepte, fix years, to whom Ibzan, who ruled feven years, and then Habdon eight years: in whose time was the fall of Troy. So, as if Thefens had a child by her in the If all this World had no original, first of Jair, (at which time we must count her no less than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now ) she was then at least two and fifty years old at the destruction of Troy:

and thirty: but herein the Chronologers do chaced from place to place, by the Captains In the not agree. Yet Eufebius and Bunting, with of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the Halicarnacessens, do in effect consent, that the ground vvhereon he dwelt his own, longer City was entred and burnt in the first year than he could hold it by strong hand. Whereof Demophoon King of Athens, the Succes-

seventeen daies before the Summer Tropick; and that about the eleventh of September following, the Trojans croft the Hellespont into Thrace, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navigated into Sicilia, where wintering the fecond year, the next

Summer they arrived at Laurentum, and buil-Ang de ded Lavinium. But S. Augustine hath other-Gin. Dil, wife, That when Polyphides governed Sicy-life. 19. on; Mnestheus, Athens; Tautanes, Assyria; nine. Habdon, Ifrael; then Eneas arrived in Italy,

> mainder of the Trojans : but the difference is kine was the usual exercise of their great not great; and hereof more at large in the men Their Towns vvere not many, vvhereof ftory of Trov at hand.

His successours, Adrastus, who reigned four portionable : briefly, Greece was then in her years, and Polyphides, who reigned thirteen, | infancy, and though in some small Towns of are accounted to the time of fair; so is also that half Ille of Peloponnesses, the Inhabi-

made his pattern, and was the first that ga- | held a great part of Feloponnesus. In Asseria. thered the Athenians, from being disper- during the government of these two peacefed in thin and ragged Villages : in recom- able Judges, Mitreus, and after him Tantanes pence whereof, and for deviling them Laws reigned. In Egypt, Amenophis, the son of Rameles, and afterwards Annemanes.

6. VIII.

Of the war of Thebes, which was in this

IN this age was the War of Thebes, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Historian vvrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet Lucretius, affirming (as the Epicures in this point

erected a Temple to Lucina: but her age held truly against the Peripateticks) that the makes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so World had a beginning, urgeth them with

> →Si nulla fuit genitalis origo Rerumque & mundi, semperque aterna fuêre, Cur supra bellum Thebanum. O funera Troja. Non alias alti quoque res cecinere Poeta s

But things have ever been as now they are: Before the fiege of Thebes, or Troys last fall, Why did no Poet fing some elder War?

It is true, that in these times Greece vyas and when the was stollen by Paris, eight very falvage, the Inhabitants being often fore merchandize and other intercourse they four of Mnestheus, the Successour of Theseus, nied little; neither did they plant many trees, or fow more corn than vvas necessary for their fustenance. Money they had little or none; for it is thought that the name of money was not heard of in Greece, when Homer did verite, veho measures the va-lue of Gold and Brass: by the evorth in cattel: faying, that the golden Armour of Glaucus vvas vvorth an hundred Beeves; and the Copper Armour of Diomedes worth

Roberries by land and fea vvere common transporting with him in twenty ships the re- and vvithout shame, and to steal horses or those that vvere vvalled vvere very few, and In Sieyonia, Phastus the two and twenti- not great. For Mycena the principal City in eth King, reigned eight years, beginning by Peloponness was a very little thing, and it the common account in the time of Thola. may well be thought that the rest were pro-Mnesthers King of Athens and Atreus, who tants might have enjoyed quietness within

him Jair the Gileadite 22. years, who feems Rocks down into the Sea, afterward called to be descended of Jair the son of Manasse, of his name Ageum. Deut 3.14 who in Moses time conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same after his the killing of Seyron, who kept a passage beown name, Havoth Jair. For to this Jair there tween Megara and the Peloponnelian Ilbmos. remained thirty of those Cities which his and threw all vyhom he mastered into the Ancestor had recovered from the Amorites Sea, from the high Rocks. Afterward he did Of these Judges, because there is nothing the like to Cercyan, by vyrestling, who uselse written, it is an argument, that during sed by that art to kill others. He also rid all their times Ifrael lived without diffur- the Country of Procruftes, who used to bance, and in peace. to reign in Troy, who at such time as Hercu- of them to one, and part to the other bough, les facked Ilium, was carried away captive and by the springing up tare them asunder. with his fifter Hessian into Greece, and being So did he root out Periphetes and other afterward redeemed for ransome, he re-built mischievous thieves and murtherers. He and greatly strengthened and adorned Troy; and for enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of all Asia the Territory of Atheus, These having the les. He married Hecuba the Daughter of taken their Queen Hippolita priloner, begat

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Ciffens King of Thrace, and had in all (faith on her Hippolitus; with whom afterward Cicero) fifty fons, whereof feventeen by He- his mother-in-law Phedra, falling in love, cuba, of whom Paris was one; who attemp- and he refuling to abuse his fathers bed, ting to recover his Aunt Hesione, took Helena Phadra perswaded Theseus, that his son offethe Wife of Menelaus, the cause of the war red to force her : after which it is seigned, that Thefeus besought Neptune to revenge Thefeus the tenth King of Athens, began this wrong of his fons by fome violent death. likewise to reign in the beginning of Jair . Neptune taking a time of advantage, sent out fome Writers call him the fon of Neptune his Sea-Calves, as Hippolitus passed by the and Æthra: but Plutarch in the Story of his Sea-shore, and so affrighted his horses, as castlife, finds him begotten by Ageus, of whom ing the Coach over, he was (by being inthe Grecian Sea between it and Afa the less tangled therein) torn in pieces. Which mitook name. For when Minos had mastered ferable and undeserved destiny, when Phathemans, so far as he forc d them to pay him seven of their sons every year for tri-which it is seigned, that Diana intreated Estables. bute, whom he inclosed within a Labyrinth, culapius to set Hippolitus his pieces together, to be devoured by the Monster Alinotanr : and to restore him to life: which done, bebecause belike the sons of Taurus, which he cause he was chaste, the led him with her into begat on Paiphae the Queen, had the charge Italy, to accompany her in her hunting, and It is probable that Hippolitus, when his faver the rest, and to free the Countrey of that ther sought his life, thinking to escape by flavery occasioned for the death of Andrege- Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive

many wounds in forcing his passage and e-And having possess himself of Ariadnes scape; which wounds & sculapius, to wit, some affection, who was Mines daughter, he re- skilful Physician, or Chirurgion, healed aceived from her a bottom of thred, by which he conducted himself through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Laby*-Hunter, in which he most delighted. But of rinth, made in all like that of the City of those ancient prophane Stories Plusarch faith Crocodiles in Egypt; by means whereof ha- well, that as Cosmographers in their descripving flain Minotaur, he found a ready way to tions of the World, where they find many return. But vyhereas his father Ægens had vast places whereof they know nothing, fill given order, that if he came back with victory and in safety, he should use a white sail es, and with Mathematical lines, so do the in fign thereof, and not that mournful black Grecian Historians and Poets imbroder and fail under which they left the port of Athens: intermixe the Tales of ancient times, with a This instruction being either forgotten or world of fictions and fabulous discourses. neglected, Egens descrying the ship of Thesens True it is, that Thesens did many great CHAP. XIII. made his pattern, and was the first that ga- held a great part of Feloponnesus. In Alleria. thered the Athenians, from being disper- during the government of these two peacefed in thin and ragged Villages: in recom- able Judges, Mitreus, and after him Tantanes pence whereof, and for deviling them Laws reigned. In Egypt, Amenophis, the fon of Rato live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungrateful multitude, in the end banished. Some say, per Ostracismum, by the Law of Lots, or names written on thels, which was a device of his He stole Helen (as they say) when she was

fifty years old, from Aphidna, which City Caftor and Pollux overturned, when they followed after Thefeus to recover their fifter. Erasistratus and Pausanias write, that Theseus begot her with child at Argos, where the cretius, affirming (as the Epicures in this point erected a Temple to Lucina: but her age held truly against the Peripateticks) that the doth Ovid, Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit this objection : ille petitum, &c. The rape Eusebins finds in the first of Jair, who governed Israel twenty two years, to whom succeeded Jephta or Jepte, fix years, to whom Ibzan, who ruled seven years, and then Habdon eight years: in whose time was the fall of Troy. So, as if Thefens had a child by her in the first of Jair, (at which time we must count her no less than fifteen years old: for the women did not commonly begin so young as they do now ) she was then at least two and fifty years old at the destruction of Troy: 200 Chr. not agree. Yet Eusebius and Bunting, with of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the of Demobboon King of Athens, the Succesfour of Mnestheus, the Successiour of Theseus, feventeen daies before the Summer Tropick; and that about the eleventh of September

next spring that they navigated into Sicilia, (in Det. wife, That when Polyphides governed Stey-lateries, on; Mnestheus, Athens; Tautanes, Assertion inne. Habdon, Ifrael; then Eneas arrived in Italy, ftory of Trov at hand.

meles, and afterwards Annemanes.

6. VIII.

of the war of Thebes, which was in this

IN this age was the War of Thebes, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Historian vvrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet Lumakes that Tale unlikely to be true, and so World had a beginning, urgeth them with

> -Si nulla fuit genitalis origo Rerumque & mundi, semperque aterna fuêre. Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troja, Non alias alii auoque res cecinere Poeta s

If all this World had no original, But things have ever been as now they are: Before the fiege of Thebes, or Troys last fall, Why did no Poet fing some elder War?

It is true, that in these times Greece vvas and when she was stollen by Paris, eight very salvage, the Inhabitants being often and thirty: but herein the Chronologers do chaced from place to place, by the Captains Halicarnacessens, do in effect consent, that the ground vyhereon he dwelt his own, longer City was entred and burnt in the first year than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they used little; neither did they plant many trees, or fow more corn than vvas necessary for their fustenance. Money they had little following, the Trojans croft the Hellespont or none; for it is thought that the name of into Thrace, and wintered there, and in the money was not heard of in Greece, when Homer did vvrite, vvho measures the vawhere wintering the fecond year, the next lue of Gold and Brass: by the worth in Summer they arrived at Laurentum, and buil- cattel: faying, that the golden Armour of An de ded Lavinium. But S. Augustine hath other- Glaucus vvas vvorth an hundred Beeves;

Roberries by land and fea vvere common transporting with him in twenty ships the re- and vvithout shame, and to steal horses or mainder of the Trojans: but the difference is kine vvas the usual exercise of their great not great; and hereof more at large in the men Their Towns vvere not many, vvhereof those that vvere vvalled vvere very few.and In Sicyonia, Phastus the two and twenti- not great. For Mycena the principal City in eth King, reigned eight years, beginning by Peloponness was a very little thing, and it the common account in the time of Thola. may well be thought that the rest were pro-His successours, Adrastus, who reigned four portionable: briefly, Greece was then in her years, and Polyphides, who reigned thirteen, infancy, and though in some small Towns of are accounted to the time of jair; fo is also that half Ille of Peloponnesso, the Inhabi-Mneftheus King of Athens and Atreus, who tants might have enjoyed quietness within

CHAP. XIII

Athenians, because their Country was so bar- whom striving about their lodging, he fell renahat none did care to take it from them: to blowes. Adrastus hearing the noise came vet that the Land in general was very rude, forth and took up the quarrel. At which it will eafily appear to such as consider what time perceiving in the shield of Tydeus a Thuridydes the greatest of their Historians Bore, in that of Polynices a Lion, he rehath written to this effect, in the Preface to membred an old Oracle by which he was his History. Wherefore, as in these later advised to give his two Daughters in martimes, idle Chroniclers use when the want riage to a Lion and a Bore: and accordingports of great Frosts, ordry Summers, and Tydeus, and Deipyle upon Polynices, proreade; so did they who spake of Greece in tries. To this purpose levying an Army,

should come to pass by him, did afterwards unto her a very fair Bracelet, upon conin a narrow paliage, contending for the dition that she should cause her Husband to way, flay his own Father, not knowing affift him. The Soothfayer knowing what either then or long after, vvho he vvas. should work his destiny, forbade his Wife Afterward he became King of Thebes, by to take any gift of Polynices. But the Bracemarriage of the Queen Jocasta, called by let was inher eye so precious a Jewel, that Homody J. Homer, Epicafte: on vvhom, not knowing the could not refuse it. Therefore whereher to be his mother, he begat two fons, as a great controversie between Amphya-Eteocles and Polynices. But when in process of time, finding out by good circumstan-mile put unto the decision of Eriphyle, either ces, vvho vvere his Parents, he understood of them being bound by solemn oath to the grievous murther and incest he had stand to her appointment: she ordered the committed, he tore out his own eyes for matter so, as a Woman should that did love grief, and left the City. His Wife (and a Bracelet better than her Husband. He Mother) did hangher felf. Some fay, that now finding that it was far more easie to Oedipus having his eyes pulled out, vvas ex- foresee then avoid destiny, sought for such pelled Thebes, bitterly curfing his fons, be-comfort as revenge might afford him, cause they suffered their father to be cast giving in charge unto his sons, that when out of the Town, and aided him not. they came to full age, they should kill Howsoever it were, his two Sons made this their Mother, and make strong war upon agreement, that the one of them should the Thebanes. reign one year, and the other another year, and so by course rule interchangeably. ces, of which, the seven chief Leaders were But this appointment was ill observed. For himself, Amphiarans, Capanens, and Hippohad reigned the first year, he refused to Arcadian, son of Meleager and Atalanta.

their narrow bounds; as likewise did the nens, who was fled from Calidon: with good matter, to fill whole Books with re- ly he did bestow his Daughter Argia upon other fuch things which no man cares to mising to restore them both to their Counher beginnings, remember only the great and affembling as many valiant Captains as Flouds which were in the times of Ogyges and he could draw to follow him, he was de-Deucalion: or elle rehearle Fables of men firous among others to carry Amphiaraus changed into Birds, of strange Monsters, of the fon of Oicleus a great Soothsaver, and adultery committed by their gods, and the a valiant man, along with him. But Ammighty men which they begat, without writing ought that favoured of humanity before the time of the war of Thebes: the brief tains should escape, save only Adrassas, did both utterly refuse to be one in that Oedipus the fon of Laius King of Thebes, expedition, and perswaded others to stay having been cast forth when he was an In- at home. Polynices therefore dealt with fant, because an Oracle foretold what evil Eriphyle the Wife of Amphyarans, offering

Now had Adrastus assembled all his forwhen Polynices had after a years governmedon (in Itead of whom some name Meciment refigned the Kingdom to his brother:
fleus) all Argives, with Polynices the Ibelan,
or (according to others) when Eteoles Tydeus the Ætolian, and Parthenopeus the give over the rule to Polynices. Hereup- When the Army came to the Nemean Wood, on Polynices fled unto Argos, where Adra- they met a Woman, whom they defired to flus the son of Talaas then reigned, unto help them to some Water; she having a whose Palace coming by night, he was Childe in her arms, laid it down, and led driven to feek lodging in an out-house, on the Argives to a Spring: but ere she returned, a Serpent had flain the Childe. This There he met with Tydeus the fon of Oe- Woman was Hypfipyle the Daughter of Thous the Lemnian, whom she would have saved manders unto them, took advice of Tireles when the Woman of the Isle slew all the the Soothsayer, who promised Victory Males by conspiracy, intending to lead an A- the Thebans, if Menacius the son of Creon. mizonian life. For such her Piety the Lemnian principal man of the City, would you him Wives did fell her to Pyrats, and the Py- felf to be flain in honour of Mars the god of rats to Lycurgus Lord of the Countrey a- War. So full of malice and pride is the Debout Nemea, whose young fon Ophelies, vil, and so envious at his Creators glory, or Archemorus the did nurse, and loft, asis that he not only challengeth honour due to thewed before. When upon the Childs God alone, as oblations and facrifice withal death the hid her felt for fear of her Mafter, Divine worthin, but commandeth us to Amphiaraus told her Sons where they should offer our felves and our children unto him. find her : and the Argives did both kill when he hath sufficiently clouded mens unthe Serpent which had flain the Child, and derstanding, and bewitched their Wils with in memory of the chance, did institute so- ignorance and blind devotion. And such lema funeral games, called Nemean, where abominable facrifice of men, maides, and in Adrastus wan the prize with his swift children hath he exacted of the Syrians. horse Areon, Tydeus with the whorlbars, Am- Carthaginians, Gauls, Germans, Cyprians, Ephiaraus at running and quoiting, Polynices gpptians, and of many other, if not of all Na-at wreftling, Parthenopeus at shooting, and tions, when through ignorance or fear they one Landocus in darting. This was the first were most filled with superstition. But as institution of the Nemean games, which con- they grew more wife, so did he wax less imtinued after famous in Greece for very many | pudent in cunning, though not less maliciages. There are, who think that they were ous in desiring the continuance of such barfet down.

Thebes is faid to have had at that time feven feeing that the Argives ( who afterward when they were very far stronger, could fearce muster up more thousands than Thebes had gates) did compass the Town, Adrastus quartered before the Gate Homoloides , Capaneus before the Ogygean, Tydeus before Crenis , Amphiaraus at Proetis , Hippomedon at Anchais, Parthenopaus at Electa, and Polyni-

ordained in honour of one Opheltus a La- barous inhumanity. For King Diphilus in cedemonian. Some fay by Hercules, when Cyprus without advice of any Oracle, made he had flain the Nemean Lion : but the com- the Idol of that Country rest contented with mon opinion agrees with that which is here an Oxe in stead of a man. Tiberius forbade humane facrifices in Africa, and crucified From Nemea the Argives marched on- the Priests in the Groves where they had wards, arrived at Citheron, whence Tydens | practifed them. Hercules taught the Italians was by them fent Embassadour to Thebes, to to drown men of hay in stead of the living: require of Eteocles the performance of Co- yet among the falvages in the West Indies venants between him and Polynices. This these cruel offerings have been practised of message was nothing agreeable to Eteocles, late Ages: which, as it is a sufficient arguwho was throughly refolved to hold what ment that Satan's malice is only covered he had, as long as he could: which Tydeus and hidden by this subtilty among civil peoperceiving, and intending partly to get ho- ple: fo it may ferve as a probable conjenour, partly to try what mettle was in the cture of the barbarismes then raigning in Thebanes, he made many challenges, and ob- Greece. For Menecius, as foon as he undertained victory in all of them, not without flood that his death might purchase Victory much envy and malice of the people, who to his people, bestowed himself (as he laid fifty men in ambush to intercept him at thought) upon Mars, killing himself before his return to the army, of which fifty he flew the gates of the City. Then was a battel allbut one, whom he fent back to the City as fought, wherein the Argives prevailed for the a Reporter and Witness of his Valour. When at the first, that Capanius advancing ladders. the Argives understood how resolved Eteo- to the Wals, got up upon the Rampar cles was, they prefented themselves before whence, when he fell, or was cast down, or the City, and encamped round about it. (as Writers wave it) was stricken down by Jupiter with a thunder bolt, the Argives fied. gates, which belike stood not far asunder, Many on each part were slain in this battel, which caused both fides to defire that Eteo-

according, flew each other. Another battel was fought after their death, wherein the fons of Aftacus behaved themselves very valiantly: Ismarus one of the fons flew Hippomedon, which was one of ces at Hypfifta. In the mean feafon, Eteocles the feven Princes: Parthenopaus being anohaving armed his men, and appointed Com- ther of the seven ( who was faid to have

cles and Polynices might try out the quarrel

in fingle fight: whereto the two brethren

CHAP. XIII.

been to fair that none would hurt him when Tutor to Laodamas ) who though he did his face was bare ) was flain by Amphidieus, valiantly in the battel, and flew Agialeus, cr, as some say, by Periclymens the son of yet washe put to the worst, and driven to Neptune: and the valiant Tydens, by Menselly, or (according to Apollodorus) Ilain by hippus: yet ere Tydeus died, the head of Alenalippus was brought unto hir: by Amployens, which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern which he cruelly tore open, and twalstern was to the means the twalstern was to the means the cruelly tore open, and twalstern to the worth, and cruenton the head of Alenacon. After this disafter, the Citizens began to define composition; but in the mean time they conveyed themselves with their lowest themselves.

rage that he shewed at his death. comfitted, Adrassus and Amphyarans fled: of the Citizens to return, did there reign over whom Amphyarans is faid to have been swallowed quick into the earth, near to the Ri- struction, it is very likely; for he reigned ver Ismenus, together with his Chariot, and there, and led the Thebans to the War of fo loft out of mens fight , being peradven- Trey, which very fhortly after enfued. ture overwhelmed with dead carkasses, or drowned in the River : and his body never found, nor greatly fought for. Adrastus efcaped on his good horie Arion, and came to of Jephta, and how the three hundred years Athens; where fitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercy, he made supplication for their aid to recover their bodies. For Creon having obtained the government of Thebes after the death of Eteocles, would not suffer the bodies of the Argives to be buried: but caused Antigone, the only daughter then A Fter the death of Jair (near about whose time these things hapned in living of Oedipus, to be buried quick, because Greece, and during whose Government, and the had fought out and buried the body of that of Thola, Ifrael lived in peace and in orher brother Polynices, contrary to Creens der) they revolted again from the Law and Edict. The Athenians condescending to the Service of God, and became more wicked request of Adrastus, did send forth an Army and idolatrous than ever. For whereas in under the conduct of Theseu, which took the former times they worshipped Baal and Theber, and restored the bodies of the Ar-Asteroth, they now became followers of all gives to sepulture: at which time Evadne, the Heathen Nations adjoyning, and imbra-

manded to kill his own Mother.

faid, that Pallas, who had brought from Ju night, and so began to wander up and down, piter fuch remedy for his wounds, as should till at length they built the Town called have made him immortal, refuled to bestow Estina. The Argines, when they perceived it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that their enemies had quitted the Town, that his honour which might have continu- entring into it, facked it, threw down the ed immortal, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

Wals, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the Town was saved by The host of the Argives being wholly dif- Thirfander the son of Polynices, who causing

> which he speaketh of , Judg. 11. 28. are to be reconciled with the places, Acts 13.20. 1 Reg. 6. 1. together with Some other things touching Chronology about these times.

the Wife of Capaneus threw her self into the ced the Idols of the Aramites, of the Zidonifuneral fire, and was burnt willingly with ans, Moabites, and Ammonites: with those her Husband. But it little contented the of the Philiftims. And as before it pleafed fons of those Captains which were slain at God to correct them by the Aramites, by Thebes, that any less revenge should be taken the Amalekites, and Midianites: so now he 744,12 of their Fathers death, than the ruine of the feourged them by the \* Ammonites , and af-City: Wherefore ten year after, having terward by the Philistims.

levied Forces, Egialens the fon of Adraflus, Dow among the Ifraelites, those of Gilead and being most of Tydens, Fromachus of Parthenopaus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Therfander of Popular Sthenelus of Capaneus, Therfander of Popular States of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Therfander of Capaneus, Th lynice., and Euripylus of Mecifleus, marched feek Jephta, whom they had formerly defip inder after thither under the conduct of Alemeon, the fed and cast from them, because he was bale wad fon of Amphiaraus: with whom also went born; but he (notwithstanding those for also in ton of Amphiaraus: with whom allo went born; but he (notwithstanding those for such his brother Amphylodus. Apollo promised mer injuries) participating more of godly james Victory, if Alemeon were their Captain, compaffion, than of devilish hatred and the ganific whom afterward by another Oracle he comthe War, upon condition that they should When they came to the City, they were establish him their Governour after Victoencountred by Laodamas the fon of Eteocles ry. And when he had disputed with Annon then King of the Thebans (for Creon was only for the Land, disproved Ammon's right, and

ments, the same prevailing nothing, he be- were consumed 480. years. To the first, Beover the Mountains of Arabia, even to Min- of Gideon, 3. of Abimelech, 22. of Thola, and

grievous flavery that ever Ifrael fuffered, the reft. quarrelled with Jephta, that they were not called to the War, as before time they had

was omitted. Now before I go on with the rest, it shall be necessary upon the occasion of Jephta's account of the times, Jud. 11. 28. (where he of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chro-

July 11 pugnant or disagreeing: the first is in this and say, that during these years, or at least All 13.10 right and possession of Gilead: the second quiet possession of the Countries in questi-1 Kin.s. is that of S. Paul, Acts 13. the third is that on. Martin Luther is the author of a third

fortified the Title of Ifrael by many argu-the foundation of solomon's Temple, there gan the war; and being threngthened by roaldus findeth Jephta's 300. years to be but God, overthrew them: and did not onely 266. years, to wit, 18. of Josua, 40. of Othobeat them out of the Plains, but forc't them niel, 80. of Aod and Samgar, 40. of Debora, 40. with and Abel of the vineyards, Cities ex- 22. of Jair: But Jephta (faith Beroaldus) Id facilisms prest heretofore in the description of the putteth or proposeth a certain number for merocerto Holy Land. After which victory it is said, that an uncertain: Sic ut dicat annum agi prope Prointerio he performed the vain vow which he made, trecentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de remoto facrifice the first living creature he in- verit Israeli; so he speaketh (faith he) as countred, coming out of his houle to meet meaning that then it was about or well-nigh the him; which happened to be his own daugh- three hundred year, fince Ifrael possessed those ter, and onely childe, who with all patience Countries, no man making question of their submitted her self, and onely desired two right. Codoman on the contrary finds more moneths time to bewail her Virginity on the years than Jephta named by 65, to wit, 265. Mountains of Gilead; because in her the whereof 71. were spent in Israels captivity, at issues of her Father ended: but the other several times, of which (as Codoman thinkopinion, that she was not offered, is more pro- eth Jephta forbare to repeat the whole sum. bable, which Borheus and others prove tuffi- or any great part, left the Ammonites should have justly objected, that 71. of those years After these things the children of Ifrael, the Ifraelites were in captivity, and vasials to of the Tribe of Ephraim, either envious of their neighbour Princes, and therefore Jephia's victory, or otherwise making way knowing that to name three hundred years. to their future calamity, and to the most it was enough for prescription, he omitted

To justifie this account of 265, years, befides the 71. years of captivity or affliction. contested with Gideon. Jephra hereupon to be added to Beroaldus his 266, he addeth inforced to defend himself against their fu- also 28. years more, and so maketh up the ry, in the incounter flew of them 42000. fum of 365. These 28. years he findeth which so weakened the body of the Land, out thus: twenty years he gives to the as the Philistims had an easie conquest of Seniors between Josua and Othoniel: and them all not long after. Jephta, after he had where Beroaldus alloweth eighteen years to judged Ifrael six years, died: to whom suc- Josua his government, Codeman accounts ceeded Ibzan, who ruled seven years: after that his rule lasted 26. according to Johim Elon was their Judge ten years: in all fephus; whereas Saint Agustine and Eusebiwhich time Ifrael had peace. Eusebius finds us give him 27. Melanthon 32. The not Elon, whom he calleth Adon, for in the truth is, that this addition of 28. years, is Septuagint, approved in his time, this Judge far more doubtful than the other of 71. But though we admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the years of affliction ( to wit 34. years of the 71.) if we add them to the 266. years fayes that Ifrael had then possess the East of Beroaldus, which reckoneth none of fide of Jordan 300. years) to speak somewhat these, we have the just number of 300. years, Neither is it strange that Jephta should leave out more than half of the years of afflinologers: there being found three places of ction: seeing, as it is already said, the Am-Scriptures touching this point, feeming re- monites might except against the 71. years, dispute between Jephta and Ammon, for the a good part of them, the Israelites had no which is in the first of Kings. Jephta here opinion, making those 300. years rememchallengeth the possession of Gilead for 300. bred by Jephra, to be 306. which odd years, years: S. Paul giveth to the Judger, as it feems, faith he, Jephta omitteth. But because the from the end of Tofua to the last of Heli,450. | years of every Judge, as they reigned, years. In the first of Kings it is taught, that cannot make up the number of 306. but from the departing of Ifrael out of Eg.pt, to do onely compound 266. therefore doth which Alofes front in the Defarts of Arabia lites had conquered Sehon and Og, the right Petrea; which forty years of Moses added of possession which they had, passed to Ifrael; to the number which Beroaldus fundeth of and fo Jephta might fay, that they had pof-

266, make indeed 306. Luthers judgment herein: for in the dispute rest of the possession of the two Kings, schon between Jephta and Ammon for the Land of and og, whose right the Ifraelites had by the Gilead, it is written in the person of Ammon, law of conquest. in these words : Because Ifrael took my Land,

ginning of this account is to be referred to doth the better to approve the times from the time of the taking: which Jephta's answer the egression out of Egypt to the building of also confirmeth in these words: When Israel the Temple, which in the first of Kings 6. is Judg 11. dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Towns, and in faid to be 480. years. Aroer, and in her Towns, and in all the Cities | Now for a fruch as Saint Paul (as it feems)

victories and possessions.

eleventh Chapter of Judges, in our translati- ved by the affinity of those two Greek on in these words: But when Israel came up words, whereof the one signifieth 300. and from Egypt, &c. and therefore Moses his 40. the other 400. wrote Tetracosiois, for Triacoyears (ashe thinks) are to be accounted, fiois; 400. years for 300. years; and 450.for which make the number of 305. years: and 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by ma-

thers; to whom also I leave to judge, whe- ther and Beza begin at Moses death, he takes ther we may not begin the 480. years, from his account from the death of Josua, and

fed it, Sehon and Og had dispossessed Moab ring all Sampsons time, they were Lords over it.

Luther add to this number the whole time; and Ammon thereof: fo that when the Ilraefelled those Countries 300. years, reckoning But I fee nothing in the Text to warrant 266, years of their own possession, and the

The fecond place disputed is this of Saint Readily when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon Paul, Act. 13 that from the end of Josua, to the 14 of 74 when they came up from Egypt, from Almost thingstoring the class of possible that the class of the clas it is plain, that the time is not to be account- befides the letter (as I find his opinion cited thost a. ed from Moses departure out of Egypt : but by Functius Krentzhemius, and Beza) for 1 Bere in its from the time that the Land was posses. For have not read his Commentaries. For he ac- ons upon it is faid. Quia cepit Ifrael terram meam, Behold counteth from the death of Mofes, to the last the 13. et Ifrael took my Land: and therefore the be- year of Heli, but 357. years: and this he

that are by the coast of Arnon 300. years : why finds 450. years from the death of Josuato did ye not then recover them in that flace ? to the last of Heli , and leaves but thirty years as this place speaks it directly, that Ifrael had for Saul and Samuel, who governed 40. for inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead David who ruled 40. and for Solomon who 300. years: and therefore to account the wore the Crown three whole years ere that times from the hopes or intents that Ifrael the foundation of the Temple was laid; had to polies it, it seemeth somewhat strain- therefore Luther takes it, that there was ered to me: for we do not use to reckon the rour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece time of our conquests in France, from our of Scripture of Saint Paul: to wit, Then af-Princes intents or purposes, but from their terward he gave unto them Judges about 450. 4#63:00 years, unto the time of Samuel the Pro-Junius nevertheless likes the opinion of phet: the words [then afterward] being Luther, and fayes, that this time of 300. years clearly referred to the death, or after the hath reference, and is to take beginning from death of Josua, as shall be hereafter proved. the first of Jephta's narration: when he But where Saint Luke, rehearling the words makes a brief repetition of Moses whole of Saint Paul, wrote 350. years (saith Luther) journey: to wit, at the fixteenth Verse of the the Scribe in the transcription being decei-

not onely the time in which Ifrael possest Gi- ny arguments: to which opinion Beza in his lead, according to the Text, and Jephra's own great annotations adhereth. A contrary words: of which I leave the judgment to o- judgment to this hath Codoman: where Luthe deliverance out of Egypt to the Temple, from thence to the beginning of samuel he even from the first departure out of Egypt, makes 430. years: to wit, of the Judges (not and yet find a more probable reconciliation reckoning sampsons years) 319, and of years of Saint Pauls and Jephta's account with this of servitude and affliction under stran-

reckoning than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching Jephi's three hundred years of possession the East three hundred years of possession the East thing the formula it is to be remembed. fide of Jordan, it is to be remembred, that in which the Philiftims are faid to have

for a good while before the Ifraelites posses, oppressed Ifrael. For it is plain, that du- July 10.

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which make as before 450. according to bont 450. years, &c. and therefore to rec-

Saint Paul. Neither would it breed any kon from the death of Mofes, is wide of Saint

fua and Othoniel should be denied. For they nience of any weight in opinion of Codoman which deny these years, and make Othoni- touching this place in the Ads, is, that it

Tofina, as in the beginning of this reckoning, 1 Reg. 6.11. For if indeed there were spent they have 20. years less than Codoman, so

of the Judges ) in the number of Samplons tween the beginning of the Ifraelites jourhims oppressing the Israelites, they have 20. the Temple by Solomon. To this difficulty

a-part from Sampsons 20. but Codoman , as the beginning , but in the ending of their half of the forty of the Philistims oppressi- 25. years after the beginning of Othomiels

inforce) that the Philistims in any Inter- of which we have already spoken, make 397.

Sampson was their Judge; and so the rec- the 3. of Solomon, we shall have the just sum koning will come to 450. years between the of 480. years. Neither is it hard, faith he, that

though we admit not of an Inter-regnum of be understood egressions non incipients, sed the seniors between Josua and Othoniel: For, finite, the year of their coming out of Egypt if the times of their affliction be summed, (for so it is in the original) or the year after they make 111. years, to which if we add they came out of Egypt, may well be under-

have the just fum of 450. And this com- thence, that is, after they had ended their putation either one way or other, may feem wandring from thence. For fo we find that to be much more probable, than theirs that things which were done forty years after

correct the Text, although we should ad- they had set foot out of Egypt, are said to mit of their correction thereof, and read have been done in their going out of Egypt; with them 350. for 450. For whereas they as Pfal. 114. When Ifrael came out of Egypt, conceive that this time of 350. years, is to Jordan was driven back. And Dent. 4.45,

of Moser: certainly the place of Saint Paul | when they came out of Egypt. And thus far it

If ael, So then of the Judges, besides the 111. doth evidently teach the contrary, though years of fervitude, Codoman reckoneth it be received for true that there was viti-(as I have faid ) 319, years, which two um feriptoris in the rest. For these be fums put together, make 430. years And Saint Pauls words: And about the time of whereas Saint Paul nameth 450. years, he forty years, God suffered their manners in the finds 20. years to make up Saint Paul's num- wilderness: and be destroyed seven Nations ber, to have been spent after the death of in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Josea by the Seniors, before the Captivity Land to them by let. Then afterward be gave of Culban, or the election of Othoniel: unto them Judges about 450. years, unto the or capital, of the electron of channel. The or Samuel the Prophet. So as first in according to Saint Paul. To approve this the eighteenth verse he speaketh of Moses, time of the Elders, he citeth two places of and of his years spent in the Wilderness Scriptures, namely the 24. of Josua, and the then in the nineteenth verse he cometh fecond of Judges, in each of which places it unto the acts of Josua; which were, that is written, that Ifrael Jerved the Lord all the he destroyed seven Nations in the Land of dayes of Jossa. So as to these times by lot. In the twentieth Verse it follow-

of the Elders, Codoman giveth 20. years, cth, Then afterward he gave them Judges a- Jos 14.1, great difficulty in this opinion, if here alto the 20. years of the seniors between Jo- standing can pierce it. The onely inconve-

els 40, to begin presently upon the death of seems irreconcileable with the account.

toward the end of it (when they reckon beginning of Samuel, certainly there must the years of affliction apart from the years needs be much more than 480. years be-

years, and of the forty years of the Phili- neying from Egypt, and the foundation of

years more than Codoman. For they rec- Codoman answereth, that these 480 years, kon these 40. years of oppression all of them I Reg. 6.1. must begin to be reckoned, not in

is faid, makes Sampsons 20. to be the one journeying from Egypt, which he makes to be

ons; fo that if the 20. years of the Seniors government; from whence if we cast the be not allowed to Codoman, then he may years of the Judges, with the years of servireckon (as the letter of the Text feems to tude (which fums, according to his account,

regnum, before Sampson judged Ifrael, vexed years) and so to these years add the 40. of the Ifraelites 40. years, besides the 20. while samuel, and Saul, and the 40. of David, and

end of Josua, and the beginning of Samuel, the annus egressionis, I Kings 6. 1. should

the years of the Judges, which are 339. we flood for the year after they were come out

begin immediately, or soon after the death These are the testimonies which Moses spake

it feems we may very well agree with Codo- by Moses, and the stopping of Jordan, they man, for the interpretation of the ab exitu, might indeed be properly laid to have been, to be as much as quum exivissent, or ab exitu when Israel came out of Egypt: like as we finito: for if Junius, Deut. 4.45. do well fay that King Edward the tirit was crowned read quum exivissent, for in exitu, as it seems when he came out of the Holy Land, for so that herein he doth well, why may not we all journies with their accidents commonly alfo, to avoid contradiction in the Scritake name from the place either whence or pture, expound ab exitu to be, postquam exitation with the they tend. But I think that he can

Othoniel. To this Codoman answereth, that Indeed most unproper it were to give date then it had no end, till when all the Tribes unto actions commenced long after, from an then it mad no can, any which all the characteristic state of the control of the Danites at length seated themselves, as it is Palestina did win Scotland, or died at Carlile. Judg. 18.1 declared, Judg. 18. For doubtless to this How may we then believe that enterprize time the Expedition may most conveniently performed so many years after the division be referred. And thus without any great of the Land(which followed the conqueft at inconvenience to him appearing, doth Codo- the journies end) should be said to have man reconcile the account of Jephra, and of been at the time of the departure out of E-Saint Paul, with that in the first of Kings, c. 6. gypt? Or who will not think it most strange, Now whereas it is faid, that the Expedition | that the most notable account of time, serof the Danites was when there was no King | ving as the onely guide for certain ages in in Ifrael: to this Codoman answereth, that it facred Chronology, should not take name is not necessary that we should suppose that and beginning from that illustrious delive-Othoniel lived all those 40. years of rest, of rance out of Egypt, rehearsed often by God which judg. 3.11. so that by the 25. year himself among the principal of his benefits after his victory, either he might have been to Israel, whereof the very day and moneth dead, or at least, as Gideon did, he might have are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are refused all Soveraignty, and so either way it the year and moneth wherein it expired) might truly be said that at this time (to wit, and the form of the year upon that occasion the 25. year after Othoniels victory) there changed; but should have reference to the have not otherwise found any interpretati- indeed rather by him placed in such a year, on, maintaining them as absolutely true, in because it best stood with his interpretation fuch manner as they found, and are fet down. fo to have it, than for any certainty or likeli-But seeing that he wanteth all help of autho- hood of the thing it self. rity, we may justly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it be- as affirm, that the Apostle S. Paul did not ing fuch as the consent of many Authors herein labour to set down the course of time would hardly fuffice to make very probable. For who hath told Codoman, that the purpole but onely to flew that God, who good in his own eyes?

CHAP. XIII find no fuch phrase of speech in Scripture as The next point to be cleared, is how their limiteth a journey by an accident, or faith by journeying should be said not to have had converting the proposition, when Jordan end until the 25 year after the victory of was turning back, Israel came out of Egypt. was no King in Ifrael. This opinion of Codo- furprizing of a Town by fix hundred men, man, if it vvere as confonant to other Chrothat robbed a Chappel by the way, and stole nologers, grounding their opinions on the from thence Idols to be their guides, as not plain Text, vwhere it is indisputable, as it is going to work in Gods Name? For this acin it felf round enough and coherent, might cident whereupon Codoman buildeth, hath perhaps be received as good: especially either no time given to it, or a time far diffeconfidering, that the speeches of S. Paul rent from that which he supposeth, and is

Wherefore we may best agree with such conquest of Laish, by the Tribe of Dan, was had chosen Israel to be his people, delivered performed in the five and twentieth year of them out of bondage, and ruled them by Othoniel? Or what other probability hath Judges and Prophets unto the time of Saul, he than his own conjecture, to shew that did raise up our Lord Jesus Christ out of the Othoniel did so renounce the office of a seed of David the King, in whose succession Judge after five and twenty years, that it the Crown was established, and promise might then be truly faid there was no King made of a Kingdom that should have no end. in Israel, but every man did that which was Now in rehearing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration fol-Now concerning the rehearfal of the Law lowing (wherein he sheweth Christ to have

tion of times (the Hiltory being so well from the departure out of Egypt, unto the known and beleived of the Jews to whom he building of Solomous Temple, not omitting preached) that he spake as it were at large the very moneth it self.

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reign of Saul: whereas it is manifest that dox, I leave it to the decision of the judicithose years vvere divided between Saul and ous Reader. Samuel, yea, that far the greater part of them | And now to proceed in our story. To the vvere spent under the government of the time of Jephta are referred the death of Prophet, howsoever they are here included Herenles, the rape of Helen by Paris, and the in the reign of the King. As for those that provisions which her husband Menelaus, with fo much cunning for fake the general reigning then in Sparta, and his brother Aopinion, when it favoureth not fuch exposi- gamennon King of Mycens, made for her retion as they bring out of a good mind, to covery. Others refer this rape of Helen to help where the need is not over-great; I the fourth year of Ibzan: from which time, had rather commend their diligence, than if the war of Troy (as they suppose) did follow their example. The vvords of S. Paul not begin till the third of Ailon or Elon, yet vvere sufficiently justified by Beroaldus, as the Greeks had six years to prepare themhaving reference to a common opinion a- selves: the rule holding not true in this War, mong the Scribes in those days, that the III. Longa praparatio belli celerem affert vittoriyears of servitude vvere to be reckoned a- am; That a long preparation begets a speedy Part from the 339. years ascribed to the villory: for the Greeks consumed ten years Judges; vvhich account the Apostle vvould in the attempt; and Troy, as it seems, was not in this place stand to contradict, but ra- entred, fackt, and burnt in the third year of ther chose to speak as the vulgar, qualifying Habdon. it with a quali, where he faith, quali quadringentis & quinquaginta annis ; As it were in the fixt year of Habdon, Eneas arrived in four hundred and fifty years. But Codoman Italy. Habdon in the eighth year of his rule, being not thus contented, would needs have died, after he had been the Father of 400 it be so indeed, and therefore dis-joyns the sons, and 30. grand-children. And whereas members to make the account even. In fo it is supposed, that the 40. years of Israels doing he dasheth himself against a notable oppression by the Philistims (of which Judg. Text, whereupon all Authors have builded, 13. v. 1.) took beginning from the ninth

been the true Messias) the Apostle was so (as well they might and ought) that purfar from labouring to make an exact calcula- posely and precisely doth cast up the years

of the 40. years confumed in the Wilder- Now (as commonly the first apprehensines, whereof no man doubted, saying, that one are strongest) having already given God suffered their manners in the Wilder- faith to his own interpretation of S. Paul, he ness about 40. years. In like manner he thinketh it more needful to find some new proceeded, faying, that from the division of exposition for that which is of it self most the Land unto the dayes of Samuel the Pro- plain, and to examine his own conjecture upphet, in whose time they required to have a on a place that is full of controversie. Thus King, there passed about 45c. years. Nei- by expounding after a strange Method, that ther did he stand to tell them, that an hun- which is manifest by that which is obscure. dred and eleven years of bondage menti- he loseth himself in those years wherein oned in this middle while, were by exact before him never man vvalked. Surely if computation to be included within the 339. one should urge him to give reason of these years of the Judges: for this had been an new opinions, he must needs answer, that impertinent digreffion from the argument Othoniel could not govern above 25. years, which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not because then was the taking of Laish; at a work so needful as laborious, to search which time there was no King in Ifrael; That out of this place that which the Apostle the Danites must need have taken Laish at did not here intend to teach, when the sum that time, because else we could not reckon of 480. years is so expresly and purposely backwards from the soundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed Now that the words of S. Paul (if there the coming of Ifrael out of Egypt, vvithout beno fault in the copy through error of some excluding the years of servitude; And that Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined the years of servitude must needs be incluin matter of Chronology, but must be taken, ded, for that otherwise he himself should as having reference to the memory and ap- have spent his time vainly, in seeking to pleaprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his fure S. Paul with an exposition. Whether this ascribing in the same place 40. years to the ground be strong enough to uphold a Para-

Three years after Troy taken, which was

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year of Jair, and ended with the last of Hab- Philistims with so powerful an Army for their don: I fee no reason for that opinion. For own deliverance, than against their own Epbraim had had little cause of quarrel a- brethren the Israelites ? but Ammen being gainst gehta, for not calling them to war overthrown, it feemed at that time, that they over Jordan, if the Philiftims had held them feared no other enemy. And therefore these in servitude in their own territories; and if 40 years must either be supplied elsewhere, Ephraim could have brought 42000, armed as in the time of Sampson, and afterward: men into the field, it is not likely that they or elfe they must be referred to the Interwere then opprest: and had it been true regnum between the death of Habdon, and that they were, who will doubt but that the deliverance of Ifrael by Sampson, such as they would rather have fought against the it was.

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CHAP. XIV.

Of the War of Troy.

of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets, how they have observed historical truth.

◆He War at Troy, with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this City, by most Chronologers is found in the time of Habdon Judge of Israel, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to break the ftory into peices by rehearling a-part in divers years, the divertity of occurrents.

The Hiltory of the ancient Kings of Troy is uncertain, in regard both of their original, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that Tencer and Dardanus were the two Founders of that Kingdom. This is the opinion of Virgil: which if he (as Reineccius thinks ) took from Berofus, it is the more probable: if Annius borrowed it of him, then it rests upon the authority of Virgil, who faith thus:

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet infula Ponto: Mons Idaus ubi & gentis cunabula nostra. Centum Vrbes habitant magnas , uberrima regna:

Maximus unde Pater (si ritè audita recordor ) Teuerus Rhæteas primum est advectus ad

Optavitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium &

arces. Pergamea steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.

Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybaniaque æra, Idaumque nemus.

In the main Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie: Where Jove was born, thence is our pro-

There is a mount Ida: there in fruitful Land An hundred great and goodly Cities

stand. Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)

Teucer the eldest of our grand-fires came To the Rhætean shores: and reigned there, Ere yet fair Ilion was built, and ere The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place

they fought In lowest Vales. Hence Cybels rites were brought:

Hence Corybantian Cymbals did remove; And hence the name of our Idean grove.

Thus it feemeth by Virgil, who followed furely good authority, that Teucer first gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by Dardanus : of which Dardanus in the same book he speaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Grait cognomine dicunt: Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere

glebæ. Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem. Hæ nobis propriæ sedes : hinc Dardanus ortus :

Jasinsque Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.

Hesperia the Gracians call the place: An ancient fruitful Land, a warlike race, Oenotrians opnotrians held it: now the later progeny (in this did follow, feeing it no way concer-This feat belongs to us; hence Dardanus,

suruncos ita fere senes, hic ortus ad agris Dardanus Ideus Phrygie penetravit ad urbes, Threiciamque Samum, que nunc Samothracia

Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum. Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia celi Accipit, Oc.

Some old Aruncans, I remember well, (Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell

Of Dardanus, how born in Italy, From hence he into Phrygia did file. And leaving Tuscaine (where he earst had

With Corrtus did fail to Samothrace; But now inthronized he fits on high. In golden Palace of the starry Sky.

cerning Tencer, whereas Halicarnasseur makes | vvith making any narrow learth into these him an Athenian , I find none that follow fabulous Antiquities, but fet down the Pedihim in the same opinion. Virgil(as is before gree according to the general fame; allowflewed ) reported him to be of Crete, whose ing to Teneer fuch Parents as Diodorus gives, authority is the more to be regarded, because because others giving him none, and carryhe had good means to fund the truth, which ling the line of Dardanus in manner followit is probable that he carefully fought, and ling.

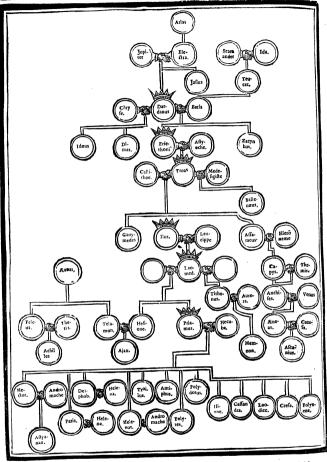
Gives it their Captains name, & calls it Italy; ned Angustus (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether Tencer were of Crete or no. 1. nec came the Author of your stock, Jassus. Reineceius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diedorus, & others that think him a Phrygian, by which report he was the Son of Auss: equidem memini (fama eft obscurior | scamander and Ida, Lord of the Country. not founder of the City; and his Daughter or Neece Batia was the second wife of Dardanus founder of Troy. Reineccius further thinks that Atlas reigned in Samothracia, and gave his daughter Electra to Corytus, or Coritus: and that these were parents to Chryse,

> wife; and the common Tradition of Poets makes Dardanus the fon of Electra by Jupiter, which Electra was the daughter of Atlas. and wife to Coritus King of Hetruria, to whom the bare fastus. Annius out of his Berosus finds the name of Camboblascon, to whom he gives the addition of Corytus, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of Dardanus and Talius; and further telling us very particularly of the faction between these Brethren, which grew to fuch a heat, that finally Dardanus killed his Brother, and

first wife to Dardanus. Virgil holds other-

therefore fled into Somothrace. The obscu-But contrary to this, and so many Authors, rity of the History gives leave to Annius of approving and confirming it, Reineccies faying what he lift. I, that love not to use thinks that these names, Troes, Teueri, & Thra- such liberty, will forbear to determine any ces, are derived from Tiras or Thiras the fon thing herein. But if Dardanus were the Son of Japhet: and that the Dardanians, Mylians, of Jupiter, it must have been of some elder and Ascanians, mixt with the Trojans, were Jupiter than the Father of those that lived Germane Nations, descended from Africana, about the war of Troy. So it is likewise prothe fon of Gomer: of whom the Country, bable that Atlas the Father of Eledra was ra-Lake, and River of Ascanius in Asia took ther an Italian than an African, which also name. That Afhkenaz gave name to those is the opinion of Boccace. For (as hath often Door, I 4. places and people, it is not unlikely: nei- been faid ) there were many Jupiters, and cate de ther is it unlikely, that the Acanii, Dardani, many of almost every name of gods; but it gen. and many others, did in after-times pass into was the custome to ascribe to some one the Europe: that the name of Tencer came of Ty- acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. ras, the conjecture is formewhat hard. Con- Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self

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of the Trajan Kingdom, with the length of e- elsewhere done. And first for the destruction very Kings reign, I have chosen good Authors of Troy, which was of greater note than any to be my guides, that in a Hiftory, where- accident befalling that City whilft it ftood, on depends the most ancient computation it is reckoned by Diodorus to be 780. years of times among the Greeks, I might not fol-more ancient then the beginning of the low incertainties, ill cohering with the con- ninty fourth Olympiad. Whereas therefore

Concerning the beginning & continuance | fent of Writers, and general paffage of things

that is, 408. years event between the deltru- the most renowned. frion of Troy, and the first institution of those games by Iphitus, if the authority of Diodorus by general confent of all Greece, was the last be good proof, who elsewhere tels us, that war of Troy, which hath been famous even to the return of the Heraclida, which was 80. this day, for the numbers of Princes and valivears after the fall of Trof, was 328. years be- ant Commanders there affembled, the great fore the first Olympiad.

Hercunto agrees the authority of Dionypart the firs Halicarnaffens, who placing the foundati- great City 5 and the may Colonies planted in tum is easily collected by necessary inference mer, whose Verfes have given immortality to out of divers other places in the same book. the action, which might else perhaps have Hereunto doth Eusebius, reckoning exclu- been buried in oblivion; among other worprofessions fively agree: and Eratosthenes (as is cited by thy deeds, done both before and fince that 66. Alex. Clemens Alexandrinus ) makes up out of many time. For it is true which Horace faith: stown lib. particulars, the fame total fum, vvanting, but one year, as reckoning likewife exclutively.

The other collections of divers Writers that are cited by Clemens in the same place, do neither cohere any vvay, nor depend upon any collateral Hiftory, by which they Many by valour have deserv'd renown may be verified.

The destruction of Troy being in the year before the Olympiads four hundred & eight: we must seek the continuance of that from the beginning to the end out of Eufebius, who memorable accident in the due year.

no good form of a year ; but rather to make doubtful.

371. did pass between the beginning of the I narration of the actions which were memochambiads, and the first year of the 94. it is rable, and acknowledged by all Writers. manifest that the remainder of 780, years, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of

The first enterprise that was undertaken battails fought with variable fuccessthe long endurance of the fiege; the deftruction of that on of Rome in the first of the seventh Olympi- fundry countries, as well by the remainder ad, that is, four and twenty years after the of the Trojans, as by the victorious Greeks beginning of those games, accounts it 432. after their unfortunate return. All which later then the fall of Troy. Solinus in express things, with enumerable circumstances of ewords, makes the inflitution of the Olympiads special note, have been delivered unto poby Iphitus, vvhom he calleth Iphiclus, 480. Iterity, by the excellent wits of many Wriyears later than the destruction of Troy. The ters, especially by the Poems of that great Ho-

> Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles Urgentur, ignotiq; longa Nocle: carent quia vate sacro.

Ere Agamemnon; yet lie all opprest Under long night unwept for and unknown: For with no facred Poet were they bleft.

Yet so it is, that whilft these Writers have leads us from Dardanus on-wards, through with strange fables, or (to speak the best of the reigns of four Kings, by the space of two them) with Allegories far strained, gone ahundred and five and twenty years, and after bout to enlarge the commendations of those of Priamus, with whom also at length it en- noble undertakers: they have both drawn ded. As for the time which passed under into suspition that great vertue which they Lagnedon, we are fain to do as others have fought to adorn, and filled after-ages with done before us, and take it upon trust from almost as much ignorance of the History, as Annius his Authors; believing Manetho fo admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is much the rather, for that in his account of expedient that we feek for the knowledge of the former Kings reigns, and of Priamus, he fuch actions, in Histories; learning their quais found to agree with Eufebins, which may lities who did manage them, of Poets, in give us leave to think that Annius hath not whose works are both profit and delight; herein corrupted him. But in this point we yet fmall profit to those which are delighted need not to be very ferupulous: for feeing otherwise: but such as can interpret their fathat no Hiltory or account of time depends bles, or separate them from the naked truth, upon the reign of the former Kings, but only shall finde matter in Poems, not unworthy to upon the ruins of the City under Priamus, it be regarded of Historians. For those things may suffice that we are careful to place that excepted which are gathered out of Homer, there is very little, and not without much True it is, that some objections appearing disagreement of Authors, written of this weighty, may be alledged in maintenance of great war. All Writers consent with Homer, different computations, which with the an- that the rape of Helen by Paris the fon of fwers I purposely omit, as not willing to dif- Priamus, was the cause of taking Arms: but pute of those years, wherein the Greeks knew how he was hereunto emboddened, it is 354

fides for the War.

people opposed to all the World; and that expedition. even then when as the Greeks had not yet Thus did all Greece, either as bound by one common name among themselves. O- oath, or led by reputation and power of the thers with more probability say, that the two brethren, Agamemnon, and Menelaus; rape of Helen was to procure the redelivery or desirous to partake of the profit and hoof Hesione, King Priamus his sister, taken for- nour in that great enterprise; take Arms afeems) was a cruel man, feeing his own ion abouts: but the vessels were not great: for it

Greeks, as Herodotus discourseth; but all people were accustomed to steal Women and Cattel, if they could by ftrong hand or of the rape of Helen : and firength of both power get them: and having ftoln them, either to fell them away in some far Country, or keep them to their own use. So did TErodotus fetcheth the cause of this rape Theseus and Pirythons attempt Proserpina; from very far; faying, That whereas the and fo did Thefens (long before Paris) ravish Phonecians had ravished Io, and carried her Helen. And these practices, as it appears in into Egypt, the Greek, to be revenged on the Thursdides, were so common, that none Barbarians, did first ravish Europa, whom durit inhabite neer unto the Sca, for fear of they brought out of Phanicia into Creta, and pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life afterward Medaa, whom they fetcht from no less lawful than merchandise : vvhere-Colchos, denying to restore her to her father, fore Tyndarens, the father of Helen, consitill such time as they might be satisfied for dering the beauty of his daughter, and the the rape of Io. By these deeds of the Greeks, rape which Theseus had made, caused all Paris (as the same Herodotus affirms) was her Wooers, who were most of the prinemboldened to do the like; not fearing such cipal men in Greece, to bind themselves by revenge as enfued. But all this narration folemn oath, that if the vvere taken from her feems frivolous. For what had the King of husband, they should with all their might colchos to do with the injury of the Phani- help to recover her. This done he gave free cians? Or how could the Greeks, as in re- choice of a husband to his daughter, who venge of Io, plead any quarrel against him, chose Menelaus brother to Agamemnon. So that never had heard the name of Phanici- the cause which drew the Greeks unto Troy ans? Thucydides, a writer of unquestionable in revenge of Helens rape, vvas partly the fincerity, maketh it plain, that the name of oath which so many Princes had made un-Barbarians was not used at all in Homers to her Father Tyndareus. Hereunto the great time, which was long after the War of Trop: power of Agamemnon vvas not a little help-and that the Greeks themselves were not ing: for Agamemnon, besides his great Dothen called all by one name, Hellenes, as af minions in Peloponnesus, vvas Lord of many terwards. So that it were unreasonable to Islands: he was also rich in money, and therethink, that they should have sought revenge fore the Arcadians vvere vvell contented to upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury follow his pay, whom he embarked for Troy received by one: or that all people elfe in his own thips, which were more than any should have esteemed of the Greeks, as of a other of the Greek Princes brought to that

merly by Hercules, and given to Telamon, gainft the Trojans. The Greeks Fleet was This may have been true: for Telamon (as it (by Homers account) 1200. fayl, or there-Tencer durst not come in his fight, after the was not then the manner to build ships with war of Trog, but fled into Cyprus, onely be- decks; only they used (as Thucydides faith) cause his brother Ajax (which Tencer could small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; not remedy) had flain himself. Yet, were it the least of which carried fifty men, the fo, that Hessone was ill entreated by Telamon, greatest 120. every man (except Captains) it was not therefore likely that Priamus her being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By brother would feek to take her from her this proportion it appears that the Grecian husband, with whom the had lived about Army confilted of 100000. men or therethirty years, and to whom she had born chil- about. This was the greatest Army that dren which were to succeed in his Domini- ever was raised out of Greece: and the greaton. Whereupon I think that Paris had no ness of this Army doth well declare the regard either to the rape of Europa, Medaa, strength and power of Troy, which ten whole or Hesione, but was meerly incited by Venus, years did stand out against such forces: yet that is, by his lust, to do that which in were the Trojans vvhich inhabited the City, those daies was very common. For not only not the tenth part of this number, as Aga-Greeks from Barbarians, and Barbarians from memnon faid in the second of Homers Iliads; ny and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Milfia, laus might have put into any port in Greece, and the greatest part of Afathe less, took and there have remained with good enterpart with the Trojans. The Anagons also tainment, until such time as the Wind had brought them fuccour. And Rhefus out of come about, and ferved for his Navigation. Thrace, and Memnon out of Affria (though One great argument Herodotus brings to fome think out of Ethiopia came to their contirm the faying of the Egiptian Priefts; defence.

of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helena's being detained in Egypt, and of the facrificing of Iphigenia.

W Herefore the Greeks, unwilling to be compounded by treaty fent Menelaus and Ulsses Embassadours to Troy: who demanded Helen, and the goods were taken with her Trojans made hereunto it is uncertain, Herodotus from the report of the Egyptian Pricits, makes it very probable, that Helen was taken from Paris before his return to Troy. The fum of his discourse is this.

Paris in his return with Helena, being driven by foul weather unto the coast of Egypt. was accused for the rape of Helen by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. Proteus then King of Egypt, finding the accufation true by examination, detained Helen, and the goods taken with her, till her hufband should require them: dismissing Paris a stranger. When therefore the Greeks detaken, they perceived indeed she had not the whole Nation of Poets (except Euripides) fourth of his Odysjes, Homer speaks of Meneduring any ftorm, than to commit himself to Thraspmides; Obsses, Amestheus the son of Y y 2 Petreus,

but their followers and aids were very ma- any Haven in the Greek Seas: whereas Menc-

which is, that if Helen had been at Troy, it had been utter madness for Priamus to see so many miferies befall him, during the war, and fo many of his fons tlain for the pleafure of one, who neither was heir to the Kingdom ( for Hectorwas elder) nor equal in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may feem that Lucian fpake not more pleafantly then truly, when he faid that Helen, at the war of Troy, was alcome to tryal of arms, if things might most as old as Queen Hecuba, considering that the had been ravished by Theseus the companion of Hercules, who took Troy when Priamus was very young; and confidering further, that out of Menelaus his house. What answer the the was lifter to Castor and Pollux (the and Pollux being faid by some to have been twins) who failed with the Argonauts, having Telamon the father of Ajax in their company, before the time that Helione was taken on whom Telamon begat Ajax, that was a principal commander in the Trojan war. But whether it were so that the Trojans could not, or would not restore Helen, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them flain. The Greeks hereupon incensed, made all haste towards Troy:at which time Calchas (whom some say to without further punishment, because he was have been a Runagate Trojan, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the Captains, manding Helen, had answer, that she was in and all the Hoast with many troublesome an-Egypt, they thought themselves deluded, and fivers and divinations. For he would have Athereupon made the war, which ended with gamemnons daughter facrificed to appeale the ruine of Troy. But when after the City Diana, whose anger, he said, vvithstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were facribeen there, they returned home, fending Me- fized, or whether (as some vvrite) the goddess nelans to ask his wife of Protens. Homer, and vvas contented with a Hind, it is not needful here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the mavary from this History, thinking it a matter lice of the Devil, which vvaits for all oppormore magnificent, and more graceful to their tunities, is never more importunate, then Poems, for the retaining of a fair Lady, than vvhere mens ignorance is most. Calchas also that they endured all by force, because it lay told the Greeks, that the taking of Troy was not in their power to deliver her. Yet in the impossible, till some fatall impediments were removed: and that till ten years were past, laus his being in Egypt, before he returned the Town should hold out against them. All home to Sparta; which voyage it were not which not with standing, the Greeks proceeded eafily believed that he made for pleasure, and in their enterprise, under the command of Aif he were driven thither by contrary Winds, gamennon; vvho was accompanied with his much more may we think that Paris was Brother Menelaus: Achilles the most valiant of likely to have been driven thither by foul all the Greek, his friend Patroclus, and his Tu-Weather. For Paris immediately upon the tor Phanix, Ajax and Tencer, the lons of Telarape committed, was enforced to fly, taking mon ; Idomeneus, and his companion Merifuch Winds as he could get, and rather en-

medes the fon of Tydens, a man of fingular came into the field, the tenth year, for he courage; the wife and learned Palamedes, knew none of them; and therefore fitting, up-Afalaphus, and Jalmenus, the fons of Mars, on an high tower (as Homer tels) he learnwho had failed with the Argonauts; Phi-ed their names of Helen: which though it is How I. lottetes also the son of Paan, who had the ar-like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have liet. rows of Hercules, without which Calchas been supposed that he should be ignorant faid, that the City could not be taken, Ajax of them, if they had shewed themselves bethe fon of Oileus, Peneleus, Theas, Fumelus, fore the town fo many years together. Be-Tylandrus, Euripilus, Athamas, Sthenelus, tween these relations of Thucidides and Hero-Tlepolemus the fon of Hercules; Podalyrius, dieus, the difference is not much, the one and Machon, the sons of Asculapius; Epens, saying, that a few of the Greeks remained in who is faid to have made the wooden the Camp before Troy, whilest the rest made Horse, by which the town was taken; and purveyance by land and by sea: the others Protesilans, who first leapt on shore, neglecting that the whole army did spend the time in the Oracle that threatned death to him that wasting the Sea-coasts. Neither do the landed first.

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### 5. IV.

Of the Ads of the Græcians at the fiege.

tertainment, as might easily perswade them that Summer, in which Troy was taken great to think that the war would be more than booties were brought into the Camp, and one years work. For in the first encounter, a great pestilence arose among the Greek: they lost Protessians, whom Hestor slew, and which Homer saith, that Apollo sent in revenge many others, without any great harm done to of his Priests daughter, whom Agamemnon the Trojans: fave only that by their numbers had refused to let go, for any ransome: but of men, they wan ground enough to incamp Heraclides interpreting the place, faith, that themselves in, as appeareth in Thucydides. by Apollo was meant the Sun, who raised The principal impediment which the Greeks pestilent Fogs, by which the army was infound, was want of victuals, which grew up- fected, being lodged in a moorish piece of on them by reason of their multitude, and the ground. And it might well be that the camp fmalness of their vessels, wherein they could was over-pestered with those, who had been not carry necessaries for such an Army. Here- abroad, and now were lodged all close toupon they were compelled to fend fome part gether: having also grounded their ships of their men, to labour the ground in Cherro- within the fortifications. ness:others to rob upon the Sea for the relief of the Camp. Thus was the war protracted tion between Agamemnon and Achilles anine whole years, and either nothing done, bout the booty, whereof Agamemnon, as Geor if any skirmishes were, yet could the town neral, having first chosen for his part a captive receive little loss by them, having equal woman, and Achilles in the second place chonumbers to maintain the field against such sen for himself another, then Ajax, Ulysses, and Greeks as continued the fiege, and a more fafe fo the rest of the chief Captains in order: retrait if the enemy got the better.

Wherefore Ovid faith, That from the near when it should be subverted.

Petrons, Captain of the Athenians; Dio- Priamus made, when the Greek Princes Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many towns and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captivity; in which actions Achilles was employed, whom the army could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had been to be performed before the Hese, and many other of less note, City. Howsoever it was, this is agreed by arriving at Troy, found such sharp en- general consent, that in the beginning of

About the same time arose much contenwhen the South-sayer Calchas had willed that Agamemnons woman should be restored to first year, till the tenth, there was no fighting her father Apollo's Priest, that so the pestilence at all, and Heraclide commends as very might cease, then did Agamemnon greatly credible, the report of Herodicus, that the rage, and ay, that he alone would not lose his Greeks did not lye before Troy the first nine part of the spoile, but would either take that years: but onely did bear up and down the which had been given to Achilles, or that Seas, exercifing their men, and inriching which had fallen to Ajax, or to Olyffes. Herethemselves, and so by wasting the enemies upon Achilles defied him, but was fain to sufcountry did block up the Town, unto which fer all patiently, as not able to hold his Conthey returned not, untill the fatall time drew cubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or This is confirmed by the enquiry which to fend forth his Captains. But the Greeks, encouraged

encouraged by their Captains, presented of theirs, which drave up and down the field. themselves before the City without him as they were directed by the Captains, who

and his Troops. great fuccours, all the neighbour Countries their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on having fent them aid: partly drawn to that foot, with fwords and battle-axes, retiring War by their Commanders who affilted Pri- into the ranks of footmen, or elfe returning amus for money, wherewith he abounded to their Chariots when they found cause, when the War began (as appears by his and so began again with a new dart as they words in Homer,) or for love of himself and could get it, if their old were lost or broken. his fons, or hope of marriage with some of his Their arms defensive were helmets, breastmany and fair Daughters; partly also (as we plates, boots of brass, or other mettal, and may well ghesse) incited by the wrongs re-shields commonly of leather plated over. the Greeks was almost desperate.

forth Achilles Troops, relieving the weary very defirous, that he might revenge the Greeks with a fresh supply. Agamemnon, Di- death of Patroclus his dear friend. omedes, Vlyffes, and the rest of the Princes though fore wounded, yet were driven to self unto Achilles, not only restoring his conput on armour, and with help of Patroclus, cubine Brises, but giving him very great repelled the Trojans very hardly. For in that gifts, and excusing former matters as well as fight Patroclus was lost, and his body, with he might. In the next battel achilles did so much comtention recovered by his friends, behave himself, that he did not only put the was brought back into the Camp: the armour Trojans to the worst, but also slew the valiof Achilles which he had put on, being torn and Hector, whom (if Homer may herein be from him by Hellor. It was the manner of believed ) he chased three times about the those Wars, having flain a man, to striphim, Wals of Troy. But great question may be and hale away his body, not reftoring it made of Homer's truth in this narration. For viithout ransome, if he vvere one of marke, it is not likely that Hellor would stay alone Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: without the City ( as Fiomer doth report of for they fought all on foot, flightly armed, him) when all the Trojans were fled into it: and commonly followed the fuccess of their nor that he could leap over the Rivers of Captains; who rode not upon horses, but | Xanthus and Simois, as he must have done in in Chariots, drawn by two or three horses, that flight: nor that the Trojans, perceiving which were guided by some trusty followers Hetter in such an extremity, would have for-

by the fwiftness of their horses, prefenting The Trojans were now relieved with themselves where need required, threw first ceived of the Greeks when they wasted the The offensive were swords and battel-axes Countries adjoyning unto Tray. So that at hand; and stones, arrows or darts when when Hellor issued out of the Town, he was they fought at any distance. The use of little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of their Chariots (belides the swiftness) was to men, or quality of their Leaders. The prinkeep them from weariness, whereto the cipal Captains in the Tojam Army, were leaders were much subject, because of their Hedor, Park, Deiphobus, Helenus, and the o armour, which the strongest and stoutest ther fons of Priamus: Eneas, Antenor, and ware heaviest, also that from them they his fons, Polydamas, Sarpedon, Glancus, Asius, might throw their Javelins downwards, with and the fons of Panthus, besides Rhesus, who the more violence. Of which Weapon I find was flain the first night of his arrival; Mem- not that any carried more than one or two non, Queen Penthesslea, and others who came into the field: wherefore they were often towards the end of the War. Between these driven to return to their tents for a new one and the Greeks were many battels fought: when the old was gone. Likewise of arthe greatest of which were, that at the tomb mours they had little change or none; eveof King Ilus upon the Plain: and another at ry man (speaking of the chief) carried his the very trenches of the Camp, wherein He- own compleat, of which if any piece were Hor brake through the fortifications of the loft or broken, he was driven to repair it Greeks, and began to fire their ships; at with the like, if he had any fitting, taken which time Ajax, the fon of Telamon, with from some Captain whom he had slain, and his brother Teneer, were in a manner the on-ftripped; or elfe to borrow of them that ly men of note that remaining unwounded, had by such means gotten some to spare. made head against Hedor, when the state of Whereas therefore Achilles had lost his armour which Hettor (as is faid before) had Another battel (for fo Antiquity cals it) taken from the body of Patroclus, he was or rather the same renewed, was fought by fain to await the making of new, ere he Patroclus, who having obtained leave, drew could enter the fight: whereof he became

At this time Agamemnon reconciled him-

born to open some of their gates and let him by which means they who were shut into it, in. But this is reported only to grace Achil- must have perished for hunger, if they had les, who having (by what means foever) not by ifluing forth unfeafonably discovered flain the noble Hedor, did not only carry a- the invention. Whereas further it is faid, way his dead body, as the custome then was, that this Horse was so high and great, that it revenged; for he was shortly after slain many principal men was altogether needless, ple of Apollo, whither he came to have mar- surprising of any gate by them was now to ried Polyxens the daughter of Priamus, with no purpose. vyhom he vvas too far in love, having flain John Baptifta Gramay in his History of Afo many of her brethren; and his body was sia, discourting of this War, saith that the ransomed (as Lycophron faith) at the self-Greeks did both batter the Wals with a fame rate that Hellors was by him fold for. Wooden Engine, and were also let into the Not long after this, Penthesilea Queen of the City by Antenor, at the Scean gate: the Amazons arrived at Troy, who after some Townsmen sleeping and drinking without

Of the taking of Troy, the wooden Horse, the the reliques of Troy.

rhus the fon of Achilles.

by night, as all Writers agree: but whether ctory in most points to these two Authors. by the Treason of Aneas and Antenor; or without once taking notice of the oppositiby a wooden Horse, as the Poets, and com- on, which they having served in that War mon Fame (which followed the Poets) have made against the common report, had it not delivered, it is uncertain. Some write that been that either those books were even in upon one of the gates of Troy, called Scea, those, times thought frivolous, or else conwas the Image of a Horse, and that the Greeks tained no such repugnancy to the other Auentring by that gate, gave occasion to the thors as now is found in them. report, that the City was taken by an artificial Horfe. It may well be that with some in this War, which Dares and Dylin say to wooden Engine, which they called a Horie, have been above 600000. on the Trojan

but boring holes in his feet, and thrufting could not be brought into the I own through leathern though into them, tyed him to his any of the gates, and that therefore the Tro-Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about jans were fain to pull down a part of their the field, felling the dead body to his father | Wall to make way for it, through which Priamus for a very great ransome. But his breach the Greeks did afterwards enter; it cruelty and covetouiness were not long unis hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so with an arrow by Paris, as Homer fayes in confidering that without their help there the Scean Gare; or as others, in the Tem- was way sufficient for the Army, so that the

proof given of her Valour, was tlain by Pyr- fear or care, because the fleet of the Grecians had hoifted fail, and was gone the day before to the Ile of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Trojans into fecurity. That the City was betrayed, the Books of Dares and Dydis must prove, which whether we now have the Book of Dares and Dyctis, the Colonies of Jame that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these Writers in ancient times, Finally, after the death of many Worthy would not, as they did, have followed the Persons on each side, the City was taken reports of Homer and others quite contradi-

they either did batter the Wals as the Ro- fide, and more then 800000. of the Greeks, mans in after-times used to do with the it is a report meerly fabulous; for as much Ram: or scaled the Wals upon the sudden, as the whole Fleet of the Greeks was reckoand so took the City. As for the hiding of ned by Homer, who extolled their Army and men in the hollow body of a wooden Horse, deeds as much as he could, to be somewhat it had been a desperate adventure, and ser less than 1200. fail, and the Army therein ving to no purpose. For either the Trojans transported over the Greek seas, not much might have perceived the deceit, and slain above 100000. men, according to the rate all those Princes of Greece, that were inclo- formerly mentioned. But it is the common fed in it (which also by such as maintain this fashion of men to extol the deeds of their report they are faid to have thought upon:) Ancients: for which cause both Homer magor they might have left it a few dayes with niffed the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as fhould the very first day both conclude upon the bringing it into the Town, and break Trojans and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and their City, from which the Rollingth War and the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the war and the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the Captains of the Greek, that ferved in the War, and Virgil with others were as followed the Captains of the Greek, that the Captains of the Greek that the Captains of the Greek that the Captains of the Greek that the Captains of the Greek that the Captains of the Greek that the Captains of the Greek that the Captains of the Cap down their Wals upon the sudden to do it:) mans descended. Yea the Athenians long

after in the War which Xerxes the Persian agreeing. For (besides other quarrels a-King made against all Greece, did not for- rising upon the division of the booty, and hear to vaunt of the great cunning which the like occasions) at the time when they Muchicus the fon of Peteus had shewed in should have set fail, Agamemnon and his bromuthalling the Grecian Army before Troy: ther fell out, the one being desirous to dewhereupon, as if it had been amatter of part immediately, theother to flay and demute confequence, they were fo proud form fome facrifices to Minerus. Hereupon that they refused to yeeld unto Gelon King, they fell to hot words, half the Fleet remainof almost all Sicily, the Admiralty of their ing with Agamemnon, the rest of them sailed Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to to the Isle of Tenedos; where when they arbring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000 rived, they could not agree among themmen for their defence. The like vanity possessed many other Ci- non; others were dispersed, each holding ties of Greece, and many Nations in these his own course. But the whole Fleet was

or in most probability, came of the Trojans, Idomeneus and Philostetes, who nevertheless, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the as Virgil tels, were driven foon after to seek Romans, brought into that Country by Ane- new feats: Idomeneus among the Salentines, os: the Venetians first seated in Padna, and and Philostetes at Petilia in Italy. Agamemthe Country adjoyning, by Antenor: the non likewise returned home, but was forth-Chaonians planted in Epirus by Helenus, the with sain by his Wife, and by the Adulterer fon of King Priamus. To which Hellani- Egyftus, who for a while after usurped his cus addeth, that the Posterity of Hellor did Kingdome. Menelaus wandring long upon assemble such of the Trojans as were left, and the Seas, came into Egypt, either with Hereigned over them about Trey.

6. VI.

returning from Troy.

on the Trojans. For Thucydides notes, that some of the Locrians were driven into Aby reason of their long abode at the siege, frick, others into Italy, all the East part under several Commanders, not very well Inter-regnum for certain years, succeeded.

felves, but some returned back to Agamemparts of the World, which have striven to fore vexed with tempests: for Pallas (as bring their descent from some of the Princes Homer saith) would not be perswaded in that warred at Troy: all difficulties or un- hafte.

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likelihoods in such their Pedegree notwith- They who returned fafe were Nestor and standing. But those Nations which indeed, Pyrrhus, whom Orestes afterwards slew: also len, or (as may rather feem ) to fetch her. Ulysses, after ten years, having lost all his company, got home in poor estate, with much ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by of the diftresses and dispersions of the Greeks the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to feek out new habitations.

Ajax the fon of Oileus was drowned; Ten-Oncerning the Greeks, they tasted as cerfied into Cyprus; Diomedes to King Daumuch mifery as they had brought up- nus, who was Lord of the Japiges in Apulia; they found many alterations when they re- whereof was called Magna Gracia, by reason turned: fo that many were driven by their of fo many Towns which the Greeks were borderers from their ancient feats: many driven to erect upon that Coast. Finally, it were expelled their Countries by faction: appears in Homer, that the Grecian Ladies, some were slain anon after their arrival: o- whose Husbands had been at the War of thers were debarred from the Soveraignty | Troy, were wont to call it, The place where among the people, by fuch as had stayed at the Greeks suffered milery, and the unlucky home. The cause of all which may seem City not to be mentioned. And thus much to have been the dispersion of the Army, for Troy, and those that warred there: the which, weakned much by the calamities of overthrow of which City, as hath been faid, that long War, was of little force to repel happened in the time of Habdon Judge of injuries, being divided into so many pieces Israel, whom Sampson, after a vacancy or CHAP. XV.

Of Sampion, Ely, and Samuel.

6. I.

of Sampson.

HE birth and acts of Sampson Juda, to besiege Sampson, in the rock or these things I gather out of that Stery. First, sear of their revenge; though he was no that the Angel of God forbad the Wife of looner loofened, but he gave them another Wine or ftrong drink, or to cat any unclean bone of an Affe.

Laftly, being made blind, and a prisoner because those strong liquors hindered the by the treason of his Wife, he was content read, or at least will not believe this pre- truly said of Seneca; Patientia sape lasa vercept: the most part forbearing nor drinks, titur in surorem; Patience often wounded is nor meats, how strong or unclean soever, converted into fury: neither is it at any time filling themselves with all forts of Wines, and so much wounded by pain and loss, as by dewith artificial drinks far more forcible: by rifion and contumely. reason whereof so many wretched feeble bodies are born into the World, and the races

of God refused the facrifice which Manoah would have offered him, commanding him to present it unto the Lord: and therefore The Story of Eli the Priest, who suchole that professe divination by the help of ceeded sampson, is written in the be-Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may af-suredly know that they are devils who ac-deftruction of his house, for the wickedness ceive no worship that is proper to God.

of the able and ftrong men in effect decayed.

by his Wives, to wit, by their importunity buling the Sacrifice, and prophaning and poland deceitful tears: by the first he lost but a luting the holy places: though Levi Ben part of his goods; by the second his life. Gerson, to extenuate this filthy offence of Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptes ever- forcing the woman by the sons of Eli, hatha iii: Whom no force could over-master, Vo- contrary opinior. In this time therefore it Inpluonfiels overturned.

are written at large in the 13. mountain of Etam, using these Words: 14.15. and 16. of Judges; and Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers therefore I shall not need to over us? Oc. After which they bound him, make a repetition thereof. But and delivered him unto the Philistims, for Monoah the Mother of Sampson, to drink overthrow, and slew 1000. with the jawftrength, and as it were wither and fhrink to end his own life, to be avenged of his enethe child in the mothers womb. Though mics, when he pulled down the pillars of this were even the counsel of God himself, the house at the Feast whereto they sent for and delivered by his Angel, yet it seemeth sampson, to deride him; till which time he that many Women of this age have not bare his affliction with patience: but it was

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the Angel of Eli, and of the Ark taken; and of Dagons fall, and the fending back of the Ark.

cept thereof, and not good Angels, who re- of his fons, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their de-1 Sen :-Thirdly, this Sampson was twice betrayed ferts: whose sins were horrible, bothin a-11 pleased God to east the Israelites under the Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in fwords of the Philiftims; of whom there peall deliver Ifrael from the oppression of the rithed in the first encounter 4000, and in the Philistims; though in some forthe revenged, second battel 30000. sootmen; among and defended them: for notwithstanding whom the sons of Elbeing slain, their father that he had slain 3c. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Cern in harvestrime, and from his chair, brake his neck. He was the given them a great overthrow inftantly uplift that obtained the High-Prietthood of on it: yet so much did Irael search the Philitheother than the son of Aarm, befirms, as they affembled acce, men out of fore whose time it continued successively in

the race of Fleazar the eldest brother of men in their ears (to wit, the hearing of the Hhamar: for Aaron was the first, Eleazar the Gospel preached) how should it profit them by fecond, Phinees the fon of Eleanar the third, hanging it about their necks? For it was net-Ability the fon of Phinees the fourth, his fon ther the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of reput the fift, Czi the fin of Bocci the fixt, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memory of his Co-time.

divers Hebrew Authorshave conceived. In the race of Ithamar the Pricfthood conti- his blood on the other for redemption, that nucd after Eli, to the time of Salomon, who could or can profit them and us, either in this cast out Abiathar, and established Sadock life or after it. and Achimaas and their fuccessors. The Ark

was in this battel taken by the Philiftims, ed, carried the Ark of God with them to A-For as David witnesseth, God greatly abbor- zotus, and set it up in the house of Dagon tivity, &c.

the offences of the Priefts and people: so did er nor understanding in the presence of 1600,56 they did, they were then victorious. For af- fent him into the world, that all the Oracles, ter the captivity they had no Ark at all, nor wherein the Devil derided and betrayed

Words: If I plate pind javour in the cycle of the great an alteration: yet finds he none out Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him do great an alteration: yet finds he none out to me as seemeth good in his eyes. in Troy, the City should never be overturned: became speechless.

The Philistims returning with the greatest of God which Ifrael brought into the field, victory and glory which ever they obtain-

red Ifrael, fo that he forfook the habitation their Idol: but that night the Idol fell out of shilo: even the Tabernacle where he dwelt of his place, from above to the ground, and among men, and delivered his power into cap- lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up, and set it again in his Now as it pleased God at this time, that place. And it sell the second time, and the the Ark whereby himself was represented head brake from the body, and the hands thould fall in the hands of the Heathen, for from the arms, shewing that it had nor pow-

he permit the Chaldeans to destroy the Tem- God; for the head fell off, which is the seat ple built by Salomon; the Romans to over- of reason and knowledge, and the hands throw the second Temple; and the Turks to (by which we execute strength) were sunoverthrow the Christian Churches in Asia dred from the arms. For God and the devil and Europe. And had not the Ifraelites put inhabit not in one house, nor in one heart. more confidence in the facrament, or repre- And if this Idol could not endure the reprefentation, which was the Ark, than in God fentation of the true God, it is not to be himself, they would have observed his Laws, marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him and ferved him onely: which whenfoever to cover his onely begotten with flesh, and

in the times of the Macchabees: and yet for mortal men, lost power, speech and operatitheir piety it pleased God to make that Fa- on at the instant. For when that true light mily as victorious as any that guarded them- which never had beginning of brightness, selves by the sign in stead of the substance. brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, And that the Ark was not made to the end shining upon the earth which had been long to be carried into the field as an enfign, Da- obscured by Idolatry, all those foul and stinkvid witnessed when he fled from Absalon. ing vapours vanished. Plutarch rehearseth a For when the Priests would have carried memorable accident in that age concerning the Ark with him; he forbad it, and caused the death of the great god Pan, as he stileth it to be turned into the City, using these him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he

words: If I shall find favour in the eyes of the searcheth his brains for many reasons of so but frivolous. For not only this old Devil did The Trojans believed that while their then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as Palladium or the image of Minerva was kept Apollo, Jupiter, Diana, and the whole rabble fo did the Christians in the last fatal battel Now while the Philistims triumphed after

against saladine carry into the field, as they this victory, God strook them with the were made believe, the very Cross whereon grievous disease of the Hemorrhoides, of Christ died; and yet they lost the battel, which they perished in great numbers. For it their bodies, and the wood. But Chrysoftome is written, that the Lord destroyed them. It was upon Saint Matthew (if that be his work) gi-therefore by general confent ordered, that veth a good judgment, fpeaking of those the Ark should be removed from Azotus to that wore a part of Saint John's Gospel a- Gath or Geth, another of the five great Cibout their necks, for an annulet or preservaties of the Philistims; to prove, as it seemeth, tive: Si tibi ca non prosunt in auribus, quomodo whether this disease were fallen on them by proderunt in collo? If those words do not profit accident, or by the hand of God immediatly ceived by them, the plague was yet more ed to Ekron. After which, God spared not his grievous and mortal. For the hand of the own people the Bethshemites, in that they pre-Lord was against this City with a very great fumed to look in the Ark. And because they destruction, and he fnote the men of the City knew God and his commandements, and had be flain thereby; For there was a deftrudi- Abinadab; where it is written that it remainend, by the advice of their Priests, the Prin- son, until David brought it to Hierusalem, vice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing | jearim. the power of the God of Ifrael to be almighty, and that their own Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a fin-offering, using these words; so ye shall give glory to the God of Ifrael, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land. And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemy doth approve our cause? according to Aristotle; he was yet a child, became now Judge and Pulchrum est testimonium quo nostra probantur Governour of Israel. He was descended of

feen his miracles by Daniel. ing imbraced, and the golden Hamorrhoides, ther Elcana a Levite, was called an Ephrawherefoever; much less when they were left among you.

1 500,5.9. but when it was brought to Gath and re-1 ces of the Philistims perceived, they returnboth small and great, &c. And being not yet been taught accordingly; he strook them fatisfied, they of Gath fent the Ark to Ekron more grievously than he did the heathen: or Accaron, a third City of the Philistims: for there perished of them fifty thousand and but they also felt the same smart, and cryed seventy. From hence the Ark was carried to out, that themselves and their people should Kiriath-jearim, and placed in the house of on and death throughout all the City. In the ed twenty years in the charge of Eleazar his

ces of the Philistims did not onely resolve Now whereas it is said, that in the mean to return the Ark, but to offer gifts unto the while the Ark was in Nob, Miffa, and Galga- & 1 China God of Ifrael, remembring the plague which la, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this 12 had fallen on the Egyptians, when their time severed from the Ark, or at least, it is sent hearts were hardned to hold the people of was for the (a) present occasion brought to 11/18:1 God from their inheritance, and from his fer- these places, and anon returned to Kiriath. In the ma

### 6. III.

of Samuel, and of his Government.

Hefe Tragedies overpast and ended, ab hostibus. So did Pharao confess the living the family of (b) Chore or Korach. For Levi (b) com God, when he was plagued in Egypt: and had three fons; Gerson, Cheath, and Merari; 6.11. Nabuchadonofor and Darius, when they had Cheath had Amram and Izaar; of Amram came Mofes and Aaron; of Izaar, Chore; This counsel therefore of the Priests be- and of the family of Chore, Samuel. His faand the golden Mice prepared, they caused tean; not that the Levites had any proper (c) Which and the golden ance prepared, they cannot take the was of (c) Mount Region two milch kine to be chofen, fuch as had not inheritance, but because he was of (c) Mount Region been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to Ephraim, like as Jesse, David's father was call whether the was called the way of the was the way of the be framed: but they durst not drive or di- led an Ephratan, because born at Ephrata, appeareth rect it to any place certain, thereby to make or Bethkem. Hannah his mother being long julistic tryal whether it were indeed the hand of fruitless, obtained him of God by prayers diffinition God that had strucken them. For if the Ark and tears: it being an exceeding shame to we read of God were carried towards Bethshemesh, the Jewish women to be called barren, in gath in and into the territory of Ifrael, then they respect of the bleffing of God, both to Abra- Bendlette. should resolve that from God onely came ham, that his seed should multiply as the mofthstand the storm their late destruction. For the Philistims Stars of Heaven, and the fands of the Sea; Epirals knew that the milch Kine which drew the as in the beginning to Adam, Increase and which Ark, could not be forced from their Calves, multiply, cand in Deuteronomy the feventh, in the but that they would have followed them. There shall be neither male nor female barren gea 3(1):

to themselves, would they travel a contrary | Samuel was no sooner born, but that his Ephral, way. For in the darkeft night in the world, mother, according to her former vow, dedi-which in if calves be removed from their dams, the cated him to God, and his fervice; to which kine will follow them through woods and she delivered him even from the dug. For whence defars by the foot, till they find them. But as the first-born of all that were called Naza. Pfi.1314 the kine travelled directly towards Bethflee rites, might be redeemed till they were five puties sh mesh: and when they came into the fields years old for five sheekles, and between five lo, which thereof to wit of one John of the fame City, years and twenty; for twenty sheekles: to was interest they frond fill there, which when the Direct they found fill there which when the Direct they found fill the same which when the Direct they found fill the same which when the Direct they found fill the same which when the Direct they found fill the same which when the Direct they found fill the same which when the Direct they was a same which will be same which we will be same with the same which we will be same when the same which we will be same with the same which we will be same with the same which we will be same with the same which we will be same with the same which we will be same with the same will be same will be same with the same will be same with the same will be same they flood still there; which when the Prin- was it not required by the Law, that any of Ephrain.

the race of the Levites thould be called to the Philiftims were in view. But God being ferve about the Tabernacle, till they were moved with Samuel's prayers (as he was by tive and twenty years old.

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Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually pell to disperse and beat down the Army of this name of a Prophet was given, and yet the Philistims, according to the prophecie of did Mojes account himself such a one; as in Hanna, Samuel's Mother, The Lords adversathe 18. of Deuteronomic, The Lord thy God rics shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall be will raife up unto thee a Prophet like unto me, thunder upon them, &c. Tolephus affirms, that er. But he is diftinguished from those that a part of the Philiftims were swallowed with preceded him, vyhowere called Seers; as an earthquake: and that Samuel himselfled before time in Ifrael, when a man went to feek the Ifraelites in the profecution of their vian univer of God, thus he stake; Come and Ctory. After which Samuel erected a Monu-Li us go to the Seer: for be that is now called ment in memory of this happy success, oba Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And tained by the miraculous hand of God, although it pleased God to appear by his which Josephus called Lapidem fortem: Sa-Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, muel, Ebenezer, or the stone of affistance: and and Jacob; yet in the time of Eli, there was then following the opportunity and advanno manifelt vilion; not that God had alto-tage of the victory, the Ifraelites recovered gether withdrawn his grace from Ifrael: but divers Cities of their own formerly loft, and as the Chaldean Paraphraft hath it, those re- held long in the possession of the Philistims, velations before samuelstime, vvere mere who for a long time after did not offer any See in this clouded and obscure. The places wherein invasion or revenge. And the better to atid: Samuel judged vvere Matipa or Mitipa, feat- tend their purpoles, and to withftand any of

kees all all the paragraphics at once 5 having the Philiftims towards the the same in the beginning of Samuel's government, West and Sca-coast, the Canaanite toward was facts gathered their Army, and marched towards the North and East, and the Idumite on the the City: at vvhose approach the Ifraclites South. The estate being thus settled, Samuel waters and thrucken with fear, and with the memory of for the eafe of the people gave audience and the former flaughters and fervitude; bejudgment in divers places by turns, as hath
peached, fought samuel to pray to God for them; who benothing vvas \* then performing his facrifice vvhen answered

those of Moses, when Israel fought against Saint Peter reckons in the Ads the Pro- the Amalekites at the first entrance into Aration Samuel, who was the first of the bia.) it pleased him with thunder and temed on a hill in Benjamin near Juda: also Gil- their attempts, the Ifraelites made peace with "Land gal and Bethel, of which we have spoken the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backs, and to the North of them, that The Philistims taking knowledge of the they might not be assaulted from divers parts

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CHAP. XVI. Of SAUL.

§. I. Of the deliberation to change the Government into a Kingdom.

affairs on his sons, Joel and Abijah, who Elders of Israael observed, and saw that judged the people at Beersbeba, a City, the Samuel as a natural man (though a Provery utmost towards the South of Judea. phet ) could not so well discern the er-And as the place was inconvenient and far rours of his own, they prayed him to away, so were themselves no less removed consent to their change of government, from the justice and vertue of their Fa- and to make them a King, by whom they

Ut when age now began to over-the more it swalloweth, the more it dritake Samuel and that he was not eth, and defireth, finding tafte in nothing able to undergo the burthen of but gain; to recover which, they fet the so careful a government he put off Law at a price, and sold Justice and Judgfrom himself the weight of the ment to the best Chapmen. Which when the ther: For the thirst of covereousness, might be judged as other Nations were;

Ego autem

choice of a King.

who might also lead them to the War, and read therein all the dayes of his life; that he defend them against their enemies. For after may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep the ill and lamentable facees which followed the rule of Eli his fons, when those of sa-ed the rule of Eli his fons, when those of Sa-emel by their first blossomes promised to in his Kingdom, he and his sons. But to take vield fruit no less bitter, they faw no way to away any other mans field, fay they, is conput the government from out his race, trary to the Laws of God, in the same book whom they fo much reverenced, but by the written. For it is faid, That which is just and pages right shalt thou follow , that thou mayft live. In a cause of so great consequence and al- Now if it be not permitted to carry away teration, Samuel fought counsel from God: grapes more than thou canst eat out of awhich furely he did not for the citablishing nother mans vineyard, but fordidden by of his own Sons; who being as they were, God: it is much less lawful to take the vine-Date: God would not have approved his election. yard it felf from the owner, and give it to a-14. Now as it appears by the Text, this speech nother. Neither are the words of the Text or motion displeasing him he used his best ar- (say they) such as do warrant the Kings of If- Loss. guments to dehort them: which when he rael, or make it proper unto them, to take at perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered will any thing from their vallals. For it is not unto them from Gods revelation, the incon- faid that it shall be lawful for the King, or the veniences and miseries which thould befal King may do this or that: but it is written, them. And yet, all which he fore-shewed that the King will take your sons : and again, was not intolerable, but fuch as hath been This shall be the manner of the King that born, and is fo fill, by free confent of the fubjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know that the King will use cause it is accountable to God onely) will their fons in his own service to make them do in the future. And hereof we find the first his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; example in Achab, who took from Naboth which is not onely not grievous, but by the both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth the trust which God had put in him, of goand condition, defired: it being very agree- verning well his people. For God commandable to subjects of the best quality to com- ed, That his people should be judged with rightemand for the King in his Wars; and to till our judgment. Wherefore, though the King the ground no less proper and appertaining had offered unto Naboth composition, as a to those that are thereto bred and brought Vineyard of better value, or the worth in up: fo are likewife the effices of women-money, which he refused: yet because he was fervants to drefs meat, to bake bread, and falfly accused, and unjustly condemned the like. But whereas immediately it is (though by colour of law,) how grievoully · threatned, He will take your Fields and your Achab was punished by God, the Scriptures Vineyards, and your best Olive trees, and give tell us. Neither was it a plea fufficient for Athem to his fervants; with other oppressi- chab against the all-righteous God, to say ons: this hath given, and gives daily occasi-that it was done without his consent, and by on to fuch as would be ruled by their own the Elders of Ifrael. For God had not then discretion, to affirm that samuel describeth left his people to the Elders but to the King, here unto them the power of a King govern- who is called a living Law, even as David teed by his own affections, and not a King that fifficth of himfelf: Fosuisti me in caput gentifeareth God. But others upon further exa-um: For this of S. Augustine is very true: Simumination construe this Text far otherwise, as lata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata teaching us what Subjects ought with pati- equitas non est equitas: sed duplicatur peccatum ence to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Feigned innoformer opinion is grounded fust upon that cence, and feigned equity, are neither the one place of Deuteronomy, where God fore shew- nor the other: but the fault or offence is there eth this change of government from Judges doubled, in which there is both iniquity and difto Kings; and after he had forbidden many fimulation. Such in effect is their disputation, things unto the Kings, as many wives, covet- who think this place to contain the descripousness, and the like, he commandeth that tion of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the the Kings which were to raign over Ifrael, contrary fide, as they are many and forcible, fhould write the Law of Deuteronomie, or fo are they well known to all; being excelcause it to be written: and to shew how lently handled in that Princely discourse of greatly the King should honour the Law, The true Law of free Monarchies: which he addeth, It fhall be with him, and he shall Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much

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less here to insert. Only thus much I will fay that if practice do show the greatness of authority, even the best Kings of Juda and Ifrael were not so tyed by any laws, but that they did whatfoever they pleafed in the greatest things; and commanded some of their own Princes, and of their own brethren to be flain without any trial of law, on of a King, till fuch time as he was therein being fometime by Prophets reprehended, directed by God: who foretold him the fometime not. For though David confessed day before, that he would present unto him his offence for the death of Uriah, yet so- a man of the Land of Benjamin, whom he lomen killing his elder brother and others, commanded Samuel to ancient. So Samuel

change of government it was not onely fore- miles) and Saul also having wandred divers told by Moles in Deuteronomie, but perceidayes to feek his fathers Alles, at length, by ved by Jacob in this Scripture; The Scepter the advice of his servant, travelled towards shall not depart from Juda, &c. It was also Ramath to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping promised by God to Abraham for a blefling: For it was not onely assured that his issues sind his beasts. In which journey it pleased should in number equal the stars in heaven, God(who doth many times order the greatbut that Kings should proceed of him: Which | cft things by the simplest passages and perstate sceing it is framed from the pattern of sons) to elect sanl, who sought an As and not his fole rule, who is Lord of the Universal ; a kingdom: like as formerly it had pleased all other governments, hath been by many judicious men handled and proved, I shall not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I

own territories, or recover some parts there- ing in Gods everlasting Kingdom. of formerly loft. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Country. The Ammo- prepared a banquet for the King, whom he nites held much of Gilead over Jordan; the expected, and stayed his arrival at the gate. Philiftims the Sea-coasts; and the Jebusites Not long after came Saul, whom God shew-Hiernfalem it felf; till Davids time : all which ed to Samuel, and made him know that it was that King did not onely conquer and effa- the fame whom he had foretold him of, that blith, but he mastered and subjected all the he should rule the people of God. Saul findneighbour Nations and Kings, and made ing Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, them his tributaries and valids. But whether though a Prophet and Judge of Ifrael, much it were for that the Israelites were moved less knowing the Honour which attended by those reasons, which allure the most of all him, asked Samuel in what part of the City Nations to live under a Monarch, or whe- the Seer dwelt; Samuel answered, that himther by this means they fought to be cleared | felf was the man he fought, and prayed saul 15mg. from the fons of Samnel, they became deaf to go before him to the high place, where to all the perswasions and threats which sa- | samuel setting him according to his degree, muel used, infilting upon this point, that they above all that were invited, conferred with would have a King both to judge them and him afterwards of the affairs of the kingdom, defend them: whereunto when samuel had and of Gods graces to be bestowed on him, warrant from God to confent, he fent every and the morning following annointed him man to his own City and abiding.

§. II.

of the election of Saul.

A Feer that Samuel had difinified the affembly at Mizpah, he forbare the electithe same was not imputed to him as any went unto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainment of Saul (whom yet he That the state of Ifrael should receive this knew not, but knew the truth of Gods profrom him to be told what way to take, to and the excellencie thereof in respect of him to call Moses, while he fed the sheep of Jethro; and after to make choice of David the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scri- 1 Sam. 16: ptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beafts; and changed his sheepanlay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath

The time of the Judges every man hath

The most victorious King of Juda and Ifrael, observed what civil war Ifrael had: what So John and James were taken from casting outragious flaughters they committed upon their nets, to become fishers of men, and hoeach other: in what milerable fervitude noured with the titles of Apollles: a dignithey lived for many years: and when it fa- ty that died not in the grave, as all worldly red best with them, they did but defend their Honours do; but permanent and everlast-

When Samuel was entred into Ramath, he King of Ifrael.

After this he told him all that should hanpen him in the way homeward, that two men CHAP. XVI

who should tell him that his Asses were not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who found, and that his Fathers cares were gave Samuel former knowledge of his elechanged from the fear of lefing his beafts, to ction: from which election saul withdrew doubt the loss of his fon: that he thould himself in modelty, as both Josephus con-King elected and favoured by God.

than, Abias, Elias, Elisaus, Flay, Jeremy, and the no notice. charl in reft; for these Prophets, faith S. Chryfoftome, Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia, o futura: but they were of those of whom S. Paul speaketh I Cor. 14. 14. who inriched with spiritual gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

yet knew nothing of his election: neither that Nahas King of the Ammonites prepared did Saul acquaint his own Uncle therewith, to befiege Jabes Gilead: which nation fince when he asked him what had past between the great overthrow given them by Jephta, him and samuel: for either he thought his never durst attempt any thing upon the Ifoffate not yet affured, or else that it might be raelites, till the beginning of Sant his sule. dangerous for him to reveal it, till he were And although the Ammonites did always at-The trim confirmed by general confent. When the tend upon the advantage of time, to recover mimintle Tribes were affembled at Mizpeth, the gene- those Territories which first the Amorite, and omments ral opinion is, that he was chosen by lot, then Ifrael disposses them of; which they within the when he asked the counsel of the Lord. But first, they knew that there were many of the pedo: 1, the casting of lots was not only much used a Israelites that did not willingly submit themthere is mong the Jews, but by many others, if not felves to this new King: fecondly, they were was da- by all nations. The Land of promife was di- remembred that the Philiftims had not long plicuum: vided by lot: God commanded lots to be before flain 34cco. of their men of War:and placed in cast on the two Goats, which should be facri- besides had used great care and policy that the peace ficed and which turned off a figure of Christs they should have no Smiths to make them agains the suffering, and our deliverance, for whose swords or spears : neither was it long before,

fhould encounter him by Rabels Sepulchre, in like fort fell the Kingdom of Liraci on Saul, then meet three other men in the plain of Ta- firue it, and as it may be gathered by his bor; then a company of Prophets: and that former answers to Samuel, when he acknowhe should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and ledged himself the least of the least Tribe. prophecy with them: and that thereby his But Samuel inlightened by God, found where condition and disposition should be changed Sanl was hidden, and brought him among from the vulgar, into that which became a the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And Samuel made them But the Prophets here spoken of, men in- know that he was the chosen King of Ifrael. dued with spiritual gifts, were not of the first whereupon all the multitude saluted him and most reverenced number, who by divine King, and prayed for him; yet some there revelation foretold things to come, repre- were that envied his glory ( as in all effates hended without fear the errors of their Kings there are fuch ) who did not acknowledge and wrought miracles, of which number were him by offering him presents, as the manner Moses, Joshua, Samuel, and after them Gad, Na- was, of whom Saul, to avoyd sedition, took

# s. III.

of the establishing of Saul by his first victory.

At Minpeth Samuel assembled the people, that he might present auto them, who as Chimhi thinks by the answer of \* Vrim and made the ground of their invasion in Jephta's Thummim: that is, by the answer of the time, yet they never perswaded themselves Pricit, wearing that millery upon his breast of more advantage then at this present. For Feator garments the Jess also cast lots. Cieere, Plan-that of the Beth homessites, and places adjoyn-the High the High the High the homessites have remembed into these partitions by the hand of God more the High Prieklitis tus, Paufanius, and others, have remembred ing, there perifhed by the hand of God more plain that divers forts of lots, used by the Romans, Gre-than 5000. and therefore in these respects, they were cians, and other Nations: as in the division even occasion it self invited them to inlarge not the not the rections of grounds or honours; and in things to be their Dominions upon their borderers: Jabes Gilead being one of the nearest. Besides it may any thing. underraken: the two nrit kinos were called of lead being one of the hearest being one of the hea made by the first three all may be reduced, all were imboldened against Jabes Gilcad, in regarding see which kinds, howfoever they may feem see which kinds, howfoever they may feem spect of their weaknes: fince the Israelites Table 1. Exo. 38.1. Annual and a series of them, for not joyn-cie dedi- chanceful, are yet ordered and directed by destroyed a great part of them, for not joyn-our Paul God: as in the Properbs: The lot is cast into the in Mest. m Meg. 15 Lap, Lut the whole disposition is of the Lord. And which time they did not only flaughter the

Senjamites: and therefore they were not like- felf forbidden and refifted their resolutions. by to have been increased to any great num-Such is the condition of worldly men, as they hers and if they had recovered themselves of are violent lovers of the prosperous, and base this great calamity, yet the Ammonite might Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as thatter himself with the opinion, that Ifrael, despightful and cruel without cause against having for long time been disarmed by the those, whom any misadventure, or other Philiftims, was not apt to fuccour those whom worldly accident hath thrown down. they had so deeply wounded and destroyed. But contrariwife, when the tidings came ed the people to meet at Gilgal, where Saul to Sanlof their danger, and that the Ammo- was now a third time acknowledged, and, nites would give them no other condition to as some Commenters affirm, anointed King: right eyes, by which they should be utterly the assembly, containing precepts, and a redilabled for the War, as elsewhere hath hearfal of his own Justice, during the beginbeen spoken: Saul, both to value himself in ning of his government to that day, after Saul his first years reign, and because perchance had now reigned one year beforehe was estahe was descended of one of those 400. Maids blished in Gilgal, or Galgala, he strengthned taken from the Gileadites, and given to the himself with a good guard of 3000. chosen Benjamites, gave order to affemble the forces men, of which he affigned 1000, to attend on of Ifrael, hewing a yoak of Oxen into pieces, Jonathan his son at Gibeah, the City of his naand fending them by messengers over all the tivity: the rest he kept about his own person coasts, protesting thus : That whosever came in Micmas, and in the Hill of Bethel. not forth after Saul, and after Samuel; fo fould his Oxen be ferved: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven days had Saulto assem- of Sauls disobedience in his proceedings in the ble an Armie, by reason that the Gileadites had obtained the respite of these seven days to give Nahas the Ammonite an answer: Tonathan with his small Army or Regiment who, could they have obtained any reafonable condition, were contented to have I that attended him, taking a time of adsevered themselves from Israel, and to be- vantage, surprized a Garrison of Philistims: comeVassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. the same, as some think, which Saul past by, In the mean while Saul affembled the forces when he came from Rama, when he was first which repaired unto him at Bezec, near anointed by Samuel, which they think to Jordan, that he might readily pass the river; have been Cariath-jearint: because a place which done, he might in one day with a where the Philistims had a Garrison. I Sam: 15411. speedy march arrive at Jabes, under the Hills 10. is called the hill of God, which they un-

an answer to those of Jabes, that they should with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by

men and male children, but took from them would have flain all those Ifraelites that murtheir young women, and gave them to the mured against his election, had not him-

After the Army removed, Samuel fummon- 1 Sam,: 1. ransome themselves, but by pulling out their and here Samuel used an exhortation to all 1 547 11.

§. 1 V.

Wars with the Philistims and Amalekites, which caused his final rejection.

derstand of Cariath-jearim:but Junius under-The army by Saul led, confifting of three stands this Garrison to have been at Gebab in hundred and thirty thousand, he returned Benjamin near Gibba, where Jonathan abode assure themselves of succour by the next this it appeareth that the Philistims held some day at noon. For, as it feemeth, Saul march- strong places, both in the times of Samuel, and ed away in the latter part of the day, & went of Sanl, within the Territory of Ifrael: and on all night; for in the morning watch he now being greatly inraged by this surprize, furprized the army of Nahas the Ammonite. they affembled thirty thousand armed Cha-And to the end that he might let on them riots, and fix thouland Horse, wherewith they t sam. 13. on all sides, he divided his forces into three invaded Judea, and incamped at Machines 5. parts, putting them to the sword untill the or Michman, a City of Benjamin in the direct heat of the day, and the weariness of Sauls way from Samaria to Hierufalem, and in the troop inforced them to give over the pur-middest of the Land between the Sea and fuit. Now the Ammonites were become the Jordan. With this sudden invasion the Ifmore careless and secure, in that those of raelites were strucken in so great a sear, as Jabes promifed the next morning to render | some of them hid themselves in the caves of themselves and their City to their mercy. the Mountains; others fled over Jordan After this happy fuccels, the people were fo into Gad and Gilead: Saul himself with some far in love with their new King, that they 2000. men of ordinary, and many other peo-

ments:others expound the word obtulit, in this fled from him before Samuel arrived. place, by obtulit per Sacerdotem, and so make With this small troop he held himself to the sin of Saul not to have been any intrusion his own City of Gibeah, as a place of more into the Priests office, but first a disobedience strength, and better assured unto him, than to Gods Commandment, in not staying ac-Gilgal was. Neither is it obscure how it should cording to the appointment, I Sam. 10. 8. fe-come to pass that the Philistims should thus condly, a defidence or mistrust in Gods help, disarm the most part of the Israelites, howand too great relying upon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he done against them. For the victories of same could not bear patiently; and lastly, a Con-muel were not got by sword or spear, but by tempt of the holy Prophet Samuel, and of the thunder from Heaven; and when these crastshelp which the prayers of fo godly a man men were once rooted out of the Cities of might procure him. But whatfoever was his Ifrael, no marvel if they could not in a 1 Sam 13, fin, not with standing his excuses, he was by Sa- short peace under Samuel be replanted amuel reprehended most storply, in terms ungain. For this tyranny of the Philistims is fitting his estate, had not extraordinary war- to be understood, rather of the precedent rant been given to samuel so to do, from times, than under samuel: and yet under God himself; at which time also Samuel fear- him is to be thought that by their crafts they ed not to let him know, that the Kingdom proceeded in the policy, not fuffering their

men, if there had not now been any iron with stones, and with a sling it was that Daweapon to defend themselves withall, save vid himself slew the Gyant Goliab. onely in the hand of Saul and Jonathan his While the State of Israel stood in these hard fon. But howsoever, all the rest of the peoterms, the Philistims having parted their ple were formerly disarmed by the Philistims, army into three troops, that they might spoil and all those crasts men carried out of and destroy many parts at once, Jonathan, the land that made weapons: there being strengthened by God, and followed with left unto the Ifraelites onely files to sharpen his Esquire only, called a mountain, whereon & amend such stuff as served for the Plough, a company of *Philistims* were lodged: the and for nought clee: yet that they had rest of their army (as may be gathered by in.

ple, staid at Galgala in Benjamin, not far fome kind of arms, it is manifest, or else they trom the pallage of Joshua when he led Ifrael durst not have attempted upon the Phi. over Jordan. Here Saul by Samuels appoint- listims as they did. And it is not said in the ment was to attend the comming of Samuel Text that there was not any fword in all feven days:but when the last day was in part Ifrael, but onely that there was not any found fpent, and that Saul percieved his forces to amongst those 600, fouldiers which staydiminish greatly, he presumed (as some ex- ed with Saul after Samuels departure: and pound the place, 1 Sam. 13.9.) to exercise it seemeth that when Samuel had sharply rethe office which appertained not unto him, prehended Saul, that his own guards for 15m; and to offer a burnt offering, and a peace of fook him, having but 600. remaining of his 16 fering unto God, contrary to the Ecclesistical 3000, ordinary fouldiers, and of all the rest Laws of the Hebrews, and Gods Command-

should be conferred to another (a man after Artificers to teach the Ifraelites, and so even Versit. Gods own heart ) both from Saul and his to the times of Saul kept them from having any store of armour. The same policy did After this, Samuel and Saul returned to Gi- Nebuchodonofor use after his Conquest in jubeah, where Saul, when he had taken view dea: Dionisus in Sicily & many other Princes of his army, found it to confift of 600. men : else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons for the most were fled from him and feat-tered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or spear, ed. The rest of their defences were such as but Sanl and his son Jonathan onely. For the philips had not left them any Smith in all Israel, that made weapons; besides, they that came to Saul, came hastily, and left stones in slings: and that these were the nafuch weapons and armour as they had be-tural weapons, and the first of all nations, it is hind them in their garrisons: for if they had manifest; and so in the first of Chronicles the had none at all, it might be much doubted 12. Chapter, it is written of those that came how Saul should be able the year before, or to succour David against Saul, while he lurkin some part of this very year, to succour Ja- ed at Siklag, That they were weaponed with bes Gilead with 300. and thirty thousand bowes, and could use the right and the left hand

CHAP. XVI. the fucces) being encamped in the plain ad-1 the living God. Therefore did Samuel now joyning. And though he were discovered a second time make him know that God before he came to the hill top, and in a kind would cast him from his royal estate, towhich two of them ten thousand.

Saul had bound the people by an oath not to bootless intreaties perswaded to stay a while take food till the evening, yet his fon Jona- with Saul) did cut Agag in pieces before the than, being infeebled with extream labour Lord in Gilgal, and foon after he departed to and emptines, tasted a drop of honey in his Ramath, and came no more to see Saul until the passage: for which Saul his father would have day of his death. put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his cruelty. The late miraculous victory of Saul and

Philistims remembrance their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the daies of Samuel; so that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the mean while God commanded him to choose a King Saul being now greatly encouraged, under- for Ifrael, among the fons of Ishai: which Satook by turns all his bordering enemies; muel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) namely, the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, feared in a fort to perform, till it pleased Mose time: he not with standing did not only spare the life of Agag, but reserved the mind of man for his preservation. Neibest of the beasts, and spoil of the Country, ther did the all-powerful God (who made with precence to offer them in facrifice to and could destroy the world in an instant)

of derifion, called up by his enemies: yet he he was raifed when he was of base condition, so behaved himself, as with the affistance of and, as the Text hath it, little in his own eyes. God he flew 20. of the first Philistims that And though the offence was great in Sant he encountered. Whereupon the next com- for not obeying the voice of God by Samuel, panies taking the alarm, and being ignorant had there been no former precept to that of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. effect: yet seeing saul could not be igno-In which confusion, fear, and jealousie, they rant how severely it pleased God to enjoyn flaughtered one another in stead of enemies: the Israelites to revenge themselves upon manginered one another in read of that Nation, he was in all unexcufable. For pent, 15. their party, because they seared to be spoi- God had commanded that the Ifraelites 1e. led by them, took the advantage of their should put out the remembrance of Amalec from destruction, and slew of them in great num- under beaven. For the cruelty which the prebers. And laftly, Saul himself taking know-decessors of this Agag used against the Ifraeledge of the rout and disorder, together lites, especially on those which were overwith those Ifraelites that shrouded them- wearied faint fick, and aged people, was now selves in Mount Ephraim, set upon them, and to be revenged on him, and his Nation, above obtained (contrary to all hope and expecta- 400. years afterward; and now he was to tion) a most happy and glorious victory over pay the debt of blood, which his forefathers them. Here was that prophetic in Deuterone- borrowed from the innocent: himfelf having my fulfilled by Jonathan, That one of those also sinned in the same kind, as these words which feared God. Should kill a thousand, and of Samuel witness: As thy sword hath made other women childless, so shall thy mother be This done, the small Army of Ifrael made childless among other women; at which time 1 san. 15. retreat from the pursuit. And although Samuel himself (after he had been by many 33.

Jonathan, feems to have reduced unto the of the occurrents between the rejection of Saul and his death.

and the Arabians of Zobab, against all which God to direct him, how he might avoid both he prevailed. He then assembled all the for- the suspition, and the danger. And if samuel ces he could make, to wit, 210000 men, and knew that it was no way derogating from receiving the commandement of God by Sa- the providence of God, that by his cautious muel, he invaded Amalec, wasting and de- care and wisdom he sought to avoid the instroying all that part of Arabia Petraa, and conveniences or dangers of this life: then do the Defart belonging to the Amalekites, from these men mistake the nature of his divine Havilab towards Tigris unto Shur, which ordinance, who neglecting the reason that bordereth Egypt; in which war he took A-God hath given them, do no otherwise avoid gag their King prisoner. But whereas he was the perils and dangers thereof, than as men instructed by Samuel to follow this Nation stupified in the opinion of fate or destiny, without compassion, because they first of all neglecting either to beg counsel at Gods attempted Ifrael, when they left Ægpt in hands by prayer, or to exercise that wildom disdain here to instruct samuel, to avoid the strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, fury of Saul, by the accustomed cautious undertook to defie the whole Hoste of Ifrael.

provoking them with despightful words, to waies of the world. Of the fons of Isai, Samuel, by God di-appoint a Champion that might fight with rected, made choice of David, the youngest, him hand to hand; oftering condition, that having refused Eliab, the first born: who the party vanquished in Champion, should though he were a man of a comely person & hold it self as overcome in groß, and become great firength; yet unto such outward ap- vassal unto the other. This gave occasion to pearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it young David, whom Samuel by Gods apt sem 10 is written, God feeth not as man feeth, oc. but pointment had annointed, to make a famous the Lord beholdeth the heart. He also refu-entrance into publique notice of the people. fing the other fix brethren, made choice of For no man durft expose himself to encounone whom his father had altogether negle-dred, and left in the field to attend his flock; ter the great strength of Goliab, until David (sent by his father of an errand to the Camp) for of him the Lord faid to Samuel, Arife and accepted the combat, and obtained the vianoint him, for this is he: which done, Samuel Ctory, without other arms, offensive or defendeparted and went to Ramath. Neither was five, than a fling, wherewith he overthrew it long after this that Saul began to feek the that haughty Giant, and after with his own life of David: in which bloody mind he con-Sword strook off his head. Hereupon the tinued till he died, overcome in battel by Philistims, who should have yielded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, accor-

The Philistims having well considered (as ding to the covenant on their own side proit feems) the increase of saul his power pounded, fied without stay; and were pursuthrough many victories by him obtained, ed and flaughtered even to their own gates. whilst they had sitten still and forborn to By this victory the Philistims were not so give impediment to his prosperous courses, broken, that either any of their Towns were thought it good to make new trial of their loft, or their people discouraged from infestfortune, as justly feating that the wrongs, ing the Territories of Ifrael. But David, by which they had done to Ifrael, might be rewhom God had wrought this victory, fell paied with advantage, it ever opportunity into the grievous indignation of his Master should serve their often injured neighbours saul, through the honour purchased by his against them, as lately it had done against well-deserving. For after such time as the spi-Moah, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient rit of God departed from Saul, and came upenemies. Now for the quality of their Souldi- on David, he then became a cruel Tyrant, 1 sant ers, and all warlike provisions, the Philistims faithless, and irreligious. Because the High 13. had reason to think themselves equal, if not Priest Abimelech fed David in his necessity superiour to Ifrael. The success of their for- with hallowed bread, and armed him with a mer wars had, for the most part, been agree- sword of his own conquest, taken from Goliable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, ab; Saul not only by his wicked Edomite Doeg they might, according to humane wisdom, murthered this Abimelech and 85. Priests of impute them to second causes; as to a tempest Nob, but also he destroyed the City, and hapning by chance, and to a militaken alarm, mote with the edge of the fword both man and the whereby their Army, possessed with a need-woman, both child and suckling, both Ox and less fear, had fallen to rout. Having therefore Ass, and sheep. And he that had compasmustered their forces, and taken the field, sion on Agag the Amalekite, who was an eencamping so neer to the Army, which King nemy to God and his people, and also spa-Saul drew forth against them that they could red and preserved the best of his Cattel, not easily depart without the trial of a bat-contrary to the Commandement and Orditel, each part kept their ground of advan-nance of God, both by Moses and Samuel, tage for a while, not joyning in groß, but had not now any mercy in store for the maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of them to pass the Valley that lay between of Israel. Yea, he would have slain his own 15a their Camps. Just causes of fear they had on son Jonathan, for pitying and pleading Daboth fides; especially the Philistims, whose vids innocency; as also once before for talate attempts had been confounded by the sting the honey, when his fainting for hunger angry hand of God. Upon this occasion per-made him forget his fathers unreasonable haps it was, that they fought to decide the commination. The companions of cruelty are matter by single combat, as willing to try in breach of faith towards men, and implety one mans person, whether any stroak from towards God. The former he shewed in deheaven were to be feared. Goliah of Gath, a nying David his daughter, whom he had

CHAP. XVI

promifed

promifed him; and again in taking her away | are who place before him Latinus Silvius, as from him to whom he had given her: also brother to Posthumus, calling him the fifth

saul quickly enfued. bouring Nations; crusht the Syrians, and their adherents; broken the strength of the of whom all men have read that have read Amalekites; and greatly wasted the power Poets. Promethens begat Deucalion; and Eand pride of the Philistims.

§. VI.

of fuch as lived with Samuel and Saul ; of Hellen, and Hercules, and of their iffues : upon occasion of the Dores, with the Heraclida, entring Peloponnesus about this time.

IN the second year of Samuel, according to ving first inhabited fundry parts of Thessaly, Fuschius, was David born: after Codoman, did afterward feat themselves about Parnaflater, and in the ninth year : after Bunting, in fus, and finally became Lords of the Counthe tenth. For David, faithhe, was thirty tries about Lacedamon: Xuthus the eldeft fon years old when he began to reign: whence of Hellen, being banished by his brethren, it followeth, that he vvas born in the tenth for having diverted from them to his own of the forty years, which are given to samuel use some part of their Fathers goods, came and Saul, About the eleventh year of Samuel, to Athens: where marrying the Daughter of Aneas Silvius the fon of Postbumus began King Eritheus, he begat on her two sons,

in that when as David had twice spared his from Aness, and fourth King of Alba, wherelife in the Territory of Ziph, and Saultwice of I will not frand to dispute. In the eleventh fworn to do him no hurt, and confetled his of Samuel, Dereilas fate in the Throne of Allyerrours, yet he fought still to destroy him, by | ria, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruall the means he could. His impiety towards led that Empire forty years. In this age of Sa-God he showed, in that he sought counsel of muel the Dores obtained reloponness, and at the Witch of Endor, which was the last pre- once with the Heraclida, who then led and parative for his destruction. For whereas commanded the Nation, possess a great part when he fought counsel from God, he had thereof, 328. years before the first Olympiad, been alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of according to todorus and Eratofthenes. For the Devil this fuccels followed, that both all Greece was anciently possessed by three himself, and his three sons, with his nearest Tribes or Kindreds, viz the Ionians, Dorians, and faithful servants, were all slaughtered by and Aolians: at length it was called Hellas, the Philistims: his body with the bodies of and the people Hellenes, of Hellen the son of his fons (as a spectacle of shame and disho- Eeucalion, Lord of the Country of Pthiotis nour ) were hung over the vvalls of Bethsan ; in Theffaly. But before the time of this Hellen. and there had remained till they had found yea, and long after, Greece had no name comburial in the bowels of ravenous birds, had mon to all the Inhabitants, neither were the not the grateful Gileadites of Jabes from people called Hellenes, till fuch time as parttheir carcasses thence, and interred them. This ly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly vvasthe end of Saul, after he had governed by the Plantation of many Colonies, and fun-Ifrael, together with Samuel, 40. years, and dry great victories obtained, the issues of by himself after Samuel 20. years, according Hellen had reduced much of the Country comp. to Cedrenus, Theorhilus, and Josephus. But yet it under their obedience, calling themselves 6. Though, feemeth to me, that after the death of Samuel, generally by one name, and yet every seve-16.1. Saul did not rule very long: For in the be- ral Nationalter some one of the posterity of ginning of the 25.chapter, it is vvritten, that Hellen, who had raigned over it. And be-Samuel died; and in the rest of the same cause this is the farthest antiquity of Greece, chapter, the pallages are written of David, it will not be amils to recount the Pedegree

of the History of the World.

Nabal, and Abigail, after which the death of of her first planters. Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the fon of An exceeding valiant man he was, and Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either begave a fair entrance to all those victories cause the names of his Parents had in the vehich David afterward obtained: for he Greek tongue such signification: or perhaps had beaten the Ammonites with their neigh- for his knowledge in Astronomy & Philosophy. Japetus begat Prometheus, and Ephimetheus:

pimetheus, Pyrrha; Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha reigned in Theffaly, which was then called Pyrrba (as Cretenlis Rhianus affirmeth) of Pyrrha the Queen. In Deucalions time was that great floud, of which we have spoken elfewhere. Deucation begat Hellen: whose fons were Xuthus, Dorus, and Æolus: of Dorus and Æglus the Dores and Æglians had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bæo'ia*. The *Dores* hahis reign over the Latines in Alba, who go- Achaus and Ion. Of these two, Achaus, for a verned that State one and thirty years. There flaughter by him committed, fled into Pelaponnesus: Aaa 2

ponnesus: and seating himself in Laconia,

of his Grand-father in Theffalie. Eumolpus the Thracian invaded Attica, did Erymanthus in Arcadia: the fifth was the obtain a great Victory, and thereby fuch cleaning of Angias his Oxe-Itall in one day, love and honour of the people, that they which he performed by turning the River committed the ordering of their State into Alphens into it: the fixt was the chafing away his hands. He divided the Citizens into of the Birds from the Lake Stymphalis the Tribes, appointing every one to some occu- seventh was the setching a Bull from Crete: pation, or good course of life. When the the eighth was the taking of the Mares which than to contend with him. So Ion married berns from Hell. The Mythological interpre-Helice, and built a Town called by his Wives tation of these I purposely omit, as both oname in Figialia, where he and his posterity ver-long to be here set down, and no less reigned long, and (though no obliterating perplexed than the labours themselves. For the old name) gave to that Land denomina- fome by Hercules understand Fortitude . tion. But in after times the Dores affifting Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the the Nephews of Hercules, invaded Pelopon- Monsters, Vices. Others make Hercules the nefus, and overcomming the Acheans, pof- Sun, and his travels to be the twelve fignes fifled Laconia, and all those parts which the of the Zodiac. There are others who apply Achei, had formerly occupied. Hereupon his Works historically to their own conthe Achai driven to feek a new feat, came ceits; as well assured, that the exposition unto the Iones, desiring to inhabit Agialia, cannot have more unlikelihood, than the with them, and alleged in vain, that Ion and fables. That he took Elis, Pylus, O Echalia, Acheus had been brethren. When this re- and other Towns, being affifted by such as quest could not be obtained, they sought by either admired his vertues, or were beholdthe fon of orestes, in that War. Thus were the Iones driven out of Pelo-

ed thefe 12. great labours.

CHAP. XVI First he slew the Nemaan Lyon: secondgave name to that region: from whence (as ly, he flew the ferpent Hydra, which had nine fome write) he afterwards departed; and heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew levying an Army, recovered the Kingdom in the place: the third was the overtaking a very fwift Hart : the fourth was the taking Ion being General for the Alberians when of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount people multiplied, he planted Colonies in Sy- Diomedes King of Thrace fed with humane cionia, then called Agialos or Agialia: In flesh: the ninth was to fetcha Girdle of the which Country Solinus then reigning, Queen of the Amazons: the three last were, thought it fafer to give his Daughter Helice to fetch Gerion's Beeves from Gades; the in marriage to Ion , and make him his Heir, golden Apples of the Hesperides ; and Cer-

force to expel the Ionians, which they per- ing unto him; Also that he flew many formed; but they loft their King Tifamenes, Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poetical vanity. His travels through most part of the ponnesus, and compelled to remove into At- World, are, or may seem, borrowed from tica, from whence after a while they failed Hercules Libycus. But fure it is that many into Afia, and peopled the Western coast Cities of Greece were greatly bound to him: thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, for that he (bending all his endeavours to inhabited by them, even to this day, at the the common good ) delivered the Land least without any universal or memorable from much oppression. But after his death, transmigration. This expedition of the Iones no City of Greece (Athens excepted) requiinto Asia hath been mentioned of all which ted the vertue and deserts of Hercules, with have written of that Age, and is commonly | constant | pretection of his Children , perseplaced 140. years after the War of Troy, and cuted by the King Eurystheus. This Euryst-60. years after the descent of the Heraclida heus was Son of Sthenelus, and grand-child into Peloponnesus. These Heraclida were they of Perseus; he reigned in Mycena, the of whom the Kings of Sparta iffued; which mightiest City then in Greece. He it was race held that Kingdom about 700. years. that imposed those hard tasks upon Hercules, Of their Father Hercules many strange things who was bound to obey him (as Poets reare delivered unto us by the Poets, of which | port) for expiation of that Murther, which some are like to have been true, others per- in his madness he had committed upon his haps must be allegorically understood. But own children; but as others say, because he

the most approved Writersthink that there was his Subject and Servant: wherefore were many called Hercules , all whose ex- there are who commend Eursstheus for emploits were by the Greeks ascribed to the ploying the strength of Hercules to so good fon of Alemena, who is said to have perform- a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best Writers, that Hercules was also of the flock of Perseus, and holden in great of Berosus his Anamaon, who gave name to Fund jealousie by Eurystens because of his vertue, that people. But this Functions imagineth it can be which appeared more and more in the dan- Homer the Poet to have been long after these perous fervices, wherein he was imployed, times, rathly framing his Ara according to tred Euryftens. Idolaus the brothers fon of Homer, because blind men follow a guide, side. back. When the Peloponnesians understood ter Troy taken, about 260. years: and about that Eurystheus was slain, they took Atreus 250. years before the building of Rome; the Son of Pelops to their King: for he was making him to have flourished about the rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. time of Jehosaphat King of Juda. But Clemens Against him the Heraclida marched under Alexandrinus & Tatianus above named, men-Highlus, the fon of Hercules. But to avoid tion Authors that make him much antienter. effusion of bloud, it was agreed, that Hyllus The difference of which Authors in this should fight with Echenus King of the Tegea- point is not unworthy the Readers confidete, a people of Arcadia, who assisted Atreus; ration, that by this one instance he may with condition, that if Hyllus were Victor, ghesse of the difficulty, and so pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwife the Heracli- feeing in fuch diversity of opinions a man de should not enter Peloponnesus in an hundred years. In that combat Hyllus was tlain, and the Heraclide compelled to forbear their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under Ariftodemus (as the best authority doth shew, planted in that Country, as is before flew death of Euryftheus four generations.

CHAP. XVI.

6. VII.

of Homer and Hefiod, and many changes in the World, that happened about this Age.

A Poet Homer lived, as many of the best nian plantations, came to visit him, near 240.

io that he grew great in reputation and (a) Architochus in the tract, or rather frag-(a) This nower through all Greece; and had by man ment de temporibus; and makes seven more set out ny Wives and Concubines above threefcore of this name to have flourished in divers Ci- with Bere-Children. These Children Eurystheus would ties in Greece. Whence, perhaps, sprang firs and o fin have got into his power, when Hercules the diversity of opinions, both of the time, at Built, was dead: but they fied unto Ceyx King of and of the native City of Homer. According and after with Fort Teracinia, and from him (for he durif not to this Archilochus, Functins finds Homer a Annia withfrand Eurstheus ) to Athens. The Athe- bout the time of Manafe King of Juda, and his Comnisms not only gave them entertainment, Numa of Rome. He was called Melefigenes ment at but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred Eurysteus. Idolaus the orothersion of Homer, because blind their londway guide, water, f. Hercules, who had affilted him in many of which fignification among others, is in the 147, plahis travels, was Captain of the Heraclida. It Verb busgliv: for this Homer in his later time cent Hois faid of him, that being dead he obtained was blind. \* Clemens Alexandrinus recites merin the leave of Pluto to live again till he might re- many different opinions touching the questi- ration in venge the injuries done by Eurystheus: whom on of the time when Homer lived. So also the time when he had flain in battel, he died again. (b) Aulus Gellius, and Tatianus Affrius in his serange It feems to me, that whereas he had led Co- Oration ad gentes. Paterculus reckons that tum, 45. lonies into Sicily, and abode there a long Homer flourished 950. years before the Con- (b) Noc. time forgotten: he came again into Greece [ulfhip of Marcus Vinutius: which Mercator e. 11, item. to affift his Coufins, and afterwards returned cafteth up in the Worlds year 3046, and af-6.17.6.11.

may hardly find out what to follow. For Crates the Grammarian (as Clemens Alexandrinus reports ) gave being to Homer about 80. years after Troy taken, near the time that the Heraclida returned into Peloponnesus: and \* Eratoftenes after Troy 100. years. Theo. \* As both though tome have faid, that they came un-der the conduct of his Children) and failed into Phrygia for the War of Troy. Eu. Affr. 11. brought with them the Dores whom they phorion makes him contemporary with Gy- porthis oges, who began to reign in the 18. Olympiad Pinion Reed, having expelled the Achai, over whom (which was 45. years after Rome was built) Phil. 43. the illue of Pelops had reigned after the and sofibins faith, that he was 90. years be-Rosindife. fore the first Olympiad: which he seeks to temporum. prove by the times of Charillus and his fon com. in Nicander. Philechorus placeth him 180. af Archilog. ter Troy: Ariftarchus 140, in the time of the feating of the Colonies in Ionia. Apollodorus affirms that he lived while Agefilans governed Lacedamon; and that Lycurgus in his Bout this time that excellent learned | young years, about 100. years after the Io-Chronologers affirm. He was by race of the years after Troy taken. Herodotus finds Ho- Her. in st-Meones, descended (as Functius imagineth) mer flourishing 622. years before Xerxes en- 14 Ho. terprife

fome place him in the time of samuel, and came in his head so to do. others in the end of David, and others in o- It seemeth that Senyes, or, after Macrobither Ages. In his Evangelical Preparation, us, Senemires ruled Egypt at this time: for where out of Tatianus Ajyrius he citeth fun- Tanephersobris was his Successiour, who predry opinions touching the time when Homer ceded Vaplires, Father in law to Solomon. lived, he reckoneth many other Greek Wri- About the end of Sauls government, or Orpheus, Musaus, Thamyras, Amphion, and merians invaded Asia, Latinus Sylvius then

tic 1.3.6 elder, it is also much disputed. Aulus Gelli- years before David's time) there were many imag. 1.1. certain which of these learned Fablers was the Latines: in the South part of Greece, Chron caff first born: but he finds that they lived toge- those of Lacedamon, Corinth, and the Achai. I. I. annal, ther some certain years, wherein he con- In Arabia, Syria, Soba, and Damascus, the firms himself by an Epigram, written upon a Adads made themselves Princes, of which Trevit, and left by Hefiod in Helicon.

(a) This the Silvii reigned in Alba, about (a) 140. raelites having now altered the Form of Goand reads in the time of Acastus the son of Pelias, King of all those neighbouring Nations, who by sanfor it. of Thessay. For my self, I am not much trou-enterchange of times had subjected the Jucir, a bled when this Poet lived; neither would deans, corrupted their Religion, and held rud. clem I offend the Reader with these opinions, but them under in a most abject and grievous

terprife against the Greetans: which Bero-, haps containing some great mystery. In dealdus accounteth at 102, years after the Tro-vision whereof Lucian feigning himself to jan War. Eusebius scems to make him to have been in Hell, and to have spoken with have been about the time of Joas King of Ju- Homer, there asked him the cause why he beda, 124. years before Rome built: though gan his book with that word: who answeelsewhere in his Chronology he notes that red, That he began in that fort, because it

ters more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, in the beginning of *Davids* time, according to the color of the Philammon, Fpimenides, Phemius, Aristaus, to Cassiodorus, the Amazones with the Cym-china ruling in Italy. And befides the overthrow Now whether Homer or Hesiodus were the of that Famous State of Troy (which fell 102. us reports that Philochorus and Xenophanes other changes in the middle part of the affirm, that Homer preceded Hefiod: and on World, not only by reason of those Northern the contrary, that I uc. Accius the Poet, and Nations: but there fprung up somewhat Ephorus the Historian, make Hesiod of an el-nearly together, fix Kingdoms into greatder time than Homer. Varro leaves it un ness, not before erected. In Italy that of

there were ten Kings, which began and end-Cornelius Nepos reports that they both ed with the Kings of Ifrael in effect : and lived 160. years before Rome built : while somewhat before these, the State of the Ifyears after the fall of Troy. (b) Enthymenes vernment, began to flourish under Kings, of finds them both 200. years after Troy taken, which David, in a few years, became mafter Alex. Strong, only to shew the uncertainty, and disagree- slavery; to wit, the Edumaans, Moabites, ment of Historians, aswel in this particular, Ammonites, Midianites, Itureans, and the as in all other questions and dispute of time. rest of the Arabians, with the Philistims, Je-For, the curiofity of this mans age is no less busites, Gesburites, Macathites; all which acridiculous, than the inquisition why he be-knowledged David for their Soveraign Lord, gan his Iliads with the word Menin, as per- and paid him tribute.



CHAP. XVII. Of DAVID.

6. I.

of Davids eftate in the time of Saul.

HE hazzards which David ran | Goliab in the view of both Armies, whereby into while he was yet only de- he became known to Saul, and so highly affigned King, and lived as a fected of Jonathan the fon of Saul, that he private man, expecting the loved him as his own foul: Infomuch as when Empire, were very many. The Saul fought to perswade his son that David first personal act of Fame, was his killing of would assuredly be the ruine of his house, he pleaded his caule; Jonathan could ne- himself, he was forc'd to counterfeit both wearied from the care of David's life, and 'fured among the Philiftims, he covered himwell doing. It was not long after this fignal felf in the Cave of Adullam: and after conhim a place of command among the men of profecute him.

more good to the Musician than to the King. gain: which he did. Saul having failed in such open attempts, This Army of the Philistims commanded gave unto David the command over 1000. by Achis, encountred Sanl at Gilboa, in which Souldiers to confront the Philiftims withall. he and his three fons were flain. The newes, For he durst not trust him as before, about with Saul's Crown and Bracelets, were his person, fearing his revenge. Now the brought to David at Siglag, in his return promifed him his Daughter Merab to Wife: man of the same Nation, who avowed but having married her to Adriel, he gave (though fallly) that himself at Saul's request to David his younger Daughter Michol, but had flain him. David, because he had accuwith a condition, to prefent him with an fed himself, made no scruple to cause him to hundred foreskins of the Philistims: hoping be flain at the instant: and the sooner, berather (in respect of the valour of that Nati- cause the probabilities gave strong evidence on ) that the Philistims would take David's withal. Otherwise it followeth not that evehead, than he their foreskins. This hope ry man ought to be believed of himfelf to his practifed with Jonathan , and afterwards crimine , nift approbatio alia instruit religiowith his own hands attempted his life, but nem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession his purposes were still frustrated. After all must not be taken for an evidence of the crime, this he fought to murther him in his own unless some other proof inform the conscience house, but Michol his Wife delivered him. of the Judge. For a man may contess those So David fought Samuelat Ramab, and being things of himself, that the Judge by exa-15en 19, pursued by Saul, fled thence unto Nob in mination may know to be impossible. But Eenjamin, to Abimeleck, then to Achir the because it is otherwise determined in the

and effate, and offered him violence when Philliflim, Prince of Geth: where to obscure ne periore in course, forcid, nor ever fimplicity and distraction. But being ill af- 1 seg. 21, act of David, but that Saul became exceed- veying such of his Kinstolks as were not fit to ing jealous of him, though he were become follow him, into Moab, he hid himself in the as his houthold fervant, and his Equire, or defarts of Ziph, M.son, and the Hils of Engad-Armour-bearer. Saul being vexed with an di, where he cut of the lap of Sauls garment, evil spirit, was advited to procure some cun- and spared his life: as he did a second time ning Mulician to play before him upon the in the defart of Ziph, after his pallage with Haro; whereby it was thought that he Nabal and Abigail. After which he repaired 1 512 29. might find case; which came to pass ac- to Achis of Geth the second time, and was cordingly. He entertained David for this kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred Jungen, in purpole, and began to favour him, giving with which his Mafter Saul was known to via. War. But the jealous Tyrant foon waxed Of Achis David obtained \* Siglag in Sime - It feemweary of his good affection, and fought to on, pretending to invade Judga: but he ethits kill David, being thereunt moved only bent his forces another way, and frook the sense of his Veryor. This office I will be the bent his forces another way, and frook the ver obthrough envy of his Vertue. This paffion Amalehites, with other enemies of Ifrael, let-tained through envy of his vertue. In spanious amazenes, with other channes of a state of the fifth brake forth in the midft of his raving ting none live to complain upon him. Achie siglar ill time, this time, fit, at which time he threw a fpear at David supposing that David had drawn bloud of or itis that was then playing on his Harp to do his own Nation, thought himself aftured of faid in the

him : and therefore preparing to invade of Sam. column Cenforinus remembreth one Afelepius a Ifrael, fummoneth David to affilt him, who therefore Physician, who practifed the curing of the diffembling his intent, seemeth very willing assessment Frenzy, by the like Musick: and tempered thereto. But the rest of the Philistim Prin-uncothe thereby those diseases which grew from past-ccs knowing his valour, and doubting his king of thereby those diseases which grew from pal-ics knowing his variour, and doubting his angle of fion. That Pythagoras did also the like by disposition, liked not his company, and this day. such a kind of harmony, Seneca, in his third therefore he withdrew himself to Siglag. book of Anger witneffeth. But the madness At his return he found the Town burnt, his of Saul came from the cause of causes: and two Wives, with the Wives and Children of was thereby incurable, howfoever it fome- his people, taken by the Amalekites: Heretimes left him, and yielded unto that Musick, upon his followers mutined, but God gave which God had ordained to be a mean of him comfort, and assurance to recover all a-

better to cover his hatred towards him, he from being victorious over Amaleck, by a 25cm.1. failing, when as now David's Victories be- own prejudice. For it is held in the law; con- 10 F. de gat new fears and jealousies in Saul, he felsio reorum non habenda oft pro explorato qualities.

strength of Ifrael also fell, could not but stir so many of Benjamin, and as many of Juda: up forrow, and move compassion in the heart whose force and valour was so equal, as there of David.

to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so stered Abner (who, as Afabel perswaded himdoing they should enforce their disegreeing self, had by being overthrown, and slying aenemies to a necessary reconciliation; but way, lost his courage) yet here it fell out Endels rather to permit that the one part should true, That the race is not to the swift. victors, and the vanquished, would become find it written in the fecond of Samuel. a prey to the violence of fuch as had beaten the fecond Chapter; though in the beginning them, when their forces were united.

made by Abner for Isboseth.

fon of Jonathan lived. Against this Abner doth not certainly appear. and Ishofeth, David made a defensive war, till Abner past Jordan, and entred the border of Juda; at which time he fent Joab with fuch forces as he had, to relift Abner: Isboscth remaining in Gilead, and David in Hebron. The armies encountred each

title de cultodia reorum l. si confessius, & in membred by Herodotus, 300.being chosen of cap, de ponis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth, each Nation, of which number three persons the Gloss reconcile these two places in this were only left unflain. The like tryal by a far fort: si quis in judicio sponte de seiplo constitute au les number was performed by the Horatii teatur, & possea maneat in consessione, id est and Curiatii, sorthe Romans and Latines. The fatis. If any man in judgement lo confess of same challenge Goliab the Philistim made, himself, of his own accord, and after doth per- whom David lew: a custom very antient. Edfevere in his confession, it is enough. That ward the third offered the like tryal in his David greatly bewailed Saul, it is not im- own person to the French King; and Francis probable; for death cutteth afunder all com- the French King to Charles the Emperour. petition: and the lamentable end that befel There were twelve chosen of each part, in this him being a King, with whom in effect the war of David with the house of Saul, to wit,

CHAP. XVII

furvived not any one to challenge the victo-The victory which the Philistims had got-ry. But the quarrel staid not here, for the Arten, was so great, that some Towns of the If- my of Juda prest Abuer in gross, and brake raelites, even beyond the river of Jordan, him. Three hundred and fixty men of Abners were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and left companions were flain, and but twenty of Juunto the enemy, who took possession of them da; whereof Asabel the brother of Joah without any relistance made. Wherefore it was one: who when he would needs pursue may feem strange, that a Nation so warlike Abner, and by Abners perswasions could and ambitious as were the Philistims, did not not be moved to quit him, he was forced to follow their fortune with all diligence, and turn upon him, wounded him to death with feek to make the Conquest entire. Most like the stroak of his spear. For though Asabel 1 Son & it feems, that the civil war immediately were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is breaking out between David and the house written in the Text as light as a wild Roe, and of Saul, wherein Juda was divided from as Josephus reporteth, contended not onely the rest of Isreal, gave them hope of an easie with men, but with horses; and hoped to victory over both; and thereby caused them have gotten great same if he could have ma-

confume the other, by which means both the That this civil war lasted two years, we rafe to of the third it is again made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and fome of the Rabbines conceive that Isbo-Of the beginning of Davids reign, and the mar feth had then reigned two years, when this was written, the War as yet continuing a longer time. For Abner held for the party of Fter the death of Saul, Abner, who com- Is boseth after this, and till such time as there manded for Saul in the War, fought to grew jealousie between him and Isboseth for advance Ishofeth ( or Jehoftus, according Sauls Concubine: neither did the death of to Tosephus) though he had no right to the Isboseth instantly follow; but how long after Kingdom of Ijrael: for Mephiboseth the first the murther of Abner it happened, the same

> 9. III. Of the death of Abner flain by Joab, and of Isboseth by Rechab and Baanah.

other near Gibeon, where it feemeth that Abner made the offer to try the quarrel by the hands of Grant the could not hands of Grant the could not hands of a few; like to that combate be- endure a companion in Davids Favour, tween the Laced amonians and the Argives, re- and in the commandment of his forces; by

CHAP. XVII. which he was grown to powerfull, as David fame reward that the Amalekite lately did, forbare to call him to account: for thus for pretending to have flain Saul. Libofeth, bemuch he conscileth of himself; I am this ing dead, all the Elders of Israel repaired to day weak, and these men, the Sons of Zer- David at Hebron, where he was the third and asy wash, be too hard for me. In this fort Da last time anointed by general consent. vid complained after Abners death; and to make it clear that he hated this face of 6. IV. Toab, he followed him with this publike imof the flourishing time of Davids Kingdom, the

precation; Let the blood fall on the head of Joah, and on all his fathers house: and let them he subject to ulcers, to the leprosic, to lameness, to the foord, and to poverty, &c. For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by Joab might greatly have indengered Davids estate, Ab- upon the Jebustes, who in derision of his ner being the mouth and trust of all the rest force, and confident in the strength of of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mift the place (as is thought) manned their chance therefore David openly bewailed, fo walls with the blind and lame of their Cithat all Ifrael perceived him to be innocent ty; which David foon after entred, all of that fact. The place which Abner held, their other forces notwithstanding. For habeing general of the men of war, was of ving mastered the fort of Zion (which was were fain to give them great respect, as hath Lord of Hiernsalem, without any great danbeen already shewed more at large. This ger, expelling thence the Jebusties, who had office Joab held in the army of Juda, and held it from the foundation, to the times of thought himself worthy to hold the place en- Moses and Joshua, and after them almost 400. tire, if once his Lord might obtain the whole years. There are who expound this place.o-Kingdom. For he was near to David in therwife: Except thou take away the blind and kindred, and had been partaker of all his the lame, thou shalt not come inhither. For adversity; wherefore he did not think it somethink that it was meant by the Idols of meet, that an old enemy should in reward the Jebusites: others, that it had reference to of new benefits, be made his partner. In-the Covenant made long before with Isaac, deed he was by nature so jealous of his dig- and Jacob: the one blind by nature and nity and place, that he afterward flew A- age, the other made lame by wrestling with maja his own kiniman, and the Kings, up- the Angel, and that therefore till those on the same quarrel, taking it in high disdain (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, David to fee him joyned with himself as captain of ought not to molest them. But for my self, the host of Juda; much less could he brook I take it, with Josephus, that they armed their a superiour; and such a one as had slain walls with certain impotent people at first, his brother, and been beaten himself, in in scorn of Davids attempt. For they that battel. But howfoever Joab did hate or def- had held their City about 400, years against pile Abner, David esteemed highly of him all the children of Israel, Joshua, the Judges, as of a Prince, and a great man in Ifrael, ex- and sanl, did not doubt but to defend it alculing the overlight by which he might feem fo against David. to have perished, by affirming that he dyed When he had now possess himself of the ve-: San 3. Not like a fool, nor a man vanquished, But as ry heart and Center of the Kingdom, and tors, aman falleth before wicked men, so (faith he) received congratulatory Embassadours and didest thou fall. And certainly it is no error presents from Hiram King of Tyre: he enterof wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him, tained divers other concubines, and married whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares, moe wives, by whom he had ten sons in Je-

taking of Jerusalem, with two overthrows given to the Philistims , and the conduction of the Ark to the City of David. W Hen David was now established in the Kingdom, his first enterprise was

fuch importance, that the Kings themselves afterward the City of David ) he became & Sam. 3:

or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to rufalem, and by his former wives, he had six consussion. For all under the Sun are subject in Hebron where he reigned 7. years.

to worldly miseries and misadventures. How- The Philistims hearing that David was now soever Isboseth meant to have dealt with anointed King, as well of Juda as of Ifrael, Abner, yet when he heard of his death, he they thought to try him in the beginning, bedespaired greatly of his estate, and with him fore he was fully warm in his seat. And being all Israel were possest with great fear: in so encountred by David at two several times in much as two of Isbofeths own Captains, the Valley of Rephaim, or of the Giants, they 2 Sam. 5. Rechab and Baanah, murthered Isboscib, and were at both times overthrown. After which presenting his head to David, received the he called the place Baalperazim. Then

Then David allembled 30000, choice Ifraelites to conduct the Ark of God from the house of Abinadab in Gibea to the City of Da- The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites vid; which business was interrupted by the death of Vzzah the fon of Abinadah, COon after this David overthrew the Phiwhom the Lord flew for prefuming to Diffims, which made them altogether touch the Ark, though it were with intent to powerless, and unable to make any invasion flay it from taking harm, when it was fla- upon Ifrael in haft. For it is written. Actices, mufick, dances, and all figus of joyful-nefs, in which David himself gladly bare a the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Phipart. Hercupon Michol derided him for liftims. The Latin of Junius giveth another ruines the conceived that the fonot Island which Plan in his first book, and chap. 13. built this his greatnes: together with the This exposition is made plain, and consumed many new wives and concubines imbraced in the first of chro. the 18. which the remained barren to her death.

a nan, at the hand of man and beaft. The to the Philistims. wars which David had made overe just, and After this he gave them four other overthe bloud therein thed v as of the enemies throws: but the war of the Moabites and Aof God, and his ( ure he wet for this cause rabians came between. In the first of which it was not permitted the his hands should he was indangered by Ishbi-benob, the head by it appears how greatly those Princes de- which make nine pound three quarters of ed by our Saviour unto the peace-makers.

Lord to accept a Temple of Davids founding, of the Philistims was at Gob, a place neer that should be established in his seed.

CHAP. XVII

ken. But after three years it was with great cepit franum Amgaris e manu Philithao : san folemnity brought into the City with facri- rum; which place our English Geneva 11 dancing before the Ark, and afterward told and a better fence; for by that bridle of him in scorn, That he was uncovered as a fool Amgar was meant the strong City of Gaib. in the eys of the maidens his fervants, namely, or Geth, and so the Geneva hath it in the that he forgat his regal digency both in ap- marginal note. This City of Gath was the parel and behaviour, and mixed himselfa- same which was afterward Dio-Cesarea, set mong the base multitude dancing as fools on the frontier of Palastina, at the entrance do in the ways and freets: not that the dif- into Judea and Ephraim. From thence they liked Davids be an jour (a. I take it) though made their incurtions, and thereinto their rethe made it the colour of her derifion; but treat in all their invalions, which being taken rather the aboundant gricfe, which this by David and demolished, there was left no spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of such frontier town of equal strength to the her husband to whom the was delivered last. Philistims on that part. The hill whereon Geth Tambala ly by force, and remembring the milerable or Gath stood, the Hebrews call Amma, where saids end of her father and brethren, out of whose of and of the word Gar is made Amgar, of the sea

fince his possession of Jerusalem, made her There was no nation bordering the Jews break out in those despiteful tearms, for that so greatly afflicted them as the Philihich she remained barrento her death. fims did, who before the time of Sant l'entries done, David consulted with the Pro-the end they might not sharpen any weapon phet Nathan for the building of the Tem- against them ) did not leave one Smith in ple or house of God, but was forbidden it, lall their Cities and Villages of that kind, but because he was a man of yvar, and had shed inforced them to come down into their terblood. So greatly doth the Lord and King ritory, for all iron work whatfoever they of all deteft homicide; having threatned, not needed; fo as the Ifraelites till this time of tsents in vain, that he would require the blood of David, were feldom free from paying tribute

lay the foundation of that holy temple, here- of whose spear weighed 300, thekles of brass ceive themselves, who think by bloud-shed & our poizes: at which time Abishai succoured terrer of their wars, to make themselves in David, and slew the Philistim, vvhercupon greatness like to the Almighty, which is a dam- the Counsellours and Captains of David nable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy (lest the light of Israel might by his loss be and goodness, or feek the bleffedness promit- quenched) wowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himfelf in any battell. The Now although it was not pleafing to the second and third encounter and overthrow yet was his religious intent so well accepted, Gefar, and the last at Gath or Geth. And bethat hereupon he received both a confirmating now better affured of the Philistims by tion of the Kingdom to him and his heirs, and the taking of Geth, he invaded Moah, trom that happy promife of the everlasting Throne whom notwithstanding in his adversity he fought fuccour, and left his parents with him

intrust. But whether it were the same King , or no, it is not known.

refer the Reader.

§. V I.
The war which David made upon the Syrians.

the passages of the mountains upon him at those of Hadadezer were golden shields.

Again, seeing David was either to pass through a part of Arabia the defart, or by the tulate his establishment in his fathers Kingplains of Palmyrena, his Army confifting of dom: for David, in the time of his afflictitootmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both Horse and Chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultived pla-ces, by which he was to have marched before he could have reached Enphrates, or any part baroully, and contemptuously (by curtaithereof. But we find that David returned to ling their beards, and their garments) as he Jerusalem, after he had twice overthrown thereby drew a War upon himself, which his border, as afore is faid.

The King of Syria, Damascena, and of Damascus, whereof that region is so called, hea-The Rabbines feign that Moab flew those ring that Hadadezer was overthrown by the kinsfolks of David, which lived under his Ifraelites, fearing his own estate, and the loss protection in Sauls time; but questionless of his own countrey which adjoyned to Sy-Droid well knew how that Nation had been ria Zoba of Hadadezer, fent for an Army of Aalwaies enemies to Ifrael, and took all the oc- ramites or Syrians to his fuccour: but thefe, casions to vex them that were offered. And as it appeareth, came too late for Hadad zer, he also remembred that in the 23. of Deut. and too soon for themselves: for there pe-God commanded Ifrael, not to feek the peace rished of those supplies 22000. This King of or prosperity of the Moabites; which David Damaseus, Josephus (out of Nicholaus an anwell observed, for he destroyed two parts tient Historian) calleth Adad, who was also of of the people, leaving a third to till the the fame name and family as allothole other ground. This victory obtained, he led his Adads were: which now began to grow up Army by the border of Ammon towards sy- in greatness, and so continued for tendefris Zobah, the region of Hadadezer the fon of cents, till they were extinguished by the Af-Reliab King thereof. The place is fet down in Sprians, as is thewed heretofore. David having the description of the holy Land: to which I now reduced Damaseus under his obedience, left a garrifon therein, ashe did in E-

dom:having also fackt the adjoyning Cities of Betah, and Berathi, belonging to Hadadezer, of which Cities Ptolomy calleth Betab, Tanba: and Berathi he nameth Barathena, Tohu or 2 Sam, 8. Thoi, whose country of Hamath joyned to A-T is written in the Text: David mote also dadezer (as in the description of the holv Hadadezer, &c. as he went to recover his Land the Reader may perceive) fent his fon border at the river Euphrates. Now whe- Joram to congratulate this fuccels of David: ther the words ( as he went to recover his partly because he had war with Hadadezer.& border) be referred to David or Hadadezer, partly because he seared David now victoriit is not agreed upon. Junius thinks that the Ous. He also presented David with vessels of article (he) hath relation to David, who find- gold, filver, and brafs; all which, together ing Tohu opprest by Hadadezer, overthrew with the goldenshields of the Aramites, and the one, and fuccoured the other. But the the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, ancient and most received opinion, that this David dedicated unto God at his return. recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is Junius translated the words (Clipeos aureos) more probable. For if David had intended by Ombones, as if all the parts of the Targets any fuch enterprize towards Euphrates, he were not of gold, but the boiles only. The was in far better case to have proceeded af- septuagint call them bracelets: Aquila, golden ter his victory than before: feeing that (Ha- chains. But because Roboam made shields of dadezer being taken) he had now left no e- brassin place of these of Hadadezer, at such nemy on his back, either to pursue him, to time as Shicab the Egyptian fack'd the Temple take victuals and supplies from him, or to of Jernfalem, it may be gathered thereby that

This done, David sent Embassadours to : Sam. 1. Hanum King of the Ammonites, to congraon under Saul, had been relieved by Nahalb, the father of Hanum. But this Mmthe Syrian Army, not bending his course to- neither his own strength, nor all the ayds wards the river Euphrates, but feeking to e- purchased, could put off or sustain. For stablish his purchases already made. Where- notwithstanding that he had waged three by it may appear, that it was the Syrian, and and thirty thousand Souldiers of the Anot King David, that was going to enlarge malekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaffals of Hadadezer twenty thousand, Bbb2

CHAP. XVII.

the N ah (for which he difburfed a thousand talents State. True of filver) yet all these great Armies, toge-Trace aid there with the firength of the Ammonites and Mesopotamians, from the party and conin teat. were by To th and his brother Abifhai eafily federacy of Animon: He fent out Toah the 3.14. broken and put to ruine: and that without Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and deany great loss or flaughter at that time. And stroy their territory, and to besiege Rabbah, it is written that when the Aramites fled, the afterward Philadelphia, which after a while near oal ammonites also retraited into their Cities, the Israelites mastered and possest. The the one holding themselves within the walls, Kings Crown which weighed a talent of from to, the other in their defarts adjoyning, till gold, garnished with precious stones, David Joab was returned to Hierufalem.

fed his Army, afiembled his forces again, and City. And though David stayed at Jerusafent all the Companies that he could levy lem, following the war of Uriah his wife, till out of Mesopotamia; who under the com- such time as the City was brought to extremand of Shobach palled Euphrates, and in-mity, and ready to be entred: yet Joab in camped at Helam, on the South fide thereof. honour of David forbare the last assault, and the day of the ableft men of Ifrael, and the people he used extream rigour (if we about 10 fembled all the ableft men of Ifrael). narched toward the Sprian Army in Palmy- may fo call it being exercised against heamake near rend, not yet entred into Arabia; to wit, at then Idolaters,) for some of them he tare the foords Helam, a place no less distant from Damascus, with harrows, some he sawed as funder, others towards the North-east, than Jerusalem was he cast into burning kills, in which he baked = Sam. 10. towards the South-west. Now David (speak-tyle and brick. ing humanely ) might with the more confidence go on towards Euphrates ( which was the fartheit-off journey that ever he had ) because he was now Lord of Damascus, which lay in the midway. He also possest of Davids troubles in his reign, and of his See c. 18. himself of \* Thadmor or Palmyrena , which Salomon afterward ftrongly fortified; and this City was but one dayes journey from Helam, and the river Emphrates. So had he

visited and of Meschab and the tob thirteen thousand poverified, even to the last end of that

David having now beaten the Arabians fet on his own head, and carried away with Hadadezer hearing that Joab had difmil- him the rest of the riches and spoil of the

## 6. VII.

forces.

two sase retraits, the one to Thadmor, and the of our former miseries, and many times of next from thence to Damascus. In this en-God himself the giver of all goodness; so counter between David and the Sprians, did these changes, in the fortune and state of they lost 40000 horsemen, and 700 charithis good King, change also the zealous care ots, together with shobach General of their which formerly he had to please God in the Army. The Chronicles call these 40000, precise observation of his Laws and Com-Souldier footmen, and fo Junius converts it, mandements: For having now no dangerand so is it very probable. For the Army of ous apparent enemy (against whom he was Ifrael confifting of footmen, could hardly wont to ask counsel from the Lord) he have flaughtered 40000 horsemen, except began to be advised by his own humane atthey quitted their horse and fought on foot. fections and vain desires: For he was not So are the chariots taken in this battel num- onely fatisfied to take Vriab's wife from bred at 7000 in the first of Chronicles the him, and touse her by stealth; but he inninth; in which number, as I conceive, all brodered his adultery with Vriab's flaugh-15m. the Souldiers that served in them, with the ter, giving order to his trusty servant Josh to 15 conductors, are included: fo as there dyed marshal him in the front or point of those of the Syrians in this war against David, be- Israelites, which gave an assault upon the fore he fore't them to tribute, 100000. foot- suburbs of Rabba, when there was not as yet men, besides all their horsemen and waggon- any possibility of prevailing. And that which ers, and besides all those that Joab slew, could no less displease God than the rest, he when they fled at the first encounter, was content that many others of his best sertogether with the Ammonites before Rab- vants and fouldiers should perish together bah. Notwithstanding all which, the A- with Oriah, hoping thereby to cover his pardads in following ages gathered strength ticular ill intent against him. After which he again, and afflicted the Kings of Juda began by degrees to fall from the highest of often: but the Kings of Ifrael they im- happiness, and his dayes then to come were

filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, 1 ned by the Lord as a punishment of Davids his troden-down forrows began again to fin.

he by the roots (as he hoped ) gave him an the first were but 200 men: which he carharveft of many cares and discontent-ried with him from Jerusalem to Hebron, prements. And if it had pleafed GOD to tending, though impioutly the performance take the witness of Davids own mouth a- of a vow to God. There when Achitophel regainst him, as David himself did against the paired unto him, and many troops of people imalekite, which pretended to have tlain from all places, he proclaimed himfelf King, s withe had then appeared as worthy of re- and was by the people ( whose hearts God prehendion as the other was of the death he had turned from their lawful Prince ) acforfered. For when Nathan the Prophet cepted foreadily, that David doubting to propounded unto him his own errour in the be fer upon on the fudden, durft not trust perion of another, to wit, of him that took himself in his own City of Jerusalem, nor in the poor mans theep that had none elfe, the any other walled town for fear of furprife : bereaver being Lord of many; He then but incamped in the fields and defarts with vewed it to the living Lord, that fuch a one some 600, of his guard, and sew else. The thould die the death. And hercof, although Priests he left in Terusalem with the Ark of is pleased God to pardon David for his life, God, from whom he defired to be advertiwhich remiffion the Prophet Nathan pro- fed of those things that chanced 5 to whom rounced; yet he delivered him Gods ju- he directed Hufbai his trufty friend, and ferfice together with his mercy in the tenour vant, praying him to make himfelf in all his following; Now therefore the fword shall ne- outward actions and counsels of Absaloms cer depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast party and confederacy, thereby the better taken his wife to be thy wife, and haft flain to discover unto him the purposes of Achi-Uriah with the (word of the children of Am- tophel, a revolting Counfellour, whose pramon. Soon after this, David loft the child ctices he greatly doubted. And now when of adultery which he begot on Bersheba. Set treason was in fashion, Ziba also sought to becondly, his own fon Ammon, being in love tray his matter Mephibofeth the fon of Jonawith his half fifter Thamar, by the advice of than: And shimei of the house of saul (the his coufin-german the fon of Shimeak Davids fire of whose hatred Davids prosperity had he had performed, he thruft her from him in holding himself upon the advantage of a a careless and despiteful manner. Two years mountain side, cast itones at David, and most after which foul and incestuous act, Absalom despightfully curled him to his face : but caused him to be murthered at the feast of David attending no private revenges forbad his sheep-shearing: not perchance in re- Abishai to pursue him for the present, yet venge of Thamars ravishment alone; but left him among others in the roll of his rehaving it in his heart to usurp the Kingdom, venge to his fon Salomon. Absalom being now in which, because he could not in any fort be possest of Jernjalem, was advised by Achitoaffured of Ammon, he thought his affairs phel to use his fathers concubines in some greatly advanced by his destruction. So the such publick place, as all Israel might affure one brother having ravished his own fifter, themselves, that he was irreconcilable to his and then despised her; the other after a long stather: whereof being perswaded, they drunken, and then flaughtered him, which and his cause, without tear of being given up done, he fled away, and lived under the fafe- upon a reconciliation between them. This guard of Talmai King of Cessiar, near Da- salvage and impieus (though crasty coumascus, who was his grandfather by the mo- sel) Achitophel indeed urged for his own rether but a heathen King. Thirdly, when Ab- spect, as scaring that this rebellion might falom by the invention of Joab (but chiefly take end to his destruction, who most of all because of the great affection of David to- other inflamed Absalom against his father. wards his fon) was brought again, first to the And now was it fulfilled that Nathan had difather, feeking by the pretence of common thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to thy neighbour, and he shall be with thy wives

hing, and those perils which he had pulled The company which Abfalom gathered at 2 cars, tel brother, possess there by force: which when smothered, but his adversity illightned) 2 Sounds diffembled malice first made his own brother would then resolvedly adhere to Absalom 15000 15000 Sen. 14. Kings favour, and then to his presence; he rectly foretold David: I mill raise up evil a- 2 Sime 12 began instantly to practise against David his gainst thee out of thine own house, and will take "11. all men, and by detracting from his fathers e- in the fight of the Sun : for their diddleft it quity, to win unto himself a popular reputa- feeretly, but I will do this thing before all thrack, tion. Here began the great affliction threat- and before the Sun. He also gave advice to

Abfalom , that himself with an Army of peared also by the sequel that Josh affected sea at

had not Hufbai Davids faithful fervant given advantage offered. counter-advice, and swayed it: perswading Hereof, together with news of the victo-Abfalom that it was fitter and more fafe for ry, when knowledge was brought to David,

lowed, disposed of his own estate, and then compence. Whereupon Joab presenting for sook both the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the care of Abhimself before David, perswaded him to dispose the party and the p

David being advertised of this enterprize thew himself to the Army. For first, he told falom, and of his own life. against him, marched away all night, and past him that he had discountenanced his faith-Jordan , policiling himself of Alabanaim in tul servants, who had that day preserved his the Tribe of Gad: the same wherein Ibo- life; inferring that nothing could be more feth himself in the war against David after dangerous to a King, than not onely not to Sauls death seated himself. To which place acknowledge so great a love and constancy there repaired unto him slobi the ion of in his people, who being but few in number, Nabash the Ammonite, whom David loved, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to the same which Jojephus calleth shiphar, great perils for his sake: but on the con-And though it be greatly diffuted, what this trary, grieve and lament at their good fuc-skobi was, yet the most general and proba-cess. For, no doubt, they might all have Hanum, whom David for his fathers take e- rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was gene-

In the mean time both the King and Absa- Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, low prepared to fight; Ablalom made Ama. That if the King came not out and shewed that Absalom hung by the hair of his head had given him, and which Joab now enjoyon a tree, when he could not perswade the ed. For David doubted, that if Amaja were messenger to return and kill him, he himself not satisfied he might draw from him a great with his own servants dispatcht him. It appart of the strength of Ifrael, now under his

2. San 17, 12000, men might be employed at the in- Adonijab whom he atterward acknowledgfrant for the furprizing of David; which ed David yet living; and fearing the dispohad willingly been imbraced by Abfalom, fition of Abfalom, he imbraced the prefeat

him with all the strength of Ifrael to pursue he mourned and sorrowed, not onely as a his father, than by such a troop, which Da- man that had lost a son, but as one that had risk valour and those of his attendants out-lived all his worldly joys, and seen evemight either indanger or refift. This delay ry delight of life interred. For he fo hid in Abfalom, and advantage of time gained himself from his people, as those which hoby David, was indeed, after God, the lofs of ped for honour and reward after fo great a the one, and delivery of the other. Where- victory, covered themselves also in the City, upon Achitophel rightly fearing (by the oc- as if they had committed the greatest offencasion fore-shewed) the success which fol- ces, and had rather deserved death than re-

semble his forrow for the present, and to ble opinion makes him a second brother to bought their peace of Absalom at an easie stablished in the Kingdom, after Hamms o- rally believed that he loved his enemies, and verthrow: in thankfulness whereof he rehated his friends; and that he witnessed by lieved David in this his extremity. There this his mourning, that he had not any recame also to Davids assistance Machin of spect of his Princes, and others his faithful Lodobar, Guardian in former times to Me- fervants, but would more have joyed if they phiboleth, and among others Barzillai the Gi- had all perished, and Absalom lived, than in leadite, who willingly fed David and all his the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

fa Commander of the Army of Israel, the himself publickly to his men of war, that fame place which Joak held with David; an they would all that very night abandon office next the King himself, like unto that, him, and return: concluding with this fearful of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in threatning, And that will be worfe unto thee : sea. !! France. David, perswaded by his company, than all the evil that fell on thee from thy stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces youth hitherto. By these over-bold and arrohe had to Joab, Abifh.ai, and Ittai, giving them gant speeches (though perchance uttered charge in the hearing of all that illued out with a good intent) Josh raifed David from of the port of Makanaim, that they should his bed of forrow, and brought him to the fpare the life of Abfalom. But Joab, belides gates of the City among the people, whom that he was very cruel by nature, remem- he assured of his love and assection, especialbred that Absalom had lately disposed of his ly Amasa, who commanded the Army of Abgovernment to Amaja, and therefore the vi- Jalom, to whom he promifed the office of ctory being obtained, and news brought him Lievtenantship; the same which Absalom

commandment,

This done, the King marched towards judge humanely to rid himself of sauls line. fins done, and homeward, vyhere in his passage he by whom he and his might, aswell in the prepardoned shimei, who had lately reviled fent as in the future, be greatly moletted to his face : but this remission was but and indangered; onely he spared Maphiboresembles appeared afterward. He also ac- sheth the son of Jonathan, both for the love cepted of Mephibosheth his excuse, whom Zi- he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

Li had fallly accused and betrayed. He also intreated Barzillai the Gileadite, Now whereas it is written in the Text. his late liberal hoft, to follow him to Jeruja- The King took the two fors of Rilpah , whom : San :1; 1.07 that he might reward his service done she bare unto Saul, and the five sons of Michol him; who excusing himself by his age, ap- the daughter of Saul, whom the bare to Adriel. mointed his fon Chimham to attend the King. and delivered them to the Gibeonites: Janius At Gilgal on this fide fordan, all the calls this Michol the fifter of her that was Tribes affembled, and after some contention Davids wife, the whom Saul married to Phalwhich of them ought to have most interest tiel: but Michol here named, had Adviet in David, the Army brake, and David return- to her hulband; the same which is named

do Jerufalem. But sheba the son of Bichri, Merab in the first of samuel the eighteenth, a Evijamite, of the faction of the house of who was first promised to David when he s.ul; finding fome discontent among the slew Goliab in the Valley Raphaim: and Maclites, withdrew them from David, as because it is written that Michol loved Dafrom a stranger in whom they had no inte-vid, which perchance Merab did not, wherest, and it seemeth that many of the people ther David had any humane respect in the of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Ju-delivery of her children, it is onely known da, bare still a good affection to the islues of to God.

their first King. David imployed his recon- Now where the Geneva nameth Michal ciled Captain Amasa, to give him content- for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better tranment, and to witness his trust, as also because slation were out of the Hebrew word here he conceived that Amasa had interest in used, having an eclipsisor defect, and signistthose revolts of Ifrael more than Joab had. eth, as I am informed, one of the same kin-He received commandement from David dred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and to affemble the Army within three dayes, twentieth chapter it is faid of Goliab, whose which he foreslowed : but being onward fear was weighty as a Weavers beam, when as on his way, Abilhai, Joabs brother, was fent by the same eclips it must be understood after him, with Davids guard and best Soul- by the brother of Goliah; Goliah himself bediers, whom also Joab accompanied: and ing formerly slain.

overtaking Amala near Gibeon, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, secured the house of David, leaving no head

whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous unto rebellion: so did he strengthen both

of Amasa than he was of Abner, whom he the King and Nation against forreign ene-

murdered in the fame manner, and out of the fame impatient ambition.

This done, ders, the like of whom, for number and quahe pursued sheba; and finding him inclosed lity, that people of Israel is not known to in Abel, assaulted the City with that fury, have had at any time before or after. Thirthat the Citizens by the perswasions of a ty Captains of thousands there were, all men wise woman there inhabiting, cut off sheba of mark, and great reputation in war. his head, and flung it to Josh over the walls: Over these vvere six Collonels, vvhose vawhich done, he retreated his Army to Jeru- lour was so extraordinary, that it might be falen, and commanded, as before, all the vvell held as miraculous. These Collonels Hoaft of Ifrael.

had some difference of place and honour, The next act of David, was the delivery which seemeth to have been given upon of Sauls fons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, meer consideration of their vertue. For Abiwhom those Citizens hung up in revenge of flat the brother of foab, who in the war atheir fathers cruelty. David had know- gainst the Ammonites and Aramites was Lievledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine tenant, and commanded half the army, could which had continued on the land three not attain to the honour of the first rank but years, came by reason of Saul and his house, was fain to rest contented with being printo wit, for the flaughter of the Gibeonites : cipal of the three Collonels of the fecond and therefore he willingly yielded to give order, notwithstanding his nearness of blood them this satisfaction, both because he had unto the King, the flourishing estate of his warrant from God himself, as also, if we may own house, and his vvell approved services.

2 Sea 17, 12003, men might be employed at the in- Adom/ab whom he atterward acknowledghad not Hulbai Davids faithful fervant given advantage offered. counter-advice, and fwayed it: perfivasling Hereof, together with news of the victo-Abfalon that it was futer and more fate for ry, when knowledge was brought to David. him with all the firength of Ifrael to purfue he mourned and forrowed, not onely as a cafion fore-shewed) the success which folces, and had rather deserved death than re-

falom, and of his own life.

fa Commander of the Army of Ifrael, the himself publickly to his men of war, that

Absalom , that himlelf with an Army of peared allo by the sequel that Joab affected 1500 to frant for the furprising of David; which ed.David yet living; and fearing the dispohad willingly been imbraced by Abfalom, fition of Abfalom, he imbraced the prefent

his father, than by such a troop, which Da-man that had lost a son, but as one that had wids valour and those of his attendants out-lived all his worldly joys, and seen evemight either indanger or relift. This delay ry delight of life interred. For he fo hid in Absalom, and advantage of time gained himself from his people, as those which hoby David, was indeed, after God, the loss of ped for honour and reward after so great a the one, and delivery of the other. Where- victory, covered themselves also in the City, upon Achitophel rightly fearing (by the oc- as if they had committed the greatest offenlowed, disposed of his own estate, and then compence. Whereupon Joab presenting forfook both the party and the care of Ab- himfelf before David, perswaded him to diffemble his forrow for the prefent, and to David being advertised of this enterprize thew himself to the Army. For first, he told against him, marched away all night, and past him that he had discountenanced his faith-Jordan , policifing himself of Mahanaim in stul fervants, who had that day preferved his the Tribe of Gad: the same wherein tho- life; inferring that nothing could be more feth himself in the war against David after dangerous to a King, than not onely not to Sauls death feated himself. To which place acknowledge fo great a love and constancy there repaired unto him skohi the ion of in his people, who being but few in number, Nahafb the Ammonite, whom David loved, did yet resolvedly expose themselves to the same which Josephus calleth Shiphar, great petils for his sake: but on the con-And though it be greatly disputed, what this trary, grieve and lament at their good success was, yet the most general and probable opinion makes him a second brother to bought their peace of Abjalom at an easie Hamin, whom David for his fathers take e- rate. Secondly, he urged, that it was genestablished in the Kingdom, after Hanums o- rally believed, that he loved his enemies, and verthrow: in thankfulness whereof he re- hated his friends; and that he witneffed by lieved David in this his extremity. There this his mourning, that he had not any recame also to Davids assistance Machin of spect of his Princes, and others his faithful Lodobar, Guardian in former times to Me- fervants, but would more have joyed if they phiboleth, and among others Barzallai the Gi- had all perished, and Abjalom lived, than in leadite, who willingly fed David and all his the victory by their faithfulness and approved valour gotten.

In the mean time both the King and Absa- Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, low prepared to fight; Abjalow made Ama. That if the King came not out and shewed fame place which Josb held with David; an they would all that very night abandon office next the King himfelf, like unto that him, and return: concluding with this fearful of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in threatning, And that will be worfe unto thee seams France. David, perswaded by his company, than all the evil that fell on thee from thy stayed in Mahanaim, and disposed the forces youth kitherto. By these over-bold and arrohe had to Joab, Abifh.ii, and Ittai, giving them gant speeches (though perchance uttered charge in the hearing of all that iffued out with a good intent) Joab raifed David from of the port of Mikanaim, that they should his bed of forrow, and brought him to the spare the life of Absalom. But Joab, besides gates of the City among the people, whom that he was very cruel by nature, remem- he affured of his love and affection, especialbred that Abfalom had lately disposed of his ly Amasa, who commanded the Army of Abgovernment to Amasa, and therefore the vi- salom, to whom he promised the office of ctory being obtained, and news brought him Lievtenantship; the fame which Absalom that Absalom hung by the hair of his head had given him, and which Joab now enjoyon a tree, when he could not perfinade the ed. For David doubted, that if Amasa were messienger to return and kill him, he himself not satisfied he might draw from him a great with his own servants dispatcht him. It appart of the strength of Israel, now under his commandment.

CHAP. XVII. ha had fallly accused and betraved.

his late liberal hoft, to follow him to Jerusa- The King took the two fons of Rilpah , whom : Sen : 1; that he might reward his service done the bare unto Saul, and the five fons of Michol him; who excusing himself by his age, ap- the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adrick, many who care to first to attend the King. and delivered them to the Gibeonites: Tunius At Gileal on this fide fordan, all the calls this Atichol the fifter of her that was Tribes allembled, and after some contention Davids wife, she whom Saul married to Phalwhich of them ought to have most interest tiel: but Atichol here named, had Adriel in David, the Army brake, and David return- to her husband; the same which is named ed to Jerufalem. But sheba the son of Bickri, Merab in the first of samuel the eighteenth, a Benjamite, of the faction of the house of who was first promised to David when he sul; finding some discontent among the slew Goliah in the Valley Raphaim: and finelites, withdrew them from David, as because it is written that Michel loved Dafrom a stranger in whom they had no inte- vid, which perchance Merab did not, wherest, and it seemeth that many of the people ther *David* had any humane respect in the of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but  $g_{ij}$ . da, bare still a good affection to the issues of to God. their first King. David imployed his recon- Now where the Geneva nameth Michol ciled Captain Amafa, to give him content- for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better tranment, and to witness histrust, as also because flation were out of the Hebrew word here he conceived that Amasa had interest in used, having an eclipsion defect, and signifithose revolts of Ifrael more than Joab had. eth, as I am informed, one of the same kin-He received commandement from David dred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and to affemble the Army within three dayes, twenticth chapter it is faid of Goliab, whose which he foreflowed: but being onward spear was weighty as a Weavers beam, when as on his way, Abilhai, Joubs brother, was fent by the same eclipsis it must be understood after him, with Davids guard and best Soul- by the brother of Goliah; Goliah himself bediers, whom also Joab accompanied: and ing formerly slain. overtaking Amasa near Gibean, pretend. As by the death of Sants children God ing to imbrace him, gave him a wound, secured the house of David, seaving no head whereof he fell dead, being no less jealous unto rebellion : fo did he strengthen both of Amasa than he was of Abner, whom he the King and Nation against forreign encmurdered in the same manner, and out of mics by the valour of many brave Commanthe fame impatient ambition. This done, ders, the like of whom, for number and quahe purfued Sheba; and finding him inclosed lity, that people of Ifrael is not known to in Abel, affaulted the City with that fury, have had at any time before or after. Thirthat the Citizens by the perswasions of a ty Captains of thousands there were, all men wife woman there inhabiting, cut off sheba of mark, and great reputation in war. his head, and flung it to Josh over the walls: Over these vvere ix Collonels, vvhose vawhich done, he retreated his Army to Jern- lour was so extraordinary, that it might be of falon, and commanded, as before, all the vvell held as miraculous. These Collonels

Hoast of Ifrael.

This done, the King marched towards judge humanely, to rid himlelf of Studs line, And homeward, where in his passage he by whom he and his might, aswell in the prepurdoned shimei, who had lately reviled fent as in the future, be greatly moleited on to his face : but this remission was but and indangered; onely he spared Maphibothe radian appeared afterward. He also ac- fleth the son of Jonathan, both for the love certed of Akphibosheth his excuse, whom Zi- he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

He also intreated Barzillai the Gileadite, Now whereas it is written in the Text,

had some difference of place and honour, The next act of David, was the delivery which feemeth to have been given upon of Sauls fons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, meer consideration of their vertue. For Abiwhom those Citizens hung up in revenge of fai the brother of foab, who in the war atheir fathers cruelty. David had know- gainst the Ammonites and Aramites was Lievledge from the Oracle of God, that a famine tenant, and commanded half the army, could which had continued on the land three not attain to the honour of the first rank, but years, came by reason of Saul and his house, was fain to rest contented with being printo wit, for the flaughter of the Gibeonites : cipal of the three Collonels of the fecond and therefore he willingly yielded to give order, notwithstanding his nearness of blood them this satisfaction, both because he had unto the King, the slourishing estate of his warrant from God himself, as also, if we may own house, and his well approved services.

CHAP. XVII

Companies belonging to them, may feem to respect of persons, of which there perished 70. have been such as were continually retain-thousand. And hereby he hath taught all ed, or at the least kept in readiness for any that live, that it is better to fall into the hands occasion, considering that the numbers of God than of men; whereof he giveth this which were mustered and drawn out, if need divine reason, For his mercies are great. required, into the field, very far exceeded thirty thouland, yea, or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Saul's time, and been of the last acts of David; Adonijahs faction; hardned with his advertities. Others there the revenge upon Joah and Shimei. were very many, and principal men in their feveral Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of Sant; but these Captains and Land past the acts and knowledge of Wo-Collonels (who with Joab, that was Gene-men, he was yet advised to lie in the arms of ral of all the Kings Forces, make up the a young and well-complexioned Maiden, number of 37.) were the special men of to keep him warm. In this his weak estate War, and reckoned as David's Worthies of body, when he was in a manner bed-rid, The long reign of David, asit is known to Adonijah his eldeft son (Ammon and Absalone have confumed many of these excellent men being now dead ) having drawn unto his of War, so may it probably be ghessed to party that invincible, renowned and seared have wasted the most of those whose deaths Joab, with Abiathar the Priest, began maniwe find no where mentioned. For the fons lieftly to prepare for his establishment in the of Zervia, who had been too hard for Da-Kingdom after his Father. For being the vid, were worn away, and only Joab left in eldeft now living of David's fons, and a man the beginning of salomon, who wanted his of goodly personage, Salomon yet young,

extremity. Divid, it is gathered, that he had reigned Thomas, and others suppose) he presumed to now 33. years or thereabouts, when the po- carry the matter without reliftance. Herefterity of Saul was rooted out, so that he en- of when David had knowledge by Berfabe joyed about leven years of entire quiet and the Mother of Salomon, who did put him in fecurity, wherein it pleafed God to remove mind of his faithful promife, that Salomon, all impediments that might have troubled her fon should reign after him ( Nathan the the fuccession of Salomon in his Fathers Prophet affirming the same thing unto the Throne. In this time also David having esta- King, and seconding her report of Adonijah blished all things in Jud. and Ifrael, and the his presumption) the King calling unto him borders thereof, he again displeased God by Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, and power: in which he employed Joab, with charge and commission to anoint Salomon,

thousand. God only, and left himself subject to that intentions to good effect, he summoned a

All these Collonel and Captains, with the cruel disease, which hath no compassion or

brother Abiliai to stand by his side in his last and born of a Mother formerly attainted with adultery, for which her name was o-By the actions forepassed in the time of mitted by Saint Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, numbring the people, as in oftentation of his Benajah the Captain of his Guard, gave other Captains of his Army, who after nine and to fet him on the Mule whereon himself moneths and twenty dayes travel, returned used to ride in his greatest state: which with the account and register of all the peo-done, Salomon attended, and strongly guardple, able and fit to bear Arms, and they a-led by the ordinary and choice men of War, mounted to the number of thirteen hundred the Cherethites, and Pelethites, shewed himthousand, besides I evi and Benjamin, where- self to the people. These tidings being re-2 5am. 24 of in Juda and the Cities thereof, five hun-ported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned dred thousand, and in Ifrael eight hundred his affistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the For this, when by the Prophet Gad he present Salomon pardoned. After this, Da-181651 was offered from God the choice of three vid had remaining two especial cares, wherepunishments, whereof he might submit him- of he was defirous to discharge his thoughts; self to which he pleased; to wit, seven years the one concerning the peace of the Land, Famine; three moneths War, wherein he which might be disturbed by some Rethould be unprosperous in all attempts, and bellion against Salomon ; the other conbe chased by his enemies; or a general pe-cerning the building of the Temple, which fillence to last three dayes: David made he fought by all means to advance, and choice to bow himself under the hand of make the business publick. To bring these Parliament,

Ifrael, the Princes of the several Tribes, all of his Wars, with incomparable valour and the Captains and Officers, with all the might fidelity, faving that he faftened himself to Aty, and men of power; who did repair un- donijab (his mafter yet living) and thereby

10 Terusalem. fignified his purpole of building the Temple, thewing how the Lord had approved the whereof he hath enforced other men to taffe, motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open and suffer the same violence which himself his own title to the Crown, thewing that the had unjuffly strooken others withal. oni gla-Kingdom was by Gods ordinance due to the dio percentit, gladio peribit: for he had bereav-Tribe of Juda (as Jacob in his blefting pro- ed Abner and Am. Ja of their lives, having aphetically bequeathed it ) and that God gainst the one the pretence only of his brohimself was pleased to make choice of him a- thers flaughter, whom Above had flain in the mong all his Fathers fons. In like manner he time of War, and could not avoid him: afaid that God himself had appointed salo- gainst the other but a meer jealousie of his mon by name to be his Succetiour; where- growing great in the favour of David. And upon he earnestly charged both the people though Josh affured himself that Almer and and his fon to conform themselves unto all Amaja being dead, there was none left either that God had commanded, and particular- to equal him, or furplant him, yet God (dely to go forward in this Work of the Lords riding the policies of wicked men) raifed up house, which Salomon was chosen to build. Benhajab the son of Jekojadab, to pull him Then produced he the pattern of the Work, from the Sanctuary and to cut him in peeces.

according to the form which God himself For David giveth this cause to Salomon apreparations, he exhorted all others to a vo- Floath of Ifrael, and flied bloud of battel in

luntary contribution.

whereashe himself had given three thousand which Joab made manifest by the untimely talents of gold, and feven thousand of filver, setting up of Adonijah, David yet living. they added unto it seven thousand of gold, Some other offence Joah had committed aand ten thouland of filver, befides brafs, iron, gainst David, of which in these words he put and Jewels, heartily rejoycing in the ad- his fon Salomon in mind; Thou knowest also finess being so well dispatched, a solemn Now whether this were meant by the killing Fealt with great facrifice was made, at which of Abfalom, contrary to the Kings defire, or time salomon was again anointed King, and by the proud words used to him when he received fealty of all the Princes and people mourned in Mahanaim for Abfalom; or whethe mighty words; Take beed to the charge mafters cannot mis them, or that they dare his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is deserving great honour and respect. written in the Law of Moses, &c. to the per- He also gave order to Salomon to rid himformance of which GOD fastned the success self-felf of shimei, who not long before had cast tion, and prosperity of his islues. For this stones at David, and curfed him to his face. a. done (faith GOD himleif) Thou fielt not And albeit by reason of his oath and proof Ifrael.

ab; who out of doubt had ferved David Hence it feemeth that King Henry the fe-

Parliament, confifting of all the Princes of from the first asiault of Jerufalem to the last vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath In this Assembly the King frood up, and never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that Joab thould drink of the same cup, had appointed; and fo laying open his own gainft Josh, that he flew the Captains of the 1 Fire 2. peace; and to this apparent and just cause, it The Kings proposition was so well appissnot improbable but that David remembred proved by the Princes and people, that the ill affection of Joab towards Salomon, vancement of lo religious a Work. This bu- what Joab the fon of Serviah did to me, &c. 1 King. 2. of the Land, and of all the Princes his bre- ther it were the publishing of Davids letter thren, the fons of King David. Salomon be- unto him for the killing of Uriah, thereby to ing thus established King, his Father David disgrace Salomon as descended of such a moanding himself even in the hands of death, ther, the Scriptures are filent. True it is, that irit exhorted his fon to exercise the same those great men of War do oftentimes becourage and ftrength of mind, which him- have themselves exceeding insolently toselfhad done in all his attempts: and to the wards their Princes, both in respect of their end that a happy end might follow the be- fervice done, as also because they flatter ginning of all his enterprizes, he uttered themselves with an opinion, that either their of the Lord thy God, to walk in his wayes, and not offend them. But this kind of pride hath keep his statutes, and his commandements, and overthrown many a worthy man otherwise

mant one of thy Posterity to fit upon the Throne mile David spaced Shimei all the time him- 1 King 2. felf lived, yet being dust and in the grave, Secondly, he advised him concerning Je- he slew him by the hand of Salomon his son.

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violent hands to be laid upon him.

yeeld unto Salemon any fuch great profit or others, this opinion (faith he) Loce Evangeliaffurance as he hoped for. For he found a ca salvatoris ipfus refutatur, ubi ait qued infe young Adad of Idumas, and Resin of Danaf- David in spiritu Christum dixerit esse sunn cus to vex hira: who, as the Scriptures wit- Dominum, quoniam Pfalmus 109. sie incipit. nes, were emboldened to enterprize upon Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris 1 King 11 Salomon, hearing that David flept with his meis, &c. The voyce of the Gospel refutes Fathers, and that Joab the Captain of the this opinion, where it faith, that David him-Hoast was dead. Now when David had felf in the spirit called Christ his Lord; bereigned in all forty years, to wit, in Hebron cause the 109. Psalm begins thus: The Lord 7. years , and in Jerusalem three and thirty, Said unto my Lord , Sit thou at my right hand.

exceeding ftrong. For his internal gifts and pattern to all the Kings and Princes that fuegraces, he fo far exceeded all other men, as ceeded him. putting his humane frailty apart, he was His Story, and all his particular actions. faid by God himself to be a man according were written by the Prophets, Samuel, Nato his own heart. The Pfalms which he than, and Gad, as it is in the first of Chron.20. wrote, witness his piety, and his excellent verf. 19. For the several parts of the books learning: of whom Hierome to Paulinus: of Samuel which intreat chiefly of David, David Simonides noster, Pindarus, & Alex- were, as it seems, written by these three hous , Flaccus , quoque Catullus , & Serenus, ly men. Christum lyra personat, & in dechachordo Plalthan all the rest.

The book of the Pfalms, faith Gheat, was the year 2991. divided, ordered and diffinguished by Eze-Lias: but whether all the Pfalms were written by David, it is diverfly disputed. For Athanin Athanasius, Cyprian, Lyranus, and others con-Sympp. ceive divers Authors answering the titles of mer Epsil. the feveral Pfalms, as Mojes, Salomon, and it is treatures were exceeding great. For  $y_{nij} = y_{nij} =$ Pfalms were composed by David himself, Chronicles, that he left Salomon for the buildnamely, those which are intituled ipfins Da- ing of the Temple a hundred thousand tavid. For the 50, and the 72, with the ten lents of gold, and a thousand thousand tathat follow, are bestowed on Asaph the son lents of filver, and of brass and iron passing of Barachia, eleven other on the fons of Ko- all weight, which is more than any King in rath; and eleven are ascribed to Moses, to the World pottest besides himself, and his wit, the 89, and the ten following, and so son, to whom he left it. For it amounteth to they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, three thousand three hundred thirty and though the Vulgar and Septuagint (three three cart-load, and a third of a cart-load of excepted) ftile them otherwife. The fuppo- filver, allowing two thousand weight of filfed nine Authors of these Psalms which Da- ver, or fix thousand pound sterling to every

CHAP. XVII venth of England had his pattern, when he fingers) Afaph, Ethan-Eziachi, Fman-Eziaira, Vices gave order to Henry the Eighth to execute Idithum, and the three fons of Chore. But S. Sunta Pool as foon as himself was buried, having Chrysoftome makes David the sole Author of made promite to the King of Spain, when he all the Pfalms, and fo doth S. Augustine, readelivered Pool unto him, that while he lived fening in this manner: Although (faith he) he would never put him to death, nor fuffer feme there are that aferibe those Pfalms on 14. ly to David, which are over-written infins And yet did not the execution of Joab Lavid, and the rest inituled instanced to died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but by Christ and the Apostles, and he was as a

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that care terio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem : David the Trojans during the time of the siege 7 in is (faith he) our Simonides, Pindarus, Alexus, fought for fuccour from David, and that he Areas Horace, Catullus and Serenus, he playeth stayed Neuter in that War. But it seemeth ourse Christ on his Harp, and on a ten-stringed Pal- that Manasses did miscast the time 'twixt Da-Guthis ter he raifeth him up rifing from the dead. And vid and the Trojan War. For it is generally to living being both a King and a Prophet, he fore- received that Troy fell between the times of no Lorentz telleth Christ more lightsomly and lively Abdon and Sampson Judges of Israel, about list the Worlds year 2848, and David died in

# s. IX. of the treasures of David and Salomon.

vid wrote not, Sixt. Senensis nameth as fol- cart-lead, besides threescore and seventeen loweth; Salomon, A ofes, (whem Aben Ezra, millions of French Crowns, or of our mocentry to Hierome, maketh one of David's my twenty three millions and a thouland

pound: a matter, but for the reftimony of sheld, both before and after Davids time. For pear, fixing that the Judges had not any dervants, to be rulers over his cattel. We make may fover aign power to make read of Ozzia, that he loved husbandry, but when they went to the wars they shad much cattel, and plough men, and drefher pollowed by such voluntaries as the fers of Vines: likewife we read it in all keyed tibes by turns give them feeing alfo Greek Poets, that the wealth of the ancient that head who was of a mean parentage, and Kings did specially consist in their Herds paperually wexted and invaded by the Phi- and Flocks; whereof it were needles to calld ran in all likelihood gather cite Augeas and Admetus, or any other for and the parameter all his Territories be-examples, the rule holding true in all. Now h, caseeding nerrow, and thereof the bet- concerning David it is not unlikely, but repart policities his enemies.

have David within the space of not very ma- by him in all forts of gainful protestions, as av years, might amais up such mighty treat the ancient Romans in like manner used their three. For though parlimony be ir felf a flaves. ment revenue, yet needs there must have To these profits (besides the tributes and been some other great means. It seems that impolitions, which doubtless were great, he made the untermedt projet of all that he and besides the innumerable presents which had, that was profitable. Enjebius in his y-had, and laft chapter de Proparatione Evan-rily fent him, by John and others ) we may school cloth the words of Empolemus, who add the great spoiles which hee found reported that David, among other prepara- in the Cities and Countries which he conthat for the Temple, built a Navy in Mela- quered: also the head money which was ms, Orgas Villalpandus corrects it, Achanis) a gathered per legem capitationis; By the law city of drabia, and from thence fent men to of capitation, or head money, every man rich og in gold in the Hand Orphe, which orte- or poor paying half a fiele of the Sanftuahas thinks was Ophir, though Eupolemus in ry, which is about as much as fourteen this place of Eufebins ( erring perhaps in this pence, and fo in all it amounted to a woncircumftance) faith that this fland was in the drous fum in that Kingdom: wherein one red Sea: from whence, faith this Fupolemus, thousand thousand five hundred and feventhey brought gold into Jury, Pineda L., de Re- ty thousand fighting men were numbred by bus Salomonis, c.1. thinks that David did this! Joab. Now although this law of capitation way also enrich himself, and citeth his testi-be thought by some very learned, not to mony of Eupolemus: and yet certainly David have been perpetual ( which opinion of had many other ways to gather riches which theirs nevertheless they confess is against land doubtless he gained by conquest from the Hebrew expositions) yet David upon culton of enriching themselves by husband-oblations, which defrayed the dayly exdry and cattel the ancient Kingsevery where pences, & maintained the Priefts & Levites)

pound: a matter, exceeding all beliefe. For we read of Pharaoh, that he spake to Joseph con ar. that any rights were left him, it doth not to appoint some of his brethren, or of their 16 246. that those captives which were not imploy-1 creiore it were not amis to consider ed in husbandry, were many of them used

the Canaanites and Philiftims, befides those this occasion is not unlikely to have put it in fruitiil vallies near Jordan in Irschonith and practife. And by these means might hee be Lafan, and the best of Syria, and other coun-able to leave these huge treasures to Salotries bordering the Ifraelites. These demains mon. Yet it may seem that of this great belike he kept in his own hands, and with mass of gold and filver left by David, the leaft his infinite number of captives, which he part was his own in private; and fo will it took in his wars, which were not able to re- appear the lefs wonderfull that he left fo deem themselves, husbanded those grounds much. Of his own liberality we find, that for his greatest advantage. For it is written hee gave to the building of the Temple 1 Chro. 17. that Jakonathan was over his treat three thouland talents of gold, and seven fures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, thousand talents of filver: a great fum, but in the towns; that Exti was over the labour holding a very small proportion to the other. ers that tilled his ground, Simei over the Wherefore we are to confider, that the vineyards, and Sabdi over the store of the treasures of the Sanctuary it self were exwine; EastHanan over the olive trees, and ecceding great, as needs they must have been Josh over the store of the oyle: also that he having received continual energale, withhad herdf-men that had charge over his cat- out any loss or diminution ever since the time tel, both in the high lands and in the plains, of Muses and Joshuah. The revenues of the over his Sheep, Camels and Affes. And this Sanctuary (betides all manner of tithes and

were partly raifed out of the head mony be- obtained in War, to maintain the house of fore mentioned; partly out of the spoils the Lord : the like whereof may be well pre-North at gotten in War. For all the booty was di-fumed of the former Judges and Captains of vided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers other Ages. Certain it is, that the Conquest had one, and the people which remained at of David brought into the Land far greater home, had the other half; whereby all the abundance of riches, than any former Vi-Country received benefit of the Victory, ctories had purchased, those of Joshua pervet fo , that the Souldiers had a far greater haps excepted: but these vast summes of an proportion than the rest, as being fewer, hundred thousand Talents of filver, may and therefore receiving more for every fin- feem rather to have been made up, by the

Lords tribute, which was one in filty, of that than to have been the meer fruits of his own which the people received, and one in five indultry. thousand of them for flaves, and the Con-turns from the East India, which greatly ingregation had other fixteen thouland; but creafed his ftore. For his thips performed out of the fixteen thousand given to the Ar- that Voyage every three years, and he began my, were exempted two and thirty for the that trade in the two and twentieth year of Lords tribute; Out of the peoples number his reign, and ruled forty years. Befides were taken three hundred and twenty. By this, all Judga and Ifrael were now mastered this means, the leffer that the Army was to his hands; all the Arabians his borderers, which had exposed it self to danger, the the sprians of Zobah, of Damascena, of Paling at home were fain to undergo more than Hittites who with the Perizites, Hivites, Jeordinary travel in domestical assairs, did busites, and other races of the Canaanites, receive by fo much the greater portion. Eur were not as yet extinguished though subthe Lordstribute was alwayes certain, yea jected. many times it was increased, either by some and filver, and other mettals found in Jerico, 40. years reign, and 70. years of life, dyed were conferrated unto God; or by thank- in a good age, full of dayes, riches, and hofulnels of the Rulers and people, as when nour, and was buried in the City of David. It after the Victory obtained against the Atidi- is written by Josephus that there was hid in anites without the loss of one man, all Jewels, David's Tomb a marvellous quantity of trea-Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, were of-fures, infomuch as Hyrcanus (who first of the

fered up, as voluntary prefents. times oppressed, and tredden down by other dred years after, drew thence three thou-Nations, yet were not the l. treasures robbed fand Talents, to rid himself of Antiochus then or spoiled; for the enemies never gat pof- belieging Jerufalem; and afterward Herod session of the Tabernacle that was in shilo. opening another Cell, had also an exceed-Wherefore it cannot otherwise be, than that ing mals of gold and filver therein. And it the wealth of the Sanctuary must have been was an antient custome to bury treasure exceeding great; as containing above one with the dead. So the Peruvians and other hundredth part of all the mony and other Americans did the like, which being discogoods found by the Inaclites in the whole vered by the Spaniards, they inriched them-Land of Canaan; and of all that was purcha- felves by nothing so much in their first Con-26.78. fed by fo many Victories, as they obtained quest. That Salomon did bury so much treaagainst the berdering Nations. For that this fure in his Fathers grave, it would hardly be Samuel, had used to dedicate of the spoils were it notwithal considered that his want

addition of his winnings and liberality, to Out of this purchase was deducted the the treasures laid up in many former Ages,

hundred, of that which was given to the Now concerning the riches of Salomon, it ATSe Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one is more manifest how he gathered them; for 772 thousand part of the whole booty. So in the he received of yearly revenues with his trispoil of Midian, thirty two thousand Wo-butes 666. Talents of gold, besides the Cumen being taken, the Army had fixteen fromes of Spices. He had also fix rich Re-14 greater profit had every Souldier but when mirena, of Ituraa; all of Idunaa, Moab, and it consisted of many hands, they who remain- An.mon, paid him tribute; as likewise did the 10.115

Into this flourishing estate was the King - 1 Clinia. special commandement, as when all the gold, dom of Ifrael reduced by David, who after is. Chaimanai, or race of Macchabees, called Jeles Now how foever the Ifractites were many himself King) one thousand and three hun-smiles, treafury was not defrauded of the due por-tion, it is evident; feeing that before the time with which he was fain to burthen the peoof David and his Lieutenant Josh, it is re-corded that Sauland Aincr, and before them got otherwife, or which were left unto him:

David the Scriptures have no mention, but 100, who is faid to have ruled that part of Haonly the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda, as 'h lifty years. And about his fourteenth year of an honourable place of burial. Yet the Coderns the last King of the Athenians died to FORTIME MONUMENTS of these Kings, as (by relation of whom succeeded the first Prince of those, the Duke of *Olica*) they remained within who being called after *Medon*, *Medontida*, the thirty years, and are like to remain [til], without regal name governed Athens during are able to make report credible of the cost their life. bestowed upon them.

CHAP. XVII.

of the Philistims, whom David absolutely mawith David.

cipalities, namely, Azotus or Afdod, Gaza or was himself forthwith cut in pieces. 154. 6. Aczaph, Afcaion, Geth or Gath, and Accar n. It feemeth that Cassoim was the first founder thers account but the 30, began to rule that of this Nation, because of his kindred on ci Empire, about the 13. year of David, and ther hand, the Canaanites and the Fgyptians. held it 38. years.

The first King of these Philistims , which

lech which loved Sara, Abraham's Wife.

was turned into Ariffocratical. For they are were after called Helots. it is assistant shamed rances of the punjams, in the lost from the scales came the levels howforever Achis be named King of Gath, the World slave. For when that Nation illuing lame to whom Davis in Saul's time.

lars in this place.

of mony grew from such magnificent im-! There lived at once with David, the third ployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of of the Silvii King of Alba, called Latinus Silvi-

The reasons which moved the Athenians to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of foveraingty, but in honour of codrus only. For when the Gracians of Doris, a region flered: and of fundry other contemporaries between Phocis, and the mountain of Octa, fought counfel from the Oracle, for their fuccess in the Wars against the Athenians, it was F the Philistims, whose pride David was the first that absolutely mastered, in prevail and become Lords of that State, when this conclusion of David's time somewhat they could obtain any Victory against the Nation, and yet preferve the Athenian King They descended of Castoim, who, accord- living. Codrus by some intelligence being ining to Isdor and Tolephus, was one of the fons formed of this answer withdrew himself from 48 17 of Milraim, and was furnamed Philiftim, as his own Forces, and putting on the habit of a Flan was furnamed Edom, and Jacob Ifrael, common fouldier, entred the Camp of the There were of them five Cities or petty Prin- Dorians, and killing the first he encountred,

Eupales the 31. King of Affyria, which o-

Near the fame time began Ixion the fethe Scriptures have named, was that Abime- cond King of the Heraclida, the fon of Furiftbenes in Corinib; and Agisthe second of the The second Abimelech lived at once with Heraclida in Lacedamon: in honour of which Isac, to whom Isac repaired in the time of Agis, his successours were called Agida, for Famine, Abimilech then residing at Gerar, in many years after. He restored the Laconithe border of Idumea; which Abimelech ans to their former liberty: he overcame funcied Isace his Wife, as his Father had done the Citizens of Helos in Laconia, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned After Abimelech the second, the Philistims them and theirs to perpetual flavery; where-Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, of it came, that all the Messenians, whom at till David's time: perhaps the government length they brought into the like bondage,

In like fort from the Schwi came the fame to whom David fled, and who again out of Sarmatia, now called Ruffia, had feized upon the Country of Illyria, and made it their After him we read of another Achis vvho own by conquest, their victory pleased them lived with Salomon, to whom Shimei travel- fo highly, that thereupon they called themled to fetch back his fugitive fervant, what felves by a new name, slavos, which is in their time the feeking of his lervant was the lofs language Ghorious. But in after times (that of his life. Jeremy the Prophet speaketh of warmer Climate having thawed their Northe Kings of Palastin or Philistim. Amos thern hardiness, and not ripened their Wits) nameth the King of Ascalon: Zacharias, a when they were trodden down, and made King of Gaza. The reft of the Wars of the lervants with their neighbours, the Italians Thisfirms are remembred in the Catalogue which kept many of them in bondage, began of the Judges, of Saul and David, and there- to call all their bondmen slaves, using the fore I shall not need to collect the particu- word as a name of reproach: in which sence it is now current through many Countries.

CHAP. XVIII.

third bing of sparta, and fomewhat later a- In the 21. of David, was the City of Magnefia bota the 23. year of David, and fay that A- in Afia the lefs founded, the same which is their ans was the fourth King of this race, feated upon the river Maander, where & civio the same whom Figshins calls Labotes, and gave the great overthrow to Antiochus. In

icts him in the 13. year of Salomon. In the teath year of Achefiratus, Androclus Afia bred, whereof Lucan: the third ion of Codrus, attitted by the Iones.

ning of the lile of samos to his Territory, was flain by the Carrans, whose Country he About the same time Cama in Campana usurped. He was buried (faith Pansarias) in was built by the Inhabitants of Chahar in one of the gates of Fibelus called Magnetes, Eubaa, according to Servius, with whom

noth to Ionia: and that his posterity govern- crates.

habited their places in that Land: though bout 45. years. clide 100, years.

built, which had in length 425, foot, and 220. years. Some writers make it probable, that in breadth, full sined with 127 pillars of mar- the Æolians, led by Graus the grand nephew renowned by being one of the first that re- mon began the work of the Temple. But it ceived the Christian faith, of which Timothy is a familiar errour in Josephus, to misreekon was Bilhop; to whom, and to the Ephelians, times, which in this point he doth to strange-Saint Paul wrote his Epiftle so entituled. The ly, as if he knew not how at all to to cast any other City possest by Androclus in Holis, was accompt. For it is manifest, that Hiram sent also universally spoken of by reason of sy- Messengers, and Cedars unto David, soon afbilla, furnamed Frythrea, who lived 740 years ter his taking of Jerusalem, which was in the before Christ was born. S. Augustine avoweth beginning of David's reign over Ifrael, when

whose Epistles to Salomon, and his to Vaphres, Scriptures make it plainly manifest.

Other Chronologers make this Agis, the are remembred by Eufebius out of Polemon. this Territory are the best horses of the leiler

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built I plagus in Caria, who after the adjoy- Et Magnetis equis, Minya gens cognita remis.

his armed Statua being let over him. Strabo Strabo joyneth the Cumaans of Acolis, laying reports that after Androclus had subdued that to the one of these people the govern- some the Ionians (the next Province to Ephefus on ment was given, with condition that the othe feacoast of Asia the less he enlarged his ther should give name to the City. Of this Dominions upon the Aoles, which joy- Cuma was Ephores the famous scholar of 16ed the Cities of Libejus and Erythra by the Eulebius and Calfieder find the building of name of Ballirde in Strabo his own time. Of Carthage at this time, to wit, in the 31, year the expedition of the lones how they came of David, but much miltaken. For the father the expedition of the tones now they came of Dido was Metinos the fon of Badezor, See the hither out of Peloponnejus, I have speken of Dido was Metinos the fon of Badezor, in this 17. already upon occasion of the return of the brother to Jezabel, who married Achab King 160 mell Heraclida into Peloponnesus, wherein, with of Israel; and between the death of Lavid, the Dores, they expelled the Achai, and in- and the first of Achab, there were wasted a-

this of the *lones* succeeded that of the *Hera-* In this time also Acastus lived, the second of the Athenian Princes after Codrus, of the to The City of Epbelis became exceeding fa-which there were thirteen in descent before minus.

3. 6-12. mous: first, for the Temple of Diana therein the State changed into a Magistracy of ten succession. ble, of 7c foot high: whereof 27, were most of orestes, possess the City and Illand of The curiously graven, and all the rest of choice bes about this time. In the 32, 3ear of David, 463 o marble politht, the work being first set out Hiram began to reign in Tyre, according to on the by Ctefipkon of Gnoffos. Secondly, it became Josephus, who faith in his twelfth year Solo-11 that a Roman Proconful thewed him in an as yet he had reigeed onely feven years in ancient Greek copy certain verses of this Pro- Hebron over the house of Juda. Wherefore phetels, which began (as S. Augustine changed it must neces be that Hiram had reig-

them into Latine) in these words: Jesus Chri- ned above 30. years before Salomon; unles 1500,500 flus Dei Filins, Salvator; Jesus Christ son of more credit should be given to those Tyrian records which are cited by Josephus, than to About the time that Joab belieged Rabba the plain words of Scripture contradicting in Atoab, Vaphres began to govern in Agypt, them. For, that it was the same Hiram which the same that was father in law to salomon lived both with David and with Salomon, the

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Of SALOMON.

of the establishing of Salomon: of birth-right, and the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Salomons wildom.

(ALOMON, who was brought up un-ference to this purpose of Adonijab to marry der the Prophet Nathan, began to with her that was alwaies prefent with Dareign over Juda and Ifrael, in the year vid in his later daies, and who belike kness of the world 2991. He was called all that was past, for the conveying of the Salomon by the appointment of God: Kingdom to Salomon. There may be divers he was also called Jediddia, or Theophilus by further occasions; as either that he would learn fuch things by her as might be for the Nathan, because the Lord loved him. Hiram King of Tyre after Salomons anoin- advantage of his ambition, or that he would ting, dispatched Embassadors towards him, perswade her to forge some strange tale

congratulating his establishment: a custom about David's last Testament, or any thing between Princes very ancient. Whence we else that might prejudice the title of saleread that David did in like fort falute Ha. mon. 1510,10, num King of the Ammonites, after his obtai-

ning the Kingdom.

after David's death, he caused his brother of the Jews were so absolute, as they did dom of Salomon, this motion of Adonijahs, ceffary to confirm, or that the refulal of the was a demonstration of a new treason. For people had authority to frustrate the elder they which had been Concubines to a King, brothers right to the Kingdom, it no where might not after be touched but by a King: appears in the stories of the fems. It is said fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. Calgal: that is, they acknowledged and esta-And David after that wrong, determining to blithed him. For that he was King long betouch them no more, did not give them to lore, no man can doubt. In like manner elleany other, but flut them up, and they remaiss where the phrase of choosing or making ned widowed until their death. And this it their King, is to be expounded: as where in feems was the depth of Isbesheths quarrel a- the prohibition, that they should not make bine. And some fignification of this custom bim King whom the Lord shall chuse. may feem too in the words of God by Nathan But to proceed with the acts of Salomon: to David; I have given thee thy Masters house, at the same time that he put Adonijah to and thy Masters wives. And in the words of death, he rid himself allo of Fo.: b, and three

As for the right of an elder brother which 15 Kington Adonijab pretended, though generally it The beginning of Salomon was in blood, agreed both with the law of Nations, and though his reign were peaceable. For foon with the cuftoms of the Jews: yet the Kings Adonijab to be flain by Benaiab the fon of therein, in all else what they pleafed. Some Deat. 2:. Jebojada, taking occasion from Adonijah his examples also they had (though not of Kings) 15, Filian desiring by Bersheba, that the young maid which taught them to use this paternal au-exola ag-Abihag (which lay in Cavid's bosome in his later daies, to keep him warm) might be given to him. Whatfoever he pretended, it was Reuben, and giving the birth-right (which doraum: ven to him. Whatloever ne pretended, it was incremen, and giving the orthogonal which are no orthogonal was his elder brother, was twice as much as any portion of the orthogonal propriets and provided in the control of the orthogonal was twice as much as any portion of the orthogonal was twice as much as a supplier was twice as the orthogonal was and fought the Kingdom contrary to the ther brethren) to Joseph: of whom he made mogeniowill of David, whom God inclined towards two Tribes. And that it was generally ac-10th salomon. And yet it is faid that a word is c- knowledged that this power was in David, @10.39. nough to the wife, and he that fees but the lit appeareth by the words of Berfale and Na-034 claw may know whether it be a Lion or no: than to David, and of Jonathan to Aslonijah. 1 figer, leave may know whether it be a Lion or no: than to David, and of Jonathan to Aslonijah. fo it may feem that to the quick-fighted wif- For, as for popular election, that it was ne- 27:

15 m 14. Whence Achitophel wished Absolom to take his indeed that the people made Saul King at 1.4. gainst Abner, for having his fathers Concu-themselves a King, it is said, Thou shalt make new, 17.

Saul upbraiding Jonathan, that he had cho-years after of Shimer, as David had advised fen David to the shame of the makedness of him: he displaced also the Priest Abiathar, Samao. his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was fome re- who took part with Adenijah against him :

ther he spared his life. And thus being esta- thall build an house for my Name. of Laphres King of Egypt to Wife: for fo En- beginning of the fourth year of his reign, at Gebius out of Eupolemus calls him. He offer which time also he prepared his fiect at Flionred a thousand sacrifices at Gibeon, where gabar to trade for gold in the East Indice God appearing unto him in a dream bad him, that nothing might be wanting to supply ask what he would at his hands: Salomon the charge of so great a work. For, that the choofeth Wildom, which pleased God. And God Temple was in building, while his fleets faid unto him, Because thou hast asked this were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For thing, and haft not asked for thy felf long life, the pillars of the Temple were made of the neither halt thou asked riches for thy felf, nor Almaggim trees brought from ophir. Of this halt asked the life of thine enemies, bihold, I most glorious building, of all the particulars have done according to thy mords: by which (whereof the form and example was given the coveting after long life in respect of our radas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda, & others, felves, cannot but proceed of felf-love, which to whom I refer the Reader. is the root of all impiety: the defire of pri- For the cutting and iquaring of the Cevate riches is an affection of covetoufness, dars which ferved that building, Salomon which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is employed 30 thousand Carpenters, to thouas much as to take the fivord out of Gods fand every month by course: he also used 8c. hand, and to diffrust his justice. And in that thousand Masons in the Mountain, and 70. it pleafed God to make salomon know that thousand labourers that bare burdens, which his enemies, it could not but put him in mind lites, befides three thousand three hundred of his brothers flaughter, for which he had mafters of his work; fo as he paid and emnot any warrant either from David, or from ployed in all, one hundred eighty three thouthe Law of God; but because Salomon defired fand and three hundred men; in which num-Wisdom onely, which taught him both to ber the sidonians, which were far more skilobey God, and to rule men, it pleased God ful in howing timber than the Ifraelites, may to give him vvithall that vvhich he defired (as I think) be included. For Hiram caused not. And I have also given thee (faith God) his servants to bring down the Cedars and that which thou hast not asked both riches and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and thence Lonour. This gift of Wildom our Commen- fent them in raffs to Joppe, or the next port tators firetch to almost all kinds of learning: to Jerusalem. For in the second of Chronicles but that it comprehended the knowledge the fecond Chapter, it is plain, that all but of the nature of plants and living creatures, the thirty thousand Carpenters, and the othe Scripture teltifieth; though no doubt ver-feers, were strangers, and as it seemeth , Kinge 4, the chief excellency of Salomons wildom, the valials of Hiram, and of Vaphres King of yvas in the knowledge of governing his Egypt. In recompence of this Timber and Kingdom: whence as it were for an exam- Stone, Salomon gave Hiram twenty thou- 1 First 5. 1 King 3.9 ple of his visidom, the Scripture telleth how fand measures of Wheat, & twenty measures the foon he judged the controversie between the of pure Oyl yearly. Enfebius out of Enpale-

of Salomons building and glory.

of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Scias me & Deo magno David patris mei reg-Temple of God: for the building whereof num accepiffe, cumque mihi pater pracepit temhe had received a double charge, one from plum Dev, qui tertam creavit, condere, ut etiam his father David, and another from God. For ad te feriberem pracepit : Scribo igiter, peto like as it is written of David, that He called a te ut artifices atque fabros ad adificandum Salomon kis fen, and charged him to build a Templum Dei mittere velis.

1 Kengers, but in respect of his office, and that he fol- house for the Lord of Ifrael: fo doth Toftatus Telles lowed David in all his afhictions and because give the force of a divine precept to these in 1 Grand he had born the Ark of God before his Fa- words, Behold, a fon is born unto thee. O.c. He

bliffied in his Kingdom, he took the daughter. He began the work of the Temple in the 18-16 we may inform our felves, what delires are by God himfelf) many learned men have most pleasing to God, and what not. For written; as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Bar- : o

it liked him, that he had not asked the life of it is conceived, he selected out of the Profe-18/18/56

Extrem entred into league with Hiram REx Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque King of Tyre, from whom he had much Rehamicia regi, Amico paterno faluem. King

mus in the ninth book of his preparation,

the last Chapter, hath left us a Copy of 8a-

lomons Letter to Suron ( which was the same

as Haram and Hiram ) King of Tyre, in these

In Salomon to King Surou, of Tyre, Ay-minth books, neither is it is a den, and Phanitta King, and my fathers, eighth book and feech street man fondeth greeting. Jou may understand Antiquities: it before a vice to be that I have received of the great God of my wome of the Myrham. It is a large my factor of the Myrham of the Myrha per commanded me to build a Temple to Gud other after them, income that recovering gink created beaven and earth, be command- it grew common, and was more to mend I also that I should write to jour I write there- perfens in respect of the great a more tak the to you, and beforeb you, that you would be to to which was honoured by the money ple ved to fend me Artificers and Corporter via the lib noble qualities, a machine via column Lend the Temple of God.

CHAY. XVIII.

al nos redeant.

To King Salomon greeting: When I read ings, and could not attend the war, the neur Letters , I gave God thanks who hath m- entreated his father in law to rid live der a Tyrian, born of a Jewish woman, aman mans fuccessor did tack Jerusalem it ich. Men. admirable in building. You will be careful that | Salomon also built Megiddo in Munic, on

between the one and the other.

and was answered as from Hiram.

ous in Enfebius, in the last chapter of that called Chabul.

The life mis lating for

Africales finithing and de lieution of the To which the King suron made this anjuer. Temple and house of the Lord tale ... The differmalem with a trobbe w Stron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Fleniciae Rex, Salopained Holor which had been a monitoring function. Lealis Interis, gratuo has tropolis of the Camamates, because it is 13 Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit : 65 time : to did he Gaza of the 1/109 alles in guman feribis fabros, ministrofq; ad conden- built berethon, Gerar, and the Man or much dum Templam effe tibi mittendos, mili ad to tion of Jerufalem. For Pharacles and millio leminum od aginta, & Architectum 13- ber eventrof Salaman) came tweet a constant sum Leminem ex matre Judau, virum in re- of I phraim, and took Germ All the lase the in architecture mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut Constantes yet held, and par the same the necessiris non geant, & Templo Der condito, tword, and barm their Civ. Plan Territory he gave salomons Vent. for a donry. And it is probable that been the Sulfation Cliron of Tyre, Sydon and Phanicia King, was then buffed in his magnificent buildfidled you in your fathers kingdom. And be- these neighbours, which the ack accounted. cante you write that Carpenters and Workmon But he thereby taught the in the verto ver maybe fent to build Gods Temple , I have jent those parts again before they will be they you fourfrore thousand men, and a Master-buil- and in his fon Rehoboams time Siethele this

all necessaries be provided for them; and when this fide forden, and Balah in Dan : also the Temple of God is built, that they come home Thadmor, which may be either Prolomes Thamoren in the defart of Juda, or (as Jay thus on L. thinks palmira in the detail of Syria, which is the The Copies of these Letters were extant Palmyra, because it stood on the stanost borin Josephus time, as himself affirmeth, and to der of Salomons dominion to the Northeast befeen (faith he) Tam in noftris quamin 19 of Libonis, and was of David, conquest viorum annalibus, as well in our own, as in the when he wan Damafeus it may is can that Sa-Tyrian annals. But he delivereth them tome- lomon therefore befrowed thereen the most what in different terms, as the Reader may coft, and fortified it with the best Art that find in his Antiquities. But were this inter- that age had. Josephus calls this place The 191 ac. course between Salomon and Hiram either damora, by which name (laith he given by by meflage or by writing, it is fomewhat o- s.domon, the Sprians as yet call it. Therein therwife delivered in the Scriptures, than ci- in his book of Hebrew places, calls it Therwhite, ther Eupolemus or Josephus fet it down, but meth. In after-times, when it was rebuilt by fo, that in fubstance there is little difference Adrian the Emperour, it was honoured with his name and called Adrianopolis. In respect The like Letter in effect Salomon is faid of this great charge of building, Salomon to have written to Laphres King of Feppt, raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of But whereas some Commenters upon Sa- gold received from Hirams servants; Salalomon, find that Hiram King of Tire, and Va- mon offered Hiram twenty towns in or near phres King of Egypt, gave Salomon the title the upper Galilee, but because they froed in of Rex magnus, and cite Enpolemon in Enje- an untruitful and mariff ground, timam reline, I do not find any fuch addition of mag- fused them, and therefore was the territory

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two harlots.

Further, he made a journey into spria Zobah, clared in the first book.

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palages about Affrick.

ners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all o- Africk, that so they might be long a coming ther the most expert seamen. From this part home. et Arabia which at this time belonged to. For the direct way to Gades (which if Sa-Felom, and was conquered by David, did the lomon and the Ifraelites knew not, the Tri-

The return which was made by these and unladen their ships. Ships amounted to four hundred and twen- Eut this direct course they could not hold ty talents, but in the second of Chronicles the (faith Pineda) because the huge Island of At-30. talents went in expence for the charge and affa, being swallowed up in the Atlan-

These towns as it is supposed, lay in Gali-! My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is lee of the Gentiles. Non quod Gentes ibi habi- not Peru in America (as divers have thought) c & 6.2. tarent: jed quia jub ditione regis Gentilis but a Countrey in the Enft-Indies; withing erat. Not that it mus people by the Gentiles (faith teme reason why at those times they could be a a Nancherus) but beeaufe it was under the rule not make more speedy return to Jerufalen manie. of a King that was a Gentile. How foever it from the Enfi-Indies, than in three years 3011. were, it is true that & alemen in the 21 year and that Tharfis in Scripture is divers times fortified those places which Hiram retused, taken for the Ocean, hath been already de-

and eftablished his tributes; the infrand last Only it remaineth that I should speak war(if in that expedition he were driven to formewhat of Fineda his strange conceits, fight) that he made in person in all his life, who being a Spaniard of Ectica, would fain He then visited the border of all his Domi- have Gades er Calis-malis, in old times calnions, passing from Thadmor to the North led Tartepn:, which is the Southwest corner of Palmyrena, and so to the Defarts of Idu- of that Province, to be the Tharsis from man, from whence he visited Fziongaber and whence Salemon fetcht his gold; for no o-Floth the uttermost place of the South of all ther reason, as it seems, but for love of his his Territories, bordering to the Red ica: own Countrey, and because of some affinity which Cities I have described in the Story of of sound between Tharsis and Tartesius. For whereas ir may feem ftrange that it thould be three years ere they that took ship in the Red fea, should return from the East-Indies to Terujalem, this hath been in part answered of Salemons fending to ophir, and of some already. And further the intelligent may feeming contradictions about Salemons ri- conceive of fundry lets, in the digging and ches, and of Pineda's conceit of two firance refining of the metal, and in their other traffick, and in their land-carriages between Terutalem and the Red sea, and perhaps also Fre Salomon prepared his Fleet of flips elfewhere: fo that we have no need to make for India, with whem Hiram joyned in Salomons men to go many thousand miles that voyage, and furnified him with Mari- out of their way to Gades, round about all

Fleet pals to the I off-India, which was not ans which went with them could not have far eli, namely, to ophir, one of the Itlands been ignorant of) was along the Mediterof the Molneca's, a place exceeding rich, ran fea, and fo (befides many wonderful inin gold: witness the Spaniards, who not-conveniences, and terrible navigation in withfunding all the abundance which they rounding Africa) they should have escaped gather in Pern, do yet plant in those Illands the troubleseme land-carriage between Jeof the East at Manilia, and recover a great rufalem and the Red sea, through dry, defart, quantity from thence, and with less labour and the thievish Countreys: and within 30. than they do in any one part of Feru, or new miles of Jerufalem at Joppe, or some other haven in Salomons own Country, have laden

eighth, it is written 450, talents: whereof lantis, in largeness greater than all Africk of the Fleet and wages of men; and 42c, ta tick Ocean, hindred Salomons thips from lents, which makes five and twenty hundred paffing through the straits of Gibralian: for and twenty thousand Crowns, came clear, this he alledgeth Plato in Timeo. But that And thus must those two places be reconcithis calamity happened about Salomons led. As for the place 1 Reg. 10. 14. which time, or that thereby the straits of Gades speaketh of fix hundred fixty and fix talents were filled with mud, and made unpassable, of gold; that fum, as I take it, is of other that there could be no coming to Gades by r. ccipts of Salomons which were yearly, and the Mediterran fea; or that this indraught which came to him belides those profits from where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channel, should be CHAP. XVIII. hip-being in the Red fea, should neglect the of those thirty and eight Fgyptian Kings golden Mines in the East Indies (which were which succeeded Meneus the Founder of thele parts no less quantity of gold (the after Salomon, Pharaoh Necho flew Jofies King fmall territory which he there possesieth of "uda.

The same Fineda hath another strange in garrisons sourteen thousand Chariots, and confidered) than in Peru. paliage round about all Africa, which elletwelve thouland horfemen; that he spent where he dreams of: supposing whereas Jo- in Court every day thirty measures of fine thower, threelcore measures of the city of Cilicia, was flower, threelcore measures of wheat, one hundred sheep, besides stags and fallow Deer, bugles and fowl; sour thousand stalls dayes fwimming above twelve thousand of horses he had for his Chariots and other English niles along the Mediterran seas, and uses, and for the twelve thousand horsemen forthrough the straights of Gader, and along of his guard. For, the ten thousand stalls in therer (though much the worfe) way to thousand stalls or teems, and in every teem Naire. This conceit he grounds onely upten horses, as Junius and the Geneva underon the ambiguity of the word suph, which stand it. He was faid to be wifer than any oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red fea (as man, yea than were Ethan the Ezrabite, if we should call it mare algojum, the sea full than Heman, Chalcal, or than Darda; to of weeds) for the Red sca. But in Jonas which Junius addeth a fift, to wit, Exrack. 6.2.5. it is generally taken in the proper For the General maketh Ethan an Exabite by fignification for weeds, and not as Fineda Nation. Josephu, writes them, Athan, Ain this place he forgets; Miracula non funt Book. multiplicanda. And again, Non funt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda. Miracles are not to be multiplied without neeglity, nor delivered without cause, nor feigned of the fall of Salomon, and how long he lived.

proceed with our story of Salomon. questions; those are set down at large in ed his heart after other gods, as Asteroth

filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean | the Text. But herein Josephus is greatly main like manner, where this huge fland is fup-flaken, who calls this Queen of saha Nicau-766. eas. 2. poicd to have frood; or that salomons les, the fueceflor (faith he out of Herodolm) 1, 1. infinitely better and nearer to the Red fea, Memphis; adding, that after this Egyptian, than any in Spain) to feek gold at Cadyz by and the father in law of Salomon, the name the way of compassing Africa; it is most ri- of Pharaeh was left off in Egypt. For as it is diculous to imagine. For the Spaniard him-elfewhere proved that the Queen was of A-1 Keg. dictions to magnie. cor the spaniaro mine left, rabia, not of Festi and Ethiopia; fowere color fell that hath also the rich Feru in the West, rabia, not of Festi and Ethiopia; fowere colors. fortilieth in the Faft-Indies, and inhabites there other Pharaobs after the father in law se. fome part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in of Salomon. Yea, above three hundred years for east It is also written of Salomon, that he kept

all the huge feas round about Africa, caft up, the first of Kings the fourth, are to be taken Jones upon the shore of the Red sea, that to but for so many horses, whence in the second 1 King. 47 he might have perhaps some fix miles the of Chronicles the ninth, it is written but four 3h. would have it , who in this place against his man, Chalceus and Donan the fous of Hemon. own rule (which elfewhere he giveth us) He spake three thousand Proverbs, and his supposeth strange miracles without any Songs were one thousand and five, whereof need. For this long voyage of the Whale, ti-cither the most part perished in the Captinithed in three dayes, is a greater miracle, vity of Babylon, or elfe because many acts of than the very prefervation of Jones in the Salomons were written and kept among the belly of the Whale: and therefore feeing publick Records of Civil causes, and not there is no necessity of this miracle, we fend Ecclesiastical, therefore they were not it back unto him, keeping his own rule, which thought necessary to be inserted into Gods

his dreams, which (were he not otherwife very learned and judicious) might be to had he no fearcity of women. For thought unworthy the mentioning. But to belides his leven hundred Wives, he kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting The Queen of saba's coming from far to that God had commanded that none of Salomon (as feems, from Arabia Falix, and his people should accompany the daughnot, as some think, from Ethiopia) and her ters of Idolaters) he took Wives out of tich presents, and Salomons reciprocal mag. Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: niscence, and his resolving of her disficult and when he fell a doting, his Wivesturn276

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of the Zidonians , Milrom or Molech of the gainst the Aramtes, whereinhe brought all Arimonites and Chemoft of Moab.

Idumes. Rezin of Damafeus, and by Jerobe- the next years work, wherein he did cut off m his own fervant, and one of the mafters all means of fuccour from the Ammonites; of his works, who by the ordinance of God all spria. Moab, and Idumea being now at his tare from his fon Roboum, ten of the twelve, own devotion. By this reckoning it must parts of all the territory he had. Deus dum have been the 20, year of Davids reign, and in secretores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis about the tiftieth of his lite, in which he utitur.qu.e iple non fecit: God punishing fin- tent forth Joab to befrege Rabba, and finishners, which the fins of others, which he himfelf ed the war of Ammon: wherein also fell

long peace) were few memorable actions by other half he felt great forrow, by the expehim performed, excepting his buildings with Ctation, execution, and fad remembrance of other works of magnificence, and that great that heavy judgment laid upon him by God Indian voyage already mentioned. Forty for his foul and bloody offence. years he reigned; how many he lived, it is Now very manifest it is, that in the year not written, and must therefore be found after the death of that child which was beonly by conjecture. The most likely way to gotten in adultery, Salomon was born, who gheis at the truth in this case is, by consider- must needs therefore have been nineteen ing the actions of David before and after years old or thereabout when he began to Salomons birth, whereby we may best make reign at the deccase of his father, as being cftimation of the years which they confu- begotten in the 21, year of his fathers reign, med, and consequently learn the true, or who reigned in all forty. most likely year of his nativity. Seven years This account hath also good coherence David reigned in Hebron: in his eighth year with the following times of David, as may he took Jerusalem, and warred with the Phi- be collected out of ensuing Actions: for listims, who also troubled him in the year fol-\* 1. lowing. The bringing home of the Ark Ammon; three years ere his father pardonfeems to have been in the tenth year of ed him, and two years more ere he came into David, and his intention to build the Tem- the Kings presence. After this he prepared ple in the year enfuing, at which time he had horses and men, and laid the foundation of fufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he his rebellion, which seems to have been one had wars with the Philistims, Moabites, A- years work. So the rebellion it felf, with all ramites, and Edomites, which must needs that happened thereupon, as the Commotion have held him five years, confidering the made by sheba, the death of Amafa, and the Aramites of Damasco raised war against him, rest, may well seem to have been in the 30. after such time as he had beaten Hadadezer; year of Davids reign. and that in every of these wars, he had the Whether the three years of famine should entire victory. Neither is it likely, that be reckoned apart from the last years of these services occupied any longer time, be- war with the Philistims, or consounded with cause in those dayes and places there were them, it were more hard than needful to no wintering camps in use, but at convenient conjecture. Plain enough it is, that in the ten featens of the year Kings went forth to war, remaining years of David there was time dispatching all with violence, rather than sufficient, and to spare, both for the three with temporizing; as maintaining their years of famine, for four years of war, and Armies, partly upon the spoil of the enemies, for numbring the people, with the pestilence country, partly upon the private provision ensuing; as also for his own last infirmity, which every fouldier made for himself. The and disposing of the Kingdom. Yet indeed 17. year of David, in which he took Mephi- it feems that the war with the Philiftims was befreth the fon of Jonathan into his Court, but one years work, and ended in three or appeareth to have passed away in quiet; four fights, of which the two or three former and the year following to have begun the were at Gob or Nob near unto Gezer, and the war with Ammen ; but somewhat late in the last at Gath. This war the Philistims underend of Summer perhaps, it came to tryal of took, as it feemeth, upon confidence gathera battel (for Joah after the victory, return- ed out of the tumults in Ifrael, and perhaps

the tributaries of Hadadezer under his own These things God punished by Adad of allegeance, appears manifestly to have been out the matter of Vriahs wife. So one half In the reign of Salomon (as in times of of Davids reign was very prosperous : in the

ed immediately to gerusalem) the causes and emboldened by Davids old age: for he preparations for that war, taking up all the fainted now in the battel, and was after-Summer. Davids personal expedition a- wards hindered by his men from expeling himfelf unto danger any more. So  $\mathit{David}$  had  $_{1}$  vanity of humane nature  $\circ$  in the third  $\circ$  he fix or fever years of reft, in which time it is fingeth as it were the Epithalamion of likely that many of his great men of War Christ and his Church. For the Book inti-Zervia.

for nineteen years of age might well agree quentiam: The Stile of the Fook of widom. with either of these two speeches.

that he was but eleven years old when he nineteenth Book, and twentieth Chapter of hegan to reign. Of thele Rabbi Salomon the City of God, that the Author of that erms the first Author, whom other of great Book hath a direct foretelling of the passion learning and judgment have herein follow- of Christ in these words: Circumveniamus that which is faid of Absaloms rebellion, that circumvent the rightcous, for he is unpleasing it was after forty years, which they under- to us he is contrary to our doings, be checketh frood as years of Davids reign. But whereas us for offending against the Law, he makes his tion. Some indeed have in favour of this lecting help from God by prayer, repaired opinion, construed the words of Josephus, as thither for their recoveries. if they included all the years of Salomon's Of Salomons Books of Invocations, and life. But by fuch reckoning he should have Inchantments to cure diseases, and expel ebeen 40, years old at his Fathers death; and vil spirits, Josephus hath written at large, confequently should have been born long though (as I conceive) rather out of his before his Father had won Jerusalem; which own invention, or from some uncertain reis a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40 years port, than truly. remembred in Abfaloms rebellion, may either Davids first anointment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wick- Vefpafian, and many others, which I will not edness, or perhaps be read (according to stand to examine. Josephus, Theodoret, and the Latine translation ) four years; which passed between the return of Absalom to Ferusalem, and his breaking out.

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of Salomons livitings.

and correcteth manners; in the second, the which he was more liberal to this king, than

dyel (being of his own age) whereby the tuled, The Wildom of Salemon ( which forting spirit of Adonijah found little suc- some give unto Salomon, and some make the cour in the broken party of Joab the fon of elder Philo the Author thereof) Hierome and many others of the best learned make At this time it might both truly be faid by us think it was not salomon that wrote it. Devid to Salomon, Then art a mije man; and stylus libri fapientia (faith thereme) qui Grantian by Salomon to God. I am but a joung child; Salomonis inferibitur, Gracian redelet elawhich is aferihed to Salomon, favoureth of the Nevertheless there are some that gather Gracian eloquence; and of the same opinion out of Salomons profeshing himfelf a child, was S. Angulline, and yet he confesion in the ed : grounding themselves perhaps upon justum, quoniam instravis est nobis, Oc. Let se se : Rehoboam the fon of Salomon was 41. years boult to have the knowledge of God, and he old when he began to reign, it would follow calleth himself the son of the Lord, Oc. and hereby that his father had begotten him, fo doth the course of all the following words being himfelf but a child of nine or ten point directly at Christ. The Books of Feyears old; the difference between their elefaftes, Proverbs and Cantica Conficerum, years one, the universet section ( who Rabbi Moses kimeli ascribeth to My the grafter reigned 40. years) were but eleven years Prophet. Suidas and Cedrenus report, that e. old when hisreign began. To avoid this in- Salomon wrote of the remedies of all difeaconvenience, Josephus allows &c. years of fes, and graved the same on the fides of the Relater in reign to Salomon; a report fo difagreeing Porch of the Temple, which (they fay) Eze-Julius. with the Scriptures, that it needs no confuta- chias pulled down, because the people, neg-

He also speaketh of one Fliazarus, who feem to have reference to the space between by the root in Salomon's ring dispossest divers persons of evil spirits in the pictence of

Certainly, fo strange an example of humane frailty hath never been read of as this King: who having received Wildom frem God himfelf, in honour of whom, and for his onely fervice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Ifrael and Judea, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wifest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the periwasion Here remain of Salemons Works, the of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Here remain of Salemons Works, the of a few weath and Proverby the Preacher, and the Song of Women, forget and forfake the Lord of all products, of salomon. In the first he teacheth good life, the world, and the giver of all goodness, of

396 of the Zidonians, Mileom or Molech of the gainft the Aramites, wherein he brought all

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of Salomons Writings.

salomon. In the first he teacheth good life, the world, and the giver of all goodness, of and correcteth manners; in the second, the which he was more liberal to this King, than

himself unto danger any more. So David had I vanity of humane nature; in the third, he and many others of the best learned make At this time it might both truly be faid by us think it was not salomon that wrote it. At this time it might both truly be failed by its till a fe was not succeed the Wer. et . Devidto Salomon, Thou art a wife man; and Stylus libri sapientiae (faith Hierome) and Complement for nineteen years of age might well agree quentiam; The Stile of the Book of wildom. which is afcribed to Salomon, favoureth of the Nevertheless there are some that gather Gracian eloquence; and of the same opinion ed: grounding themselves perhaps upon justim, quoniam insuavis est nobis, &c. Let us sq. i that which is faid of Abfaloms rebellion, that circumvent the right cous, for be is unplealing Rekoloam the fon of Salomon was 41. years bouft to have the knowledge of God, and he eld when he began to reign, it would follow calleth himself the son of the Lord, Sec. and hereby that his father had begotten him, fo doth the course of all the following words being himself but a child of nine or ten point directly at Christ. The Books of Ecyears old; the difference between their clesiastes, Proverbs and Cantica Canticerum, ages being no greater, if Salomen ( who Rabbi Moses Kimchi ascribeth to Thy the s. see fel. reigned 40. years) were but eleven years Prophet. Suidas and Cedrenus report, that 6: old when his reign began. To avoid this in- Salomon wrote of the remedies of all diseaconvenience, Tolephus allows 8c. years of fes, and graved the same on the sides of the Reinett. in reign to Salomon; a report so disagreeing Porch of the Temple, which (they say) Eze- Jule Hift. with the Scriptures, that it needs no confuta- chias pulled down, because the people, neg-

He also speaketh of one Fliazarus, who feem to have reference to the space between by the root in Salomon's ring dispossest di-Davids first anointment, and the trouble vers persons of evil spirits in the presence of which God brought upon him for his wick- Vefpafian, and many others, which I will not

Certainly, fo ftrange an example of huon) four years; which passed between the mane frailty hath never been read of as this return of Absalom to Fernsalem, and his King: who having received Wildom from God himself, in honour of whom, and for his onely service, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Ifrael and Judea, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wifest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the periwasion Here remain of Salomons Works, the of a few weak and wretched Idolatrous Proverby, the Preacher, and the Song of Women, forget and forfake the Lord of all

to any that ever the world had. Of whom of Hiram and the reign of Bozorius. filed thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon he did. thy children, and felt forrow for thy folly, cap. 27.

## 6. VI. of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

PEar the beginning of Salomons reign, time as Selostris was carried out to take the Agesslans the third of the Heraclide in air, cast his head continually back upon the Corinth; Labotes in Lacedamon; and foon two foremost wheels next him; which seafter Silvius Alba, the fourth of the Silvii, lostris perceiving, asked him what he found fwaved those Kingdoms: Laosthenes then worthy the admiration in that motion: to governing Assyria, Agastus and Archippus the whom the captive King answered, That in fecond and third Princes after Codrus, ruling those he beheld the instability of all worldthe Athenians.

fome Kings omitted between the death part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

Syratides writeth in this manner: Salomon | Taphres being dead, about the twentieth reigned in a peaceable time, and was glorious, of Salomon, Sefac or Shiftak (as our English for God made all quiet round about, that he Geneva terms him began to govern in Egypt, wright build a house to his Name, and prepare being the same with him whom Diodorus the Sandhary for ever; How wife wast thou calleth Sosachis; Josephus, Susac; Cedrenus, in thy youth, and was filled with understand-Sussignms; Eustins in the colume of the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and Hebrems, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in He-lles, and for thy peace thou mast beloved, Sec. rodotus, that he ascribeth the Acts of susac net, and for the peace from majo veneral, or treatment, that he alterior the rets of shife but thus he concludeth: Thou didft bow they to Sefoftris, which perchance Herodotti logus to Women, and maft overcome by the bomight have done by comparison, accounting dy; thou didft stain thine honour, and hast described in Sefac another Sefoftris, for the great things

CHAP. XIX.

Of the great acts and vertues of King Sefostris. I have spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: onely in this he was reproved, that he caused four of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was difposed to be seen, and to ride in triumph: one of which four, faith Futropius, at such ly things; for that both the lowest part of In the fix and twentieth of Salomons the wheel was suddenly carried about, and reign, Hiram of Tyre dyed, to whom Balia- became the highest, and the upmost part was firms fucceeded, and reigned seventeen years, as suddenly turned downward, and under after Mercators account; who reckons the all: which when Sefoftris had judicioully milky in time of his rule by the age of his fons. Jose-weighed, he difmissed those Princes, and all 19. phus gives him fewer years. Theophilus other from the like servitude in the suture. Antiochenus against Antolicus finds Bozo- Of this Sesoftris, and that he could not be tarius the next after Hiram, if there be not ken for sefac, I have spoken at large in that



# CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons Successors until the end of Jehosaphat.

### 5. I.

of Rehoboam his beginnings; the defection of the ten Tribes, and Jeroboams Idolatry.

attended a while the return of Jeroboam as than feared: whereof he took three dayes yet in Egypt, since he fled thither, fearing sa- to deliberate before his answer; of whom lomon. After his arrival the people pre-therefore it could not be faid as of David,

Fhoboam the Son of Salomon by fented a Petition to Rekoboam, to be ea-Nahama an Ammonitess, now fed of those great Tributes laid on them forty years old , succeeded his by his Father. Sic enim firmius ei fore Imten Tribes of Iffeel were aftembled: who affired, if he defired rather to be beloved that he was wifer than all his Teachers. For time Jerobaam the new King fortified seckem as of himself he knew not how to resolve, on this side, and Pennel on the other side of fo had he not the judgement to differ of Jordan; and fearing that the Union and ex-Couniels, which is the very test of wisdom ercise of one Religion would also joyn the in Princes, and in all men elfe. But not peoples hearts again to the Houle of Di-withtanding that he had consulted with vid, and having in all likelihood also prothole grave and advised men, that served his mised the Fesptians to follow their Idolatry, Fathers, who perfived him by all means he fet up two Calves of gold for the chiltather, who periwaded min by all means he is up two salves of gold for the emitto fatisfie the multitude: he was transported and of the all to worship, implously persuato home the monitories, he was trainported to a fraction wanting, improving period ted by his familiars and favourites, not ding them that those were the Gods, or at onely to continue on the backs of his subjects least by these he represented those Gods thole burdens which greatly crusht them; which delivered them out of Feypt, and rebut (vaunting fallly of greatness exceeding fusing the service of the Levites, he made his fathers) he threatned in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and that by banishing the Levites which served more unsupportable loads on them. But as David and Solomon through all Ifrael, Jerois appeared in the fuccess, those younger boam greatly enriched himself: as taking into advilers greatly miftook the nature of fe- his hands all those Cities which were given verity, which without the temper of elementhem by Moses and Joshua, for as it is written, cy is no other than crucky it felf: they al- The Lewites left their fuburbs, and their poto were ignorant that it ought to be used for Fisting, and came to Juda. O.e. This irreligious the help, and not for the harm of fubjects, policy of Jeroboam ( which was the founda-For what is the ftrength of a King left by tion of an Idolatry that never could be roohis people? and what cords or fetters have ever latted long, but those which have been ted out, was by Prophecy and Miraeles twifted and forged by love onely? His wit- impugned fufficiently when it first began; less parafites could well judge of the Kings but the affections maintaining it, were fo difposition and being well learned therein strong, that neither Prophecy nor Miracle though ignorant in all things elfe, it fuf-could make them yelld. Jeroboam could not 1848-13 ficed and enabled them sufficiently for the be moved now by the Authority of Abia, places they held. But this answer of Rebobo- who from the Lord had first promised unto am did not a little advance Jeroboams de- him the Kingdom; nor by the withering of chiab of his future advancement, these the Altar, which also clave asunder according Kings threats (changing the peoples love to the fign, which the man of God had into fury) confirmed and gave courage to his given him by the commandment of God, hopes, For he was no fooner arrived, than who again recovered and cured him of elected King of Ifrael: the people cryed out, that defect; yet he continued as obstinate Profes. What portion have we in David? wee an Idolater as before, for he held it the fafest Perfection have no inheritance in the Son of Islan. Now course in policy to proceed as he had begun. though themselves, even all the Tribes This implous invention of Jerobaam, who of Ifrael, had confented to Davids anoint- forfook God, and the Religion of his foreing at Hebron the second time, acknowledge- fathers, by God and his Ministers taught ing that they were his bones and his flethyet; them, was by a modern Historian compared now after the manner of rebels, they for with the policies of late Ages; observing gat both the bands of nature, and their du-well the practice of his Nation, being an uones. Whereupon the Aing allrighted, 11/19/1982 junctionally devine & humana violan-

his own hand as he ftretched it over the ty to God; and, as all alienate refolved hearts Italian born. Sie qui hodie (faith he) politici do, they served themselves for the present, vocantur, oppopria commoda presentes; nitimpudent excuses. And now over-late, litates sibit tanquam ultimum sinem constituent, and after-time, Reboboam sent Adoram, one causam quam vocant status in capite omnium of the Taxers of the people, a man most ponunt: pro ipfatuenda, promovenda, conferhateful to all his Subjects, to pacify them: vanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. whom they instantly beat to death with siminria proximo irroganda sinstitue honestaftones. Whereupon the King affrighted, tifq-leges subvertenda freligio ipsapessindanda covered Jernsalem, where preparing to in- da, nihil intentatum, nil per sas nesasgerelinvade Ifrael, with an hundred and fourfcore quendum cenfent; cuncta ruant, omma percant, thousand chosen men, shimei in the per-mini ad iplot, modo id, quod è re fine effe shi person of God commanding to the contrary, all shadent, obtineant, as si nullus sit qui talia curet, was stayed for the present. In the mean castigareve possit Deus: So they who are now

to any that ever the world had. Of whom of Hiram and the reign of Bozorius. filed thy posterity, and hast brought wrath upon he did. thy children, and felt forrow for thy folly, cap. 27.

### 6. VI. of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

Aeeilaus the third of the Heraclide in air, cast his head continually back upon the Corinth; Labotes in Lacedamon; and foon two foremost wheels next him; which seafter Silvins Alba, the fourth of the Silvii, fostris perceiving, asked him what he found fwayed those Kingdoms: Laosthenes then worthy the admiration in that motion : to governing Asspria, Agastus and Archippus the whom the captive King answered, That in fecond and third Princes after Codrus, ruling those he beheld the instability of all worldthe Athenians.

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Stracides writeth in this manner: Salomon | Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth reiened in a peaceable time, and was glorious, of Salomon, Sefac or Shifhak (as our English for God made all quiet round about, that he Geneva terms him began to govern in Egypt, wight build a house to his Name, and prepare being the same with him whom Diodorus the Sanctuary for ever; How wife wast thou calleth Sosachis; Josephus, Susac; Cedrenus, in thy youth, and mast filled with understand- Sussinus; Eusteins in the colume of the ing, as with a floud? Thy mind covered the Egyptian Kings, Smendes; and in that of the whole earth, and kath filled it with grave and Hebrews, Sufac. Josephus in the eighth of his dark sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in Heles, and for thy peace thou mass beloved, &c. rodotus, that he ascribeth the Acts of susabut thus he concludest: Thou didl bow thy to Sessifis, which perchance Herodotus loyns to Women, and mass overcome by thy bomight have done by comparison, accounting dy; thou didft ftain thine honour, and haft de- sefac another sefoftris, for the great things

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### 6. I.

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Fhoboam the Son of Salomon by fented a Petition to Rekoboam, to be ea-Nahama an Ammonitess, now sed of those great Tributes laid on them forty years old , succeeded his by his Father. Sic enim firmius ei fore Im-Father Salomon, and was an-perium, si amari mallet quam meini; so nointed at sichem, where the should his Empire (saith Josephus) be more at ten Tribes of Israel were assembled: who assured, if he desired rather to be beloved attended a while the return of Jeroboam as than feared: whereof he took three dayes yet in Egypt, since he fled thither, fearing Sa- to deliberate before his answer; of whom

as of himself he knew not how to resolve, on this side, and Pennel on the other side of fo had he not the judgement to differ of Jordan; and fearing that the Union and ex-Countels; which is the very test of wisdom ercise of one Religion would also joyn the in Princes, and in all men elie. But not peoples hearts again to the House of Dawithfranding that he had confulted with vid, and having in all likelihood also prothose grave and advised men, that served his miled the Fesptians to follow their Idolatry, Father, who perfwaded him by all means he fet up two Calves of gold for the chilto fatisfie the multitude: he was transpor- dren of Ifrael to worship, impiously persuated by his familiars and favourites, not ding them that those were the Gods, or at onely to continue on the backs of his subjects least by these he represented those Gods those burdens which greatly crushe them 5 which delivered them out of Fesps, and rebut (vaunting fallly of greatness exceeding fusing the service of the Levites, he made his fathers) he threatned in sharp, or rather in terrible terms, to lay yet heavier, and 'that by banishing the Levites which ferved more unsupportable loads on them. But as Earth and Solomon through all Ifract, Jerois appeared in the fuccess, those younger born greatly enriched himself: as taking into adviters greatly mistook the nature of se-hishands all those Cities which were given verity, which without the temper of elementh them by Mafes and Joffma, for as it is written, cy is no other than cruelty it felf, they al- The Levites left their fuburbs, and their pof-To were ignorant that it ought to be used for fellow, and came to Juda. O.c. This irreligious the help, and not for the harm of fubjects, policy of Jeroboam ( which was the founda-For what is the strength of a King left by tion of an Idolatry that never could be roohis people? and what cords or fetters have ted out, untill Ifrael for it was rooted out of ever lafted long, but those which have been the Land ) was by Prophecy and Miracles twifted and forged by love onely? His wit- impugned fufficiently when it first began 5 less parafites could well judge of the Kings but the affections maintaining it, were fo disposition and being well learned therein strong, that neither Prophecy nor Miracle was stayed for the present. In the mean castingareve possis Deus: So they who are now

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. "A politicion are pounding to themselves as come enemies to the Judeans. So as by those re and refert profit we wont to alledge the cafe wit, change of Religion, and invitation of of that feefooth, as the principal point to be re- forraign force. Jerahoam hoped to hatle girded: for the good of the flate, for advan- himself in the feat of Mouel, whom yet the cime preserving, or encrealing of the thate, they powerful God for his Idolatry in few years of juffire and konefty, if Religion it fell muft go places, affured his cleate, forlook the law of to mrack, yearf all rights of God and man might the living God, and made high Places, and be riplated they will try all courses be it right be Images and Groves, on every high Hill, and it promothey will do any thingslet all goto ruine under every green Tice. what care they, so long as they may have what And therefore in the fifth year of his reign. they would as who (bould fay, there were no God Sefac or Shifbac before fpoken of being now

had tower to correct them.

first it had done to bring in this vile Idola- Hoste besides Foot-men, which lessely numtry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground Ama- bers at four hundred thousand. This Army 2/4 the Prieft of Eachel counfelled the Pro- was compounded of four Nations: Egyptotic Amos not to probable at Bathel. Fam. phet Amos not to prophefie at Bethel; For ans, Lubauns, Succeans, and Cufites. The (faith he ) it is the Kings Court. Upon this Lubeans were Lybeans the next bordering ground even Jehn that had massacred the Region to Fgypt, on the Westfide. The Lu-Priefts of Back, in zeal for the Lord, yet beans were of Petrea, and of the defait Amurdered him. Softrongly doth the painted the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line vizor of wife proceeding delude even those Northward, about fix hundred English miles that know the foul face of impiety lurking from the best & Maritimate part of Fgypt; and under it: and behold the wretched ends that rherefore I do not think that the Executes or very great examples.

6. H. of Rehoboam his impiety; for which he was the Troglodita. punished by Sefac: of his end, and Contemporaries.

on the other fide, having now little hope to fures) the golden shields which Salomon had to whom Jeroboam had not only fastned him- foolishness of the people. self, but withall invited them to invade Ju- From this time forward the King of Egypt dan: laying perchance before them the un- claimed the foveraignty of Judea, and held countable Riches of David and Salomon, the Jews as their Tributaries : Sesac, as it which might now be eafily had, feeing ten feems, rendring up to Reboboam his places of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and be- on that condition. So much may be gathered

settinal end and he to their own commodi- two waies (of late years often trodden) to think that they may do anything If they mean after rooted out, with all his. Rehabeauthing to open it their neighbour, to overtuen all large ving also, as he thought by fortifying divers is

that would offer to meddle in fuch matters, or King of Fgypt, and with whom, as well Adad of Idumaa, as Feroboam, were familiar, and his Indeed this allegation of raggione del fla- inftruments; entred Juda: with twelve to. did ferve as well to uphold, as at the thouland Chariots, and three core thouland It is would not in any wife depart from that poli-tique fin of Jeroboam the fon of Nebat, which Afa King of Juda. The Succeans according : com made Ifrael to fine It was reason of state to Junius his opinion, were of Succoth, which a line that perswaded the last French King Hen- fignifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they ry the fourth to change his Religion, yet the were the Treglodita, mentioned often in the Elect Protestants whom he forsook, obeyed him, my, Ptolemy, and other Authors. The Trobut some of the Papilts whom he followed, glodites inhabited not far from the banks of the have ever followed it, whereof Jehn, and all Success were those Troglodise, but rather those Co. the the Kings of Ifrael had, and were themselves : Arabians which Ptolemy calls Arabes Agyptii, Ichtliyophagy, which possess that part of Egypt behind the mountains called Alabastrini, and the red Sea, far nearer Egypt and readier to be levied than those removed Savages of

With this great and powerful Army Sefac invaded Judaa, and ( besides many other strong Cities ) wan Jerusalem it self, of which WHile Jeroboam was occupied in fet and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took ting up his new Religion, Reboboam the spoyle, carrying away (besides other trearecover the Provinces loft, strengthened made, in imitation of those which David rethe principal places remaining with all en- covered from Adadezer, in the Syrian war: deavour : for he fortified and victualled fif- these Rehoboam supplyed with Targets of teen Cities of Juda and Benjamin: not that brais, which were fit enough to guard a King he feared Jeroboam alone, but the Egyptians, of his quality, whom syracides calleth, The

the deliverance of Juda after their humilia- of his acts were written by Eldo the Prophet tion he doth notwithstanding leave them as some part of his Fathers were. under the yoke of Egypt, in these words, Negerthelefs they (to wit, the Judeans) field be the fins of Salomon in his fon Rekoboum: his fervants, that is, the fervants of Sclac.

CHAP. XIX.

holeam reigned twelve years, and his losses daughter Salomon had married, thereby the received by sefac, notwithstanding, he con- better to assure his estate, which while he sertinued the war against Jeroboam all his life ved God, was by God affured against all and time. After his death Jerobosim governed if the greatest neighbouring Kings, and when racl four years,

rished with that of Nathan, and the rest.

vernours for life after Codrus, governed in hundred thouland; God giving spirit, cou-Athens. Abdastrartus, or Abstrartus, in Tyre- rage, and invention, when and where it Dorifibus the lift of the Heraclida in Sparta, pleaseth him. And as in those times the cauaccording to Eusebius (others make him the les were exprest, why it pleased God to pufixt) and Priminas the fourth in Corinth. Over nish both Kings and their people; the same the Latines reigned Silvius Alba Silvius Atys, being both before, and at the instant delithe fourth and the fift of the Silvii.

usurped the Kingdom twelve years.

Toward his latter times Periciades, or Pythe son of Balcastartus, recovered the Kingdom of Tyre from the Ulurpers.

of the great battel between Jeroboam and Abia, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgments.

third of the Adads of Syria, as may be gaties; howfoever the wife men of the World thered out of the 2. of Chron. he reigned but raise these effects no higher than to second

out of the word of God, where premiting three years, and then died : the particulars

Here we see how it pleased God to punish first, by an Idolator and Traytor: and then After this overthrow and dilhonour, Re- by the successor of that Fgptian, whose he forfook him, it was torn afunder by his Rehoboam lived 58.years, and reigned 17. meanest Vasials. Not that the Father wanhis ftory was written at large by Shemejah ted ftrength to defend him from the Egyptiand Hiddon the Prophets, but the fame pe- an Sefac; For the fon abijah was able to leavy four hundred thouland men and with With Kehoboam, Archippus, and Tersip- the same number he overthrew eight hunrns, the third and fourth Archantes or Go-dred thousand If raelites, and flew of them five vered by Prophets: fo the same just God, About the 12. of Rehoboam, Abdastrartus vyho liveth and governeth all things for e-King of Tire was murthered by his Nurfes ver, doth in these our times give victory, fons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which courage, and discourage, raise, and throw down Kings, Ettates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of rithiades, began to govern Affria, the 34. old, and are committed in the present: for King thereof: and not long after Aftarus, which reason, in these and other the affictions of Ifrael, alwaies the causes are set down, that they might be as presidents to fucceeding ages. They were punished with famine in David's time for three years, For Saul and his bloody Loufe, &c. And David 2 Sam. 1: \$ towards his latter end suffered all sorts of affiictions, and forrows in effect, for Vriab. Salomon had ten Tribes of twelve torn from his fon for his Idolatry. Rehoboum was A Bijab the fon of Rehoboum, inherited spoiled of his Riches and Honour by Sesac of Egypt, because the people of Juda made He raised an Army of four hundred thou-Images, High places, and Groves oc. and find with which the invested fundamental through the first of the second states of the first of the second states of the s fand, with which he invaded Jeroboam, because they suffered sodomites in the who encountered him with a double num-land. Herboam was punished in himself ber of eight hundred thousand: Both Ar-and his posterity, for the golden Calves mies joyned near to the Mount Ephraim, that he erected. Joram had all his fons flain where Jeroboam was utterly overthrown, by the Philiftims, and his very bowelstorn and the ftrength of Ifrael broken: for there out of his body by an excoriating flix, fell of that fide five hundred thouland; the greatest overthrow that ever was given or jezzabel were slain, the blood of one, the received of those Nations. Abijab being now body of the other eaten with dogs, for master of the field, recovered Bethel, Jessa nab, and Ephron. Soonaster which discon. So also hath God punished the same, and formed the state of the siture, Jeroboam died : who reigned in all 22. Lee like sins in all after times, and in these years, Abijah, the better to ftrengthen him- our daies by the fame famine, plagues, vvar, felf, entred into league with Hessen, the loss, vexation, death, sickness and calami-

to work every alteration that happeneth.

6. IV. of Afa and his Contemporaries.

time he established the Church of God, eced in number; for God spake it of Ismael, breaking down the alters dedicated to that he would make him fruitful, and muitiftrange gods, with their images, cutting ply him exceedingly, that he should beget I chro it, down their groves, and taking away their twelve Princes, Oc. high places. He also spared not his own me- Baasha a King of Israel began to reign in ther, who was an Idolatres, but depoing her the third of Aja, and fearing the greatness of and out it. Fre and fortherd many states, saturating of symmetric factor manager, and other places, providing (as provident to juy) with him against  $\Delta f_{03}$  and to the end Kings do) for the troubles of war in the least oblock him up, he fortified Kama, which fure of peace. For not long after he was in- lieth in the way from Terufalem toward savaded by Zerah, who then commanded all the maria. Arabians bordering Judaa, and with fuch a This war began according to the letter multitude entred the territory of Afi, as (for of the Scriptures in the 36. year of Afa his any thing that I have read were never aftem-reign: but because in the first of Kings the bled of that Nation, entire before or fince: 16. it is faid that Bualba died in the 26. year a chro. 14. For it is written, that there came against the of Afa; therefore could not Baafba beginthis Indeans, Zerab of Athiopia, with an holt of war in the 35. of Afa his reign, but in the 35.

ten hundred thousand, and three hundred year of the division of Juda and Israel, for so Chariots, which Afa encountered with an many years it was from the first of Rehobo-Army of five hundred and fourfcore thou- am, who reigned, 17. years, to the 16. of Afa.

have\*proved already, and were it but the Zerah, being yet fresh in mind, which length between Athropia and Judaa, and might well have emboldened the men of book e. the ftrong flourishing Regions of Egypt in- Juda, and assuch disheartened the enemies. f.a. the strong flourillang Regions of Egypt has a fact t

eagler, and fuch other accidents, which, as not unknown Æthiopians. And if it be obbeing next their eves and eares feem to them jected that these defart countries can hardly yeild a million of men fit for the wars. Ianiwer, that it is as like that Arabia Petraa, and the Defart, which compals two parts of the holy Land, thould veild ten hundred thoufand as that two Tribes of the twelve should arm five hundred and fourfcore thousand. O Abijab facceeded Afa, who enjoyed Belides, it answered to the promise of God peace for his first ten years, in which to Abraham, that these Nations should ex-

from her regency, brake her Idol, frampt it, Afa after his great victory, entertained Ben-ideal, and burnt it. He also fortified many Cities, hadad King of Syria of the race of Adadezer, w.

fand levyed out of those two Tribesor Juda It may seem strange, that Asa being able and Benjamin, which obeyed him, and with to bring into the field an Army of five hunwhich he overthrew this fearful multitude, dred and fourfcore thousand good Souldiand had the spoyle both of their Cities and ers, did not casily drive away Baasha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia That this Zerah was not an Athiopian, I against Jeroboam, and of Afa himself against ftrangers to pass through them) it were suf- Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which ficient to make it appear how foolish the o- caused Asi to fight at this time with money. pinion is, that these invaders were Athiopi- It may be that the imployment of so many ans, But in that the Scriptures acknowledge hundred thousands of hands, in the late ferthat Gerar was belonging to Zerah, and the vice against Zerah, had caused many mens Cities thereabouts were spoyled by the Ju- private businelles to lye undispatched, where drant, in following their victory, as places be by the people being now intentive to the longing to Zerah, and that all men know that culture of their lands and other trades, might Gerar standeth upon the torrent of Lefor, be unwilling to stir against the Israelites, which David past over when he surprized the choosing rather to wink at apparent incon-Amalekites or Arabians; this proveth fuf-venience, which the building of Kama would ficiently, that Zerab was leader of the Arabi- bring upon them in after-times. Such backans, and that Gerar was a frontier town stans wardness of the people might have deterred 2 Chrs 14 ding on the uttermost South-border of all Asia from adventuring himself with the least Judea, from all parts of Athiopia fix hun- part of his forces, and committing the fucceis Judga, from all parts of Attaopatic must refer of the forces and communing the fluctor dred miles. Allo the fpoyles which Allo tool, into the hands of God. Howfoever, it were, as the eartel, camels, and fixes where of the facilitied five throutand, fixes them to be Arabians adjoying, and not far off, and seem against Basefina, whose employments Berbadad the Spean against Basefina, whose employments Berbadad that all the seem of the first seem against Basefina, whose employments Berbadad that seem of the force of the forces and communing the first were discussed in the first seem of the forces and communing the first were discussed in the first were discussed in the first seem of the forces and communing the first were discussed in the first were di brind readily accepted, and brake off con- [Family] it procured unto him a peaceable tederacy with Basha. For the Ifraelites were end; an honourable testimony of the peohis horderers and next neighbours, whom ples love, by their general mourning and laneither himself ( after his invasion ) nor his mentation at his death, and (wherein he was accediors after him ever gave over, till they most happy ) the favourable approbation of had made themselves masters of that King- God himself.

After the loss of this good fon the ungodly don. So Benhadad being now entred into Nithalim, without reliftance, he fpoiled divers principal Cities thereof, and inferced creature, so conscious of his vile unthankful-Bus flat to quit Rama, and to leave the fame to ness to God, that he durst not fuffer his own Afa, with all the materials which he had name to be used in consulting with an holy brought thither, to fortifie the fame : which Prophet, affured of the ruine hanging over done, Benhadad, who loved neither party, him and his, yea of Gods extream hatred; being loden with the spoiles of Ifeael, and the yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Itreatures of Juda, returned to Damafeus. dols that wrought his confusion. So loath he After this, when Hanani the Prophet repre- was to forfake his worldly wisdom, when the hended Asa, in that he now relyed on the world was ready to forsake him, and all befrength of Syria, and did not reft himfelt on longing to him, his hateful memory excenthe favour and aftiffance of God, he not only ted.

reigned 41. years. There lived with Asa, Agesslaus the fixt of his Kingdom one whole year. He did not the Heraclide, and Back the fift King of the alter his fathers courses, neither did God alfame race in Corinth, of whom his fuccessors' ter his sentence. It seems that he little seared were afterward called Bacida. Aftartus, and the judgements denounced against his fa-Astarimus were Kings in Tyre. Astarimus thers house: for as a Prince that was secure took revenge on his brother Phelletes, for of his own estate, he armed all Israel against the murther of *Ithohalus* Priest of the god-the *Philistims*, and belieged one of their des Astarta, whom Salomon in dotage wor-Towns. There (whether it were so, that the thipped. Atys and Capys ruled the Latines: people were offended with his ill fuccess, Firithiades and Ophrateus the Assyrians : and recalled to mind their grievous loss of Terfippus and Phorbas the Athenians: Chemmis five hundred thousand under Jeroboam, reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36, year counting it an unlucky family to the Nation; of Ma, left Cheops his successour, that reigned or whether by some particular indiscretion, fifty fix years, even to the 16. of Jour.

caused Hanani to be imprisoned, but he be-

of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reign of Afa.

might have reduced the ten Tribes unto continuing in the same form of Idolatry their former allegeance to the house of Da- which Jereboam had begun. Wherefore he vid, if the wisdom of God had not other-received the same sentence from God that boam had, in his later daies, the fentence of executed upon him also in the same fort. heavy vengeance laid uponit, by the mouth He began to infelt Afa, by fortifying Ra-

Nadab the fon of Jeroboam, reioned in the gan to burden and oppress his people, and second and third years of Asa, which are recwas therefore strucken with the grievous koned as two years, though indeed his faraines of the gout in his feet, wherewith af- thers laft year of two and twenty did run 10316 ter he had been two years continually tor- along (how far is uncertain) with the fecond mented, he gave up the ghost when he had of Afa, whose third year was the first of Baa- 1 gieg 15, (ba, fo that perhaps this Nadab enjoyed not 25.

he exasperated them)slain he was by Baasha, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his fread. Bassha was no sooner proclaimed King, than he began to take order with the house of Jeroboam, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the fword. That he did N the reign of Asa the Kingdom of Israel this for private respects, and not in regard felt great and violent commorions, which of Gods will to have it fo, it is evident by his wife determined. The wickedness of Jero- had been laid upon Jeroboam; which was of Ahia, the same Prophet which had fore- mah; but was diverted from thence by the told the division of Ifrael, for the sin of Salo-Syrian Benhadad, who did wast his Counwon, and his reign over the ten Tribes. One try, destroying all the Land of Nepthalim. fon Jeroboam had among others, in whom Four and twenty years he reigned, and then only God found formuch piety, as (though it dying, left the Crown to Ela his fon, who enfufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that joyed it, as Nadab the fon of Jeroboam had

done, two years current, perhaps not one compleat.

tila was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against Gibbethon, the same town of A conjecture of the causes bindering the re-uthe Pr. liftims, before which Nadab the fon of icroboam perished; but he are at home the whilft, feafting and drinking with his Minions, whereby he gave such advantage! against himself, as was not neglected. Zimri, A Ifrael in those times, may justly wonder an ambitious man, remaining with the King how it came to pass, that either the whole at Tirza, finding his Mafter to diffolute, Nation, wearied with the calamities already and his behaviour so contemptible, con- suffered under these unfortunate Princes, ceived hope of the like fortune as Baasha had and with the present civil wars, did not refound, by doing as Baasha had done. Where-turn to their ancient Kings, and re-unite fore he did fet upon Ela in his drunkenness, themselves with the mighty Tribes of Juda and flew him. Prefently upon which fact, and Benjamin, or that Zimri and Tibni, with hettiled himself King of Israel: and began their oppressed factions, did not call in Asa, his reign with massacring all the house of Ba- but rather chose the one to endure a defasha; extending his cruelty not onely to his perate necessity of yeilding, or burning children, and kinsfolk, but unto all his friends himself, the other to languish away as a in Terza. These news were quickly blown man forsaken; than to have recourse unto to the Camp at Gibbethon, where they were a remedy, 60 fure, 60 ready, and 60 honor welcommed according to Zimri his ex-nourable. To fay that GOD was pleapectation. For the Souldiers in stead of sed to have it so, were a true, but an idle proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Trai- answer (for his secret will is the cause of all tor: and being led by Omni, whom they fa-things) unless it could be proved 5 that he luted King, they (quitting the fiege of Gib-had forbidden Asa to deal in that business, bethon) presented themselves before Tirza; as he forbad Rehoboam to force the rebelwhich in flort space they may seem to have lious people to obedience. That the reforced. Zimri wanting strength to defend straint laid by God upon Rekoboam, did only the City, not courage to keep himfelf from bind his hands from attempting the suppresfalling alive into his enemies hands, did fet fion of that prefent infurrection, it appears fire on the Palace, confuming it and himfelf by the War continued between Ifrael and together to affices. Seven daies he is faid to Juda, fo many years following: wherein have reigned: accounting (as is most like- Abia so far prevailed, that he wan a great 1 King 16, by to the time that Omri was proclaimed in battail, and recovered some Towns belongthe Camp. For Zimri was also an Idolater, ling to the other Tribes, which he annexed Walking in the way of Jeroboam; and there- to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may fore is likely to have had more time where-boldly look into the fecond causes moin to declare himself, than the reign of se- ving the People and Leaders of the ten ven daies, and those consumed partly in Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upmurthering the friends of Baasha, partly in starts, rather than to cast their eyes upon feeking to have defended his own life. After that Royal house of David, from which the death of Ela, there arose another King the succession of five Kings in lineal deto oppose the faction of Omri; whereby it scent, had taken away all imputation, that may frem, that Zimri had made his party might formerly have been laid upon the firrong, as being able to fet up a new head, who doubtless would never have appeared, Omri had prevented his Competitors in if there had not been ready to his hand, making peace with Asa, were a conjecture some strength, not unlikely to resist and more bold than probable. For Omri was Omri, held out, I do not find; onely it ap- alone to prove, that Asa, being a godly

concurrent.

s. VI.

nion of Ifrael with Juda, which might have been effected by theje troubles.

Ny man that shall consider the state of vanquish the Army which maintained Omri. not onely an Idolater, but did worse than all 1 King 16. How long this Tibni, the new competitor of that were before him; which as it might ferve 25. pears that his fide was decayed, and so he King, would not adhere to him, so the course died, leaving no other Successor than his which he professed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the famly and friends of Baasha (Asa his mortal enemy) gives manifest reason, why Zimri, who had wrought that great execution,

mediatly choose Teroboam in his stead, as a lany. man likely to afford that liberty unto them, The like and much more barbarous exefor which he had contended in their behalf, cution, to wit, without law, Jehoram did up-Neither were they (asit feems) herein alto- on his brethren, and upon fundry of his gether deceived. For his affectation of po- greatest men; as also Joash did so put to pularity appears in his building of decayed death Zachariah the fon of Jehojada, who had

ced to a more temperate method than Jero- to God it could not. hours ever meant to do. And surely he that The murther of the Prophets is continualshall take pains to look into those examples ly ascribed to Jezabel, an impudent Woman,

should more justly than he have expected which are extant of the different courses. the friendship of Juda in that quarrel, held by the Kings of Ifrael and Juda, in ad-Wherefore in fearching out the reason of ministration of justice, will find it most prothis backwardness in the ten Tribes (which bable, that upon this ground it was that the was fuch, that they may feem to have never ten Tribes continued to averle from the line thought upon the matter) to submit them- of David; as to think all adversity more tofelves to their true Princes; it were not a- lerable, than the weighty Scepter of that mils to examine the causes moving the peo- house. For the death of Josh and skimei was ple to revenge the death of Ela, anidle indeed by them deserved; yet in that they drunkard rather than of Nadab the fon of fuffered it without form of judgment, they Jeroboam, who followed the Wars in person, suffered like unto men innocent. The death as a man of spirit and courage. Surely it is of Adamijah was both without judgment, and apparent, that the very first defection of the without any crime objected, other than the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane Kings jealousie: out of which by the same reason)occasioned by desire of breaking that rule of arbitrary justice (under which it may heavy yoke of bondage wherewith salomon be supposed that many were cast away he had galled their necks. Their defire was to would have flain Jeroboam (if he could have have a King that should not oppress them; caught him) before he had yet committed not to have no King at all. And therefore any offence; as appears by his confident rewhen the arrogant folly of Reboloum had turn out of Fgypt, like one that was known caused them to renounce him, they did im- to have endured wrong, having not offered

Towers, and in the institution of his new de- made him King, even in the court of the house a choase vifed Idolatry; where he told the people, of the Lord: and Manasses did shed innocent that it was too much for them to travel so far blond exceeding much, 11ll he replenished served. as to Jerusalem. But whether it were so, that salem from corner to corner: and this was his moderation, being voluntary, began to imputed to him as another fault; besides his a Kinn. 12? cease, towards the latter end of his reign, sin, wherewith he made Juda to sin. Contrariand in the reign of his son, when long time wife, among the Kings of Israel we find no of possession had confirmed histitle, which monument of such arbitrary proceeding, unat the first was only good by courtesic of the less perhaps the words of Jehoram the son of people: or whether the people (as often Ahab (which were but words) may be taken happens in fuch cases) were more offended for an instance, when he said, God do so to me, by some prerogatives of a King, that he still and more also, if the head of Elisha the son of retained in his own hands, than pleased with Shaphat shall stand on him this day: whereby his remission of other burdens, it is clearly it is not plain whether he meant to kill him apparent, that the whole Army of all Ifrael without more ado, or to have him condemjoyned with Baasha, taking in good part the ned as a false Prophet, that had made them death of Nadab, and eradication of Jerobo- hold out against the Aramites, till they were fain to eat their own children; which he Now the reign of Baalha himself, was (for thought a sufficient argument to prove, that ought that remaineth in writing of it) eve- it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. ry way unfortunate; his labour and cost at The death of Nabath sheweth rather the li-Kama was cast away; the other side of his berty which the Israelites enjoyed, than any Kingdom harried by the Syrians; neither peremptory execution of the Kings will. For did he win that one Town of Gibbethon Naboth did not fear to stand upon his own from the Philistims, but left that busines to right, though Abab were even sick for anger; his son, who likewise appears an unprofita- neither was he for that cause put to death, as ble fluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, upon commandement, but made away by that the favour of the people toward the conspiracy, the matter being handled after a house of Baasha grew from his good form of judicial form, which might give fatisfaction Civil Government, which happily he redu- to the people, ignorant of the device, though

and not unto the King her husband. Neither their quarrel. And certainly (howfoever all is it certain, that there was no Law made that the Law calstreason, be interpreted, as whereby their lives were taken from them; tending finally to the Kings destruction) in but certain it is, that the people being Ido- those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, laters, were both pleafed with their death, which have here most prevailed, the surv of and laboured in the execution. So that the the multitude hath quenched it felf with the doings of the Kings of Juda (fuch as are regi- bloud of some great Officers; no such reftred prove them to use a more absolute ma- bellions, howsoever wicked and barbarous ner of command, than the Kings of the ten otherwise, thirsing after the ruine of their Tribes. Neither do their fufferings witness natural Soveraign, but rather forbearing the the contrary. For of those which reigned o- advantages gotten upon his Royal person: ver Juda, from the division of the Kingdom, which if any man impute unto gress ignoto the captivity of the ten Tribes, three rance, another may more charitably, and I were flain by the people, and two were de- think, more truely, ascribe to a reverent afnied a burial amongst their Ancestors. Yea, fection. Wherefore that Fable of Briareus. the death of Ahazia and his brethren, flain who, being loofened by Pallas, did with his by Jehn, with the destruction of all that 100 hands give affistance to Jupiter, when Royal feed of Athalia, did not (for ought all the rest of the gods conspired against that we can read ) ftir up in the people any him, is very fitly expounded by Sir Francis fuch thirst of revenge, as might by the sud- Bacon, as signifying that Monarchies need denness and uniformity testifie the affection not to tear any curbing of their absoluteness to be general, and proceeding from a loving by mighty fubjects, as long as by wifedom remembrance of their Princes: unless we they keep the hearts of the people, who will should think that the death of Albalia, after be sure to come in on their side. Though feven years reign, were occasioned rather by indeed the Story might very well have born the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing Homer, who tels us that Pallas was one of the the government, whereon the had feifed. On conspiracy, and that Thetis alone did marre the other fide, fuch of the Kings of Ifrael as all their practice, by loosening Eriarew. For perished by treason ( which were seven of a good Form of Government sufficeth by a the twenty) were all flain by conspiracy of self to retain the people, not only without the great men, who aspired by treason to the assistance of a laborious Wit, but even a-Crown: the people being fo far from cm- gainst all devices of the greatest and shrewdbruing their hands in the bloud of their So- eft Politicians: every Sheriffe and Constaveraigns, that (after Nadab) they did never ble, being sooner able to arme the multitude, forbear to revenge the death of their Kings, in the Kings behalf, than any over-weening when it lay in their power; nor approve Rebel, how mighty foever, can against him. the good fuccess of treason, unless fear compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, ing feldome found in Juda, makes it very being throughly revenged upon other two, likely, that the rule it self of government namely the death of Ela and Zacharia, upon there was fuch, as neither gave occasion of Zimri and Shallum, who traiteroully got and contentment unto the subjects, nor of confiusurped, for a little while, their places; on- dence in their good affection to the Kings. ly three of the seven remain, whose ends Upon which reasons it may seem that the how the people took, it may be doubtful, multitude was kept usually disarmed. Foro-Though indeed it is precisely said of the therwise it would have been almost impossiflaughter committed on Abab's children by ble, that Athalia the fifter of Ahab, a stranger Jehu, that the people durst not fight with to the Royal bloud of Juda, should by the king to him that did it, because they were exceeding-only authority of a Queen-mother have de-ly affraid: and the same sear might be in stroyed all the seed of David, and usuped them at the death of Peka, whose History the Kingdome very near 7. years, without ( as others of that time ) is curforily passed, finding any resistance. Yea when Jekojada over. The like may be pronounced, and the high Priest had agreed with the Captains more absolutely, of the Kings of England, and principal men of the Land to set up fo-

that never any of them perished by fury of ash their lawful King, whereunto the whole the people, but by treason of such as did Nation were generally well affected, he fucceed them; neither was there any mo- was fain to give to these Captains and their tive urging to forcibly the death of King Ed-men, the spears and the shields that were King mard and King Richard when they were in Davids, and were in the house of the Lord. prison, as fear lest the people should stir in But we need not enter into such particulars. dience to their Princes to be a part of their Surely, whereas it is written that when news duty toward God, would endure much was brought to Jehofaphar that Moah and more with patience, than they which had Ammon were entred his Territory to the Kings of their own choice or admittion, Welt of Jord m, and that their numbers were holding the Crown by a more uncertain many, he teared (to wit) the multitude, in tenure.

ction of their fix first Kings, which died in manned. Lam therefore of opinion, referheavy yoke.

of Ifrael, died himself after one and forty ward commanded and multered by zimashah, eighth King over the ten Tribes.

VII.
 Of Jehosaphat and kis contemporaries.

Teligious and happy, he deftroyed all crs had under him the Groves, Altars, and high places dedication. This mighty Prince, not with funding his had filver, from the other sheep and goats to marry Athalia, this Achab's Dauglace. to the number of fifteen thousand and four fourfeore thousand, and Amasia of two hun- who promised him Victory. But Jekosaphan thele in Benjamin, of those that bare shields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under Eliada, two hundred thousand, and under the commandement of Jehozabad a hundred and fourscore thousand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and fixty thousand, all which are faid to have waited upon the King, befides his Garrifons.

That Juda and Benjamin, a Territory not

Queftionless, the Tribes which thought obe- they amounted to three hundred thousand, is not likely that he would have feared even And this, in my opinion, was the reason, the Army of Xerxer, if he could have brought why the ten Tribes did never feek to return into the field 11, hundred and 10, thousand to their ancient Lords: but after the deftru- lighting men, leaving all his throng Cailes the reign of Afa, admitted a feventh of a new, ring my felf to better judgment) that these Family, rather than they would confubject numbers specified in the second of Chronicles themselves with those of Juda and Benja- the 17. distributed to several Leaders, were min, under a more honourable, but more not all at one time, but that the 300, thoufand under Alnah, and the 200, and four-So Afa having feen the death of 7. Kings feore thousand under Jehohanam, were afteryears reign, leaving Jehosaphat his son to Eliad, and Jehosabad : for the gross and total deal with Abab the fon of Omri, who was the is not in that place fet down, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Again, as the aids which Jehofaphar brought to Ahab did not thew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, fo the Modules and Animonites which he feared, could never make the one half of these numbers, which he that TEhofaphat, who succeeded Afa, was a Prince commanded least among Jelofathat's Lead-

ted to Idolatry, and fent Teachers to all greatness, yet he joyned in friendling with places and people wanting inftruction; he shab King of tirael, who had married that recovered the tribute due unto him by the wicked Woman Jezakel. Him Jokejaphar Arabians and Philiftims: from the one he vilited at Samaria, and caused his ion juranz

Ahab perfivaded Jekofaphat to atilichim hundred. The numbers of men of War were in the War against the syrians, who held more than admirable; for it is written that the City of Ramoth Gilead from him, and Adnah had the command of three hundred called together four hundred of his Prothousand, Jehohanam of two hundred and phets, or Baalites, to fore-tel the success: dred thousand; also that he had, besides believed nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Ifrael. Hereupon Achab made answer that he had one called atichaiah, but he hated that Prophet, because he alwayes fore-told of cvil, and never of any good towards him. Yee Michaiab was lent for to the King; but by the year the mellenger prayed him to confent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promuch exceeding the County of Kent, should mise Victory unto them, as they did. But muster eleven hundred and fixty thousand Michaiah spake the truth, and repeated his fighting men, it is very strange, and the number far greater than it was found upon any Coel asked who shall perforde Ahab, that be other view. Joab in David's time found may go up and fall at Ramoth Cilcad? to five hundred thousand : Rehoboam found whom a spirit that stood before the Lord but an hundred and fourfcore thousand: A- answered, that he would enter into his Probia four hundred and eight thousand: Asa phots, and be in them a false spirit to defive hundred and fourfcore thousand: Ama- lude. For as it is said by Christ: Non enters zis inrolled all that could bear axors, and vos eftis qui loquimini, fed spiritus patricac-Lin Prophets of Baal, or Satan, incourage Achab prize was overthrown. to his destruction. And as P. Martyr upon Yet he taketh part with Jehoram, the brothis place well observeth, these evil spirits ther of Ochazias, against the Moabites, with are minitters of Gods vengeance, and are which Kings of Juda and Ifrael, the Edomites used as the hangmen and tormentors, which joyn their Forces, not forgetting, it seems, Princes fometime imploy, For as it pleaseth that the Moabites, affissed by the Ammonites, God by his good Angels, to fave and deliver had not long before destroyed their Army. from destruction, of which the Scriptures The Moabites, Subjects to David and Salehave many examples: fo on the contrary, it mon, forfaking the Kings of Juda, gave themis by the evil that he punisheth and destroy-selves for vasials to Jeroboam, and so they cth; both which are faid to perform the continued to his successors till the death of A-Will of their Creator, licet non codem animo. chab:but ]ehosaphat,notwithstanding the Ido-Ecclessificus remembreth a second sort of latry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth he malignant natures, but they are every-was drawn into this War, both to be avenged where visible. There are spirits, saith he, of the Moabites for their desection from Juda created for vengeance, which in their rigour to Ifrael, as also because they had lately joynlay on fure strokes. In the time of destructi- ed themselves with the Syrians against Joseph on they shew forth their power, and accom-phat, and thirdly, to punish their double replish the wrath of him that made them.

phets, whose spirit he discovered, was stroken tion; for we find that both Moab, Ammon and by Zidkiah one of Baal's Prophets, and by Edom were all in the field together at Engad-Achab himself committed to prison : where di against Jehosaphat : But whether they had he appointed him to be reserved and fed then declared themselves against Jehosaphat, with bread of affliction till he returned in it is not certain; for in the 2. of Chron. 11. peace. But Michaidh, not fearing to reply, verf. 8. it is written, that in the time of Jehoanswered, If thou return in peace, the Lord ram the son of Jehosaphat, Edom rebelled: and hath not fooken by me. Nevertheles Achab therefore it seemeth to me that the Edomites, went on in that War, and was wounded to when they were flain by Moab and Ammon, death. Jehosaphat returned to Jerusalem, not finding themselves satisfied in such conwhere he was reprehended by Jehn the Pro- ditions as they required, offered to return phet for aflitting an idolatrous Prince, and from them, and to joyn themselves with the

2 Chro 18 one that hated God. joyned with the Moabites, Ammonites and I- in the 2. of Chron. the 20. and as plain c. 21. dumeans to invade Judea: who pass Jordan v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had and encamp at Engaldi; and when Jehofa- made them a King, till Jehofaphar's death. phat gathered his Army, the Prophet Jaha- Now in the passage of these Kings towards ziel fore-told him of the Victory, which Moab, whether it were by the extraordinary should be obtained without any bloud-shed heat of the year, or whether the Idumeans of his part and so when Jehosphat approached, this Assembly of Nations, the Ammonites of Juda and Israel, with intent to infeeble 2 Chro. 10. on the Idumeans, and brake them utterly: their Parthian expeditions; and had in all frauding joyn with Ochazias, the fon of A-chab, in preparing a Fleet to fend to Ophir,

The miferable iffue of this With the order of the chab, in preparing a Fleet to fend to Ophir, hoping of the like return which Salomon Moab burnt his fon, or the fon of the King

the logaritum in colis. It is not you that speak, had: but as Eleizer the Prophet fore-told but the Spirit of your Father speaks in you: him his thips perished, and were broken in fo in a contrary kind did the devil in the the port of Fzion Gaber, and so that enter-10-41

bellion who first forsook juda, and now Ifrael. Now Michaias having by this his revelati- Both Kings refolved to pass by the way of on greatly displeased the King, and the Pro- Idumea, thereby the better to assure that Na-

Army of Juda. For, that they were numbred After this the Aramites or Camascens, among the enemies of Jekosaphat, it is plain and Moabites, disagreeing with the Idume- them for want of Water; true it is, that they ans, and quarrelling for some causes among suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than themselves, those of Ammon and Moab set up- the Armies of Crassus and M. Antonius did in which done, they also invaded each other; likelihood utterly perished, had not Elisha in which broil Jehosaphat arriving, took the taught them to cut trenches whereinto the fivil of them all without any loss of his part, water sprang, by which not only gehosaphat as it was fore-told and promifed by God. and his Army, but Jehoram King of Ifrael an Notwithstanding this Victory, Jehosaphat, Idolater was relieved: the great mercy and forgetting that he was formerly reprehended goodness of God having ever been prone to for affiffing an ido arrous King, did not with- fave the evil for the good, whereas he never

The miserable issue of this War, and how

our City. I have already written in the life Albans in Italy; of the latter the river Tiof Jehoram among the Kings of Ifrael. Jehofa- ber (tormerly Albula) took name. phat reigned 25, years and died; he was bu- In Jehofaphats time also ruled Mecades or ried in the valley of Jehosaphat, and a part of Mezades in Athens: Agelas or Agesilans in Cothe Pyramis fet over his grave is yet to be rinth; and Archilaus of the same race of the

large by Jehn the fon of Hanani. There lived with Jehosaphat, Ophratenes in Jehoram the Israelites.

of Edom, for facrifice, on the rampire of his Affyria, Capetus, and Tiberinus Kines of the

but, in feen, faith Brothard. His acts are written at Heraclidae the feventh in Lacedemon. Bade-

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the fon of Jehosaphar, and Ahazia.

That Jehoram was made King fundry times.

the full power and execution of the royal prove.

is evident that his fon did not reign alone a league offentive and defentive between like regard is to be had in accounting the their own in quiet.

Ehoram the fon of Jehofaphat King of confounded with the years of their fuccessors Juda began to reign at thirty two years or foregoers and must therefore be found by of age, and lived until he was forty comparing their times with the years of those

years old, being eight years a King: others, with whom they did begin and end. but of these eight years, which Jeho- It were perhaps a thing less needful than ram is faid to have reigned, four are to be curious, to enquire into the reasons moving reckened in the life of his father, who going JeboJaphat either to aflume unto him his flor to the Syrian war with Abab, left this Jebo- as partner in the Kingdom, whilft he was ram King in his stead, as Abab did his son A- able himself to command both in peace and bezia. This appears by the feveral begin- in war, the like having never been done by nings, which are given in Scripture to the anyof his progenitors, or having once (in the progenitor of the is faid to have begun his reign, in the feven- wife to defer the confirmation of it, until four teenth year of Tehosaphat. Tehoram the bro- or five years were palled. Yet forasauch as ther of Ahazia succeeded him in the 2. year to enter into the examination of these pas-Kin 17 of Jehoram the son of Jehosaphat King of Juda; sages, may be a mean to find some light, that is in the next year after that Jehoram of whereby we may more clearly discover the 1 King 3. Juda was defigned King by his father; it be- causes of much extraordinary business enfuing (as we find elsewhere) the eighteenth year ing, I hold it not amiss to make such conjeof Jeholaphat himself, who went with the Is- cture, as the circumstances of the story briefly raelites against Moab; Hereby it appears that handled in the Scriptures may feem to ap-

office was retained still by Jehosaphat, who We are therefore to consider, that this governed absolutely by himself not commu-King Jehosaphat was the first of Kehoboams nicating the rule with his fon. But in the fifth illue that ever entred into any streight league 1810. 1. 1940 of Jehoram King of Ifrael, which was the with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that two and twentieth of Jehofaphat, the old reigned in Juda before him, had with much King took unto him, as partner in the go- labour and long war, tired themselves in vernment, this his eldeft fon, who was at that vain, making small profit of the greatest adtime 32. years old, his father being 57. Now vantages that could be wished. Wherefore forasmuch as Jehosaphat reigned 25. years, it Jehosaphat thought it the wisest way, to make till the eighth of Joram King of Ifrael. The Ifrael and Juda, whereby each might enjoy

times of other Kings of Juda and Ifrael, who This confederacy made by a religious King, chross, did not alwaies reign precifely folong as the with one that did hate the Lord, could not which it bare letter of the Text may feem at first to long prosper, as not issuing from the true root affirm: but their years were sometimes com- and fountain of all wisdom: yet as a piece of pleat, fometimes onely current, fometimes found policy, doubtless it wanted not air pretences

Снар. ХХ.

by likely to arile, with mutual fortification mean and unworthy perfonsin compartion of of both those Kingdoms, against the uncir- him, and of his children, which were begotcumcifed Nations their ancient enemies, ten upon the daughter and fifter of two great This apparent benefit, being to ineffimable a Kings, not upon base wemen, and meer subjewell, that it might not calify be loft, but jects. The Court of Akab, and his famous vicontinue as hereditary from father to fon, it ctories obtained against the Syrian Benhadad was thought a very good course to have it were matter sufficient to make an insolent confirmed by some ture bond of affinity, and man think highly of himself, as being allied thereupon was Athalia the daughter of Omri, fo honourably, who could otherwise have and fifter of Akab King of Ifract, given in found in his heart well enough, to despite all marriage to Jeheram, who was fon and heir his brethren, as being the eldeft, and heir apapparent to the King of Juda. This Lady parent to the Crown, where already he was of a masculine spirit, and had learned to had, in a manner, the policition. much of Queen Jezabel her brothers wife. How foon his vices brake out, or how that the durft undertake and could throughly perform a great deal more in Jerufalem, religion, it cannot certainly be known. Like than the other knew how to compas in 84 enough it is, that some smoke, out of the marit. She was indeed a five-brand ordai-hidden fire, did very foon make his fathers ned by God to confume a great part of the eyes to water; who thereupon caused the nobleft houses in Juda, and perhaps of those young man to know himself better, by makmen or their children, whole worldly wif-ing him fall back into rank among his dom, regardles of Gods pleasure, had younger brethren. And surely the doings of brought her in-

Juda and Ifrael did adventure equally, but the good King was fain to make his progress the profit of the victory flieuld have redoun-round about the Land, reclaiming the ded wholly to Abab: as godly Princes very people unto the service of God, and appointfriends, who being ill affected to God himfelf bour, if the religion taught & Grongly maincannot be well allected to his fervants. Be tained by Afa, and by himfelf, had not fuffered fore their fetting forth, Abab defigned, as alteration, and the courfe of Juffice been per-King, his son Abasiab; not so much perhaps verted, by the power of such as had born auin regard of the uncertain events of war thority. But the necessity that then was ofre-(for none of his predecediors had ever done formation, appears by the charge which the the like, upon the like occasions) nor as fear-King did give to the Judges, and by his coming the threatnings of the prophet Michain million given to one of the Priests in fa-(for he despised them) as inviting Jehosaphar ritual causes, and to the Steward of his wherein he prevailed.

house of Achab.

often, in making his fon Jehoram King.

large. Much vain matter flie was able to pro- appearing substantial, were wanting. Jehoduce, whereby to make her husband think ram of Ifrael held the same correspondency

pretences of much common good there-that his brethren and kindred were but

Jehosaphat about the same time, argue no smal The first fruits of this great league, was diffemper of the whole country, through the Syrian war at Ramoth Gilead, wherein the milgovernment of his ungodly fon. For by his own example, to take the same course, house in temporal matters, to be general over-feers.

This was not till after the death of Ahazia the fon of Abab; but how long after it is uncertain. For Jehoram the brother of Ahazia Probable conjectures of the motives inducing began his reign ( as hath been already nothe old king Jehosaphat to change his purpose ted) in the eighteenth of Jehosaphat, which was then accounted the second of Jehoram, Jehosaphat's fon, though afterward this Jeho-Any arguments do very strongly prove ram of Juda had another first and second year, even in his fathers time, before he led by his wife, especially for his forfaking reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and the religion of his godly Ancestors, and fol- Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he conlowing the abominable superstitions of the tinued in private estate, until the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, That the was a woman of intollerable though the occasions inducing his restitupride, and abhorring to live a private life, the tion to former dignity are not let down, yet whole course of her actions witnesseth at we may not think, that motives thereto, made tife of it.He drew the Judeans into the for company many great men of the Land, war of Maab, at which time it might well be, such belike as either had taken their part, that the young Prince of Juda was again or- when the Tyrant fought their lives, or had dained King by his father, as in the syrian been appointed Rulers of the Country. damed rang by his latter, as in the systam when Jekoram was depeled from his governther to think, that the preparations for the ment; in which office they, without forbeaenterprize against Moab did not occupy so ring to do justice, could hardly avoid the much time, as from the eighteenth of Jekofa- doing of many things derogatory to their plat, in which year that Nation rebeiled a- young Mafter; which if he would now call gainst Ifrael unto his two and twentieth; yet treaton, faying that he was then King, whothe daily negotiations between the two durft fay the contrary? Kings of Juda and Ifrael, and the affinity be- After this Jehoram took upon him, as berween them contracted in the person of fe- ing now Lord alone to make invasions in horam might offer some good occasions there- Religion, wherein he was not contented, as unto. Neither isit certain how the behaviour other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and of the younger fons, in their elder brothers fafe conduct unto Superfition and Idolatry, diffrace, might cause their father to put him nor to provoke and encourage the people in possession for fear of tumult after his to that fin, whereto it is wonderful that deaths or the deep diffigulation of Jekoram they were to much addicted, having such himself might win the good opinion both of knowledge of God, and of his detecting that his Father and Brethen; it being a thing above all other fins; but he used compulusual in mischievous fell natures, to be as ab- sion, and was (if not the very first) the first ject and servile in time of adversity, as info- that is registred, to have set up irreligion by lent and bloody upon advantage. This is force. manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise to- ing what he listed, the Edomites his Tributaward his brethren, as caused their tather to ries rebelled against him abroad; and haenable them, not only with store of silver and ving hitherto since David's time, been govergold, and of precious things, (which kind of ned by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto liberality other Kings doubtless had used themselves a King. Against these Jehoram in if it might have been, by unwonted means, with which he obtained victory in the field, against unwonted perils.

6. III.

The doings of Jehoram when he reigned alone and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

their brother, then had he them without even in ferusalem it self. any more adoe; if they stood upon their | The freedom of the Edomites, though purguard, then were they Traytors, and foun-chased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libin the very beginning. Howfoever it was, ling enemies to Juda, and therefore so unlike-

with Jekofiphat that his father had done; and they were all taken and flain, and with them

Whilft he was thus bufied at home, in dounto their younger fons) but with the cu- person made an expedition, taking along flody of ftrong Cities in Juda, to affure them, with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; compelling the Rebels to fly into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing fome of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his fervants. Now began the prophecy of Ilase to take effect wherein he foretold that Efau in process of time should break the yoke of Jacob. For after this the Edo-Dut all this providence availed nothing; mites could never be reclaimed by any of Dior an higher providence had otherwise the Kings of Juda, but held their own so determined of the fequel. When once the well, that when, after many civil and forrein good old man, their Father, was dead, the wars, the Jews by fundry Nations had been younger fons of Jehosaphat found strong Ci- brought low; Antipater the Edomite, with ties, a weak defence, against the power of Herod his son, and others of that race followhimunto whom the Citizens were obedient. ing them, became Lords of the Jews, in the If they came in upon the summons of a King decrepit age of Ifrael, and reigned as Kings,

able to hold out against him, who besides na, a great City within Juda, which in the his own power, was able to bring the forces time of Joshua had a peculiar King, to rebel of the Ifraelitish Kingdom against them; so against jehoram, and set it self in liberty. that the apparent likelihood of their final Libna food in the confines of Benjamin and overthrow, fufficed to make all forfake them of Dan far from the affiftance of any border-

nued a free state. The rebellion of it against might have been dreadful unto others. Jehoram, was, Because he had forfaken the , com at Lord God of his Fathers; which I take to have not only been the first and remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of the inhabitants to do as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely any impression of Gods displeasure in feme allowance to countenance it by the the mind of the wicked Prince a Prophecy King but compulfive authority to force unto in writing was delivered to him, which (according to the trust reposed in them) neg- heaven to St. Giles. het in ducharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, & make threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the them now to feel, as many Princes of the prophecy was as terrible as the fentence.

ches.

ly it was to have maintained it felf in liber- But it feems that of those great numbers ty, that it may feem frrange how it could e- which his father could have levied, there scape from utter destruction, or at the least were not many which Jehoram could well from some terrible vengeance, most likely trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an to have been taken by their powerful, ruel, easier loss to let one Town goe, then to put and throughly incented Lord. The Ifrae-weapons into their hands, who were more lite held fuch good intelligence at that time likely to follow the example of Libna, than with Juda, that he would not have accepted to punish it. So desperate is the condition of the Town, had it offered it felf unto him: Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happiness neither do we read that it fought how to to be feared than to be loved, are fain themcalt it felf into a new subjection, but conti- selves to stand in fear of those, by whom they

his death.

it all that were unwilling. As for the use of threatned both his people, his children, his the Temple at Jerusalem (which, being de- wives, and his wen body. Hereby likewise it vout men, they might fear to lose by this re-bellion ) it was never denied to those of the Gods servants; in as much as the Prophets ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious durft not reprove him to his face, as they had Kings, who rather invited the Ifraelites this done many of his predeceffors, both good ther, and gave them kind entertainment: un- and evil Kings; but were fain to denounce der Idolaters they must have been without Gods judgements against him by letters, keeit, whether they lived free, or in subjection. ping themselves close and far from him. This Yet it feems that private reasons were not Epistle is said to have been sent unto him wanting, which might move them rather to from Elias the Prophet. But Elias was tran- 1 climit do than suffer that which was unwarranta-flated, and Elizeus prophesied in his stead in ble. For in the general visitation before rebefore this time, even in the daies of Jebofa 1861.

membered wherein Tebofahhar reformed his labet. Wherefore it may be about 1861. membred, wherein Jehosaphat reformed his phat. Wherefore it may be that Elias left this kingdom, the good old King appointing new prophecy in writing behind him, or that (as Governours, and giving them effectial fome conjecture) the errour of one letter in charge to do justice without respect of per-fors, used these words; The Lewiter shall be for Elizeus. Indeed any thing may rather be officers before you; Be of good courage, and do believed than the Tradition held by some it, and the Lord shall be with the good. By these of the Jewish Rabbins, that Elias from heaven phrases, it seems, that he encouraged them did send this Epistle; a tate somewhat like against the more powerful, than just proceet to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by dings of his fon; whom if the Levites did Erasmus, or of the Verse that was sent from

But whosoever was the Authour of this land had done, his heavy indignation. How For the Philistims and Arabians brake into it happened that Libna was not hereupon Judea, and took the Kingshouse, wherein destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that they found all, or many of his children, and we can read) so much as belieged or mole- wives, all which they slew, or carried away, Sted,may justly seem very strange. And the with great part of his goods. These philimere strange it is in regard of the mighty strains which Jehosaphat was able to raise, with the strains which Jehosaphat was able to raise, with the make any offensive warre till now; being fufficient to have over-whelmed any for they were by him almost consumed, and one Town, and buried it under the earth, had lost the best of their Towns, mainwhich they might well in one moneth have taining themselves in the rest of their small cast into it with shovels, by ordinary approa- territories, by defensive arms, to which they

снар. ХІХ. were constrained at Gibbethon by the Ifrae- | was fo large and populous: and therefore hes. The Arabians were likely to have been having done what spoil they could, withthen, as they are now, a naked people, all drew themselves with such purchase as they horsemen, and ill appointed; their Country were able safely to conveigh away. effording no other furniture, than fuch as The flaughter committed by Tekn on the

of the History of the World.

might make them fitter to rob and spoil in two and sorty brethren of Ahazia, or (as they the open fields, than to offend ftrong Cities, are called eliewhere) fo many of his brothers fuch as were thick fet in Juda. True it is, that fons, and the cruel mailacre wherein all the men as were than a set of the world then known, under the tyranny of Athalia, following in a very short space of time, destroying within two years after this invasion of the fome, and building other fome very ftately Philistims and Arabians, make it seem proba-Cities. But it must be considered, that this ble, that the sons of Jehoram were not all was when they had learned of the Romans flain at once, but that rather the first murthe Art of War; and that the provisions ther began in his own time, and was seconwhich they found, together with the Arts ded by many other heavy blows, wherewith which they learned, in one subdued Pro- his house was incessantly striken, until it was vince,did make them able and skilful in purin a manner quite hewed down. fuing their conquest, and going on into Regi- After these calamities, the hand of God ons far removed from them. At this day ha- was extended against the body of this wicving loft in effect all that they had gotten, ked King, smiting him with a grievous dissuch of them as live in Arabia it self are good case in his bowels, which lest him not until horsemen, but ill appointed; very danger- his guts fell out, and his wretched soul deous to passengers, but unable to deal with parted from his miserable carkass. The good Souldiers, as riding stark naked, and people of the Land, as they had small cause rather trusting in the swiftness of their horses of comfort in his life, so had they not the than in any other means of refiftance, where good manners to pretend forrow for his they are well opposed. And such, or little death; wherefore he was denied a place of better, may they seem to have been, that better, may they seem to have been, that fooled Judea in the time of Jehoran. For their Country was alwayes barren and denin the Kingdom, who was guided by the fart, wanting manual Arts whereby to supply fame spirits that had been his Fathers evil the naturals with furniture: neither are these Angels. Athalia had other matters to troubands named as chief in that action, but ra- ble her head, than the pompous interring of ther adherents of the Philiftims. Out of this a dead hufband. She vvas thinking how we may infer, that one half, yea, or one quartor provide for the future, to maintain her terof the numbers found in the least muster own greatness, to retain her favourites in of Juda and Benjamin under Jehosaphat their authority, and to place about her (wherein were inrolled three hundred and Son fuch Counsellours of the house of Ahab , 2 chros. eighty thousand fighting men ) had been e- as vvere fittest for her turn. Wherefore 14.4.

by the policy of the Philistims.

nough to have driven away far greater for- fhe thought it unscasonable to make much ces than these enemies are likely to have a-dce about a thing of nothing, and offend brought into the field, had not the people the peoples eyes, with a ftately funeral of been unable to deal with them, for lack of a man by them detefted: but rather chose weapons, which were now kept from them to let the blame of things patied be laid upby their Princes jealousie, as in Saul's time on the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her felf and hers, which it now did con-It may feem that the house of the King cern her to avoid. Such is the quality of which these invaders took, was not his Palace vvicked instigators, having made greedy in ferusalem, but rather some other house of use of bad imployments, to charge, not only his abroad in the Country, where his wives vith his own vices, but with their faults aland children at that time lay for their recre- fo, the man vvhose evil inclinations their finiation: because we read not that they did ster counsels have made worse, vohen once fack the City, or spoil the Temple, which he is gone, and can profit them no longer. would have invited them as a more commo- The death of Jehoram fell out indeed in a budious booty, had they got possession thereof. sie time; when his friend and cousin the Isra-Yet perhaps they took Jerusalem it self by elite, who had the same name, was entangled surprize, the people being disarmed, and the in a difficult War against the Aramite; and Kings guard too weak to keep them out; yet therefore could have no better leafure to had not the courage to hold it, because it help Athalia, in setting of things according to her own mind, than he had (perhaps Coulin the Ifraelite against Rameth Gilead. through the same hinderance) to help her which they wan, but not without blows; for the stiffance of the men of Juda, for the ta- which escaped not unwounded. king in of Kamoth Gilead, where they had The Town being won, was manned

they were very fairly intreated. thought good to handle the more particu-with more quiet he might attend the curing larly (purfuing the examination of all occur-of his wounds; and Abazia returned to Jerences as far as the circumstances remembred |rusalem.It seems that he was but newly come in holy Scripture would guide me by their home (for he reigned in all feantly eneyear, directions ) to the end that it might more whereof the former expedition, with the plainly appear, how the corrupted affections preparations for it, had taken up a great of men, impugning the revealed will of God, part) when he did make a new journey, as it accomplish nevertheless his hidden purpose, were for good manners sake to visit the King and without miraculous means, confound of Israel, who lay fore of his wounds. Belike themselves in the sceming-wise devices of Athalia was brewing some new plots, which their own folly: as likewise to the end that his presence would have hindered, and all men might learn to fubmit their judge- therefore fought every occasion to thrust ments to the ordinance of God, rather than him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vain to think, that they may fafely dispense with piece of work so to leave his kingdom, hahis commandements, and follow the prudent ving no other business than by way of comconceits which worldly wisdom distateth plement to go see one whom he had seen yeunto them. For in such kind of unhappy subtilities, it is manifest that \*athalia\* was able to ved at this time to put in execution that heafurnith both her Husband and her Son; but vy judgement, which he had laid by the the islue of them partly hath appeared al- mouth of Elias the Prophet upon the house ready, and partly will appear, in that which of Ahab. And hereupon at this time had he immediatly followeth.

the King of Ifrael.

in the twelfth year of Jehoram the son of der and examine. Abab King of Ifrael, and reigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficulty than importance to know it: vet hath it bred much disputation, whereof How Ahazia perished with the house of Ahab: I fee no more probable conclusion than that of Torniellus, alledging the Edition of the Septuagint at Rome, Anno Domini 1588.

The whole Army of Ifrael, with all the which faith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Anlead, a Disciple of Elizem the Prophet came Septuagint at Rome, Anno Domini 1588. notations thereupon, which cite other Co- in among the Captains that were fitting topies, that do give him two years more. Like gether; who calling out among them Jehn, enough he is to have been young: for he was a principal man, took him apart, and anointgoverned by his Mother, and her Ministers, ed him King over Israel, rehearing unto him who gave him counsel, by which he perished. the Prophecy of Elias against the house of In matter of Religion he altered none of his Ahab, and letting him understand that it was fathers courses. In matter of State he like- the pleasure of God to make him executiowife upheld the league made with the house ner of that sentence. The fashion of the Mefof Ahab. He was much bussed in doing little, senger was such as bred in the Captains a de-

husband, when he was diffrested by the Thi- the Aramtes fought fo well, that the King of lition: Yea, rather he needed and craved Ifrael was fain to adventure his own perion.

not sped so well the last time, that they strengly, in expectation of some attempt should willingly run thither again, unless likely to be made by HazaelKing of Aram: which done, Jekoram King of Ifrael with-The acts of this wicked man I have drew himself to the City of Jezrael, where disposed not onely the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might feem to have been accidental, but the very thoughts and affections of fuch persons, as intended §. V. and affections of fuch persons, as intended of the reign of Ahazia, and his business with nothing less than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these Athalia doubtless was one; whose mischievous purposes it will Chazias, or Akazia, the son of Jehoram shortly be needful, for explanation of some and Athalia, began his reign over Juda, difficulties arising, that we diligently considerable to the constant of the consta

and kow that Family was destroyed by Jehu.

and that with ill success. He accompanied his fire to know the errand, which Jehn thought

CHAP: XIX. meet to let them know, as doubting wheel tidings were brought in, that the watchman When he had acquainted them vvith the coming. These news were not very troubleperform it.

than Gods. visit the King.

now the prophecy of Elias might be forgot- but that he was arrefted by a Wound, which ten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an held him till death did seize upon him. unlikely tale by them that beheld the maje-

which was already atchieved, and the Queen-mother dreffing her felf in the bravest manner to some down amongst them; Apoplithegme that should express her brave

ther they had over-heard all the talk or no. had from a Tower discovered a company vyhole matter, they made no delay, but some for the Army that lay in Ramoth Gileforthwith proclaimed him King. For the ad, to be ready against all attempts of the Prophecy of Elias vvas vveil known among Aramites, was likely enough to be discharthem, neither durft any one oppose himself ged upon some notice taken that the enemy against him, that was by God ordained to would not, or could not stir. Onely the King fent out an Horse-man to know what the Telm, who had upon the fudden this great matter was, and to bring him word. The mefhonour thrown upon him, vvas not flow to fenger coming to Jehn, and asking whether put himself in pottession of it, but used the all were well, was retained by him, who infirst heat of their affections, vvho joyned tended to give the King as little warning as with him, in fetting on foot the buliness might be. The feeming negligence of this which nearly concerned him, and was not fellow in not returning with an answer, tobe fore-flowed, being no more his own might argue the matter to be of small importance : yet the King to be fatisfied, fent out The first care vvas that no news of the re- another that should bring him vvord how volt might be carried to Jezreel, vvhereby all vvent; and he vvas likewise detained by the King might have had vvarning either to Jehn. These dumb shews bred some suspicion fight or fleeithis being foreseen, he marched in Jeboram, vvhom the Watchman certified fwiftly away, to take the Court vvhile it vvas of all that happened. And now the company yet fecure. King Jehoram vvas now fo vvell drew fo near, that they might, though not recovered of his Wounds, that he could en- perfectly, be discerned, and notice taken of dure to ride abroad, for vyhich cause it Jehn himself by the surious manner of his feems that there vvas much tealting, and joy marching. Wherefore the King that vvas made, especially by Queen Jezabel, who kept loth to discover any vveaknes, caused his her state so well, that the brethren of Abazia Chariot to be made ready, and issued forth coming thither at this time, did make it as with Abazia King of Juda in his company, well their errand to falute the Queen, as to whose presence added majesty to his train, when strength to relist, or expedition to flee. Certain it is, that fince the rebellion of had been more needful. This could not be Mosh against If-sel, the house of Abab did done so hastily, but that Jehn was come even never formuch flourish as at this time. Seventy to the towns end, and there they mer each Princes of the bloud Royal there were that other in the field of Naboth. Jehorani began lived in Samaria; Jehoram the son of Queen to salute Jehu with terms of peace, but re-Jezabel had won Ramoth Gilead, which his ceiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him, Father had attempted in vain, with loss of so that crying out upon the treason to his his life; and he won it by valiant fight, where-in he received wounds, of which the danger But Jehn foon overtook him with an arrow, was now paft, but the honour likely to con-wherewith he ftruck him dead, and threw tinue. The amity was fo great between Ifrael his carkafs into that field, which, purchased and Juda, that it might suffice to daunt all with the bloud of the rightful owner, was to their common enemies, leaving no hope of be watered with the bloud of the unjust fucces to any rebellious enterprizer; so that possessor. Neither did Abazia escape so well,

The Kings Palace was joyning to the flical face of the Court, wherein fo great a wall, by the gate of the City, where fexabel ritend as the King of Juda was entertained, and forty Princes of his blood expected. In the middest of this security, whilest Now it was high time for her to call to God these great Estates were (perhaps) either for mercy, whose judgment, pronounced aconsulting about profecution of their in- gainft her long before, had overtaken her, tents, first against the Aramites, and then a- when she least expected it. But she full of ingainst Moal, Edom, and other rebels and ene- dignation and proud thoughts, made her felf mics: or elfe were triumphing in joy of that ready in all hafte, and painted her face, ho-

CHAP. XXI.

might make him odious for ever. Little did in the eyes of men; of men that confidered the think upon the hungry dogs that were not the judgments of God that had been deordained to devour her, whose paunches the nounced against her. fibium, with which the beforeared her eyes, So perithed this accurled woman by the would more offend, than the foolding lan-rude hands of her own fervants, at the comcourse wherewith the armed her tongue mandment of her greatest enemy, that was could trouble the ears of him that had her yesterday her subject, but now her Lord; and in his power. As John drew near, the opened the perithed milerably, ftrugling in vain with her window, and looking out upon him, be- base grooms, who contumeliously did hale gan to put him in mind of Zimri, that had not and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemy long enjoyed the fruits of his treason, and sate on horse-back, adding indignity to her murther of the King his Master. This was in grief by scornful beholding the shameful meer humane valuation froutly spoken, but manner of her fall, and trampling her body was indeed a part of miserable folly; as are under foot. Her dead carkass that was left all things, howfoever laudable, if they have without the Walls, was devoured by dogs, an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her own and her very memory vvas odious. Thus the Eunuchs that frood by and heard her, were vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatry, not affected fo much as with any compassion murther, and oppression, with slow, but sure of her fortune; nach less was her enemy payment, and full interest. daunted with her proud ipirit. When Jehn Ahazia King of Juda fleeing a-pace from faw that the did use the little remainder of Jehn, was overtaken by the way where he her life in seeking to vex him, he made her lurked; and receiving his deadly Wound prefently to understand her own estate, by in the Kingdom of Samaria, was suffered to deeds and not by words. He only called to get him gone (which he did in all hafte) and her fervants to know which of them would leek his burial in his own Kingdom: and this be on his fide, and foon found them ready to favour he obtained for his Grand-fathers offer their fervice before the very face of fake, not for his Fathers nor his own. He died their proud Lady. Hereupon he commanded at Megiddo, and was thence carried to Jeruthem to calt her down head-long: which im- falem, where he was enterred with his Ancemediately they performed, without all re- stors, having reigned about one year. gard of her greatness and citate, wherein she

foiring and brand him with fuch a repreach as had a few hours before shined so gloriously



#### CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia; and whose son he was that succeeded her.

§. I.
Of Athalia's usurping the Kingdom, and what pretences she might forge.

Athalia upon the death of her they faw or heard.

fon have given occation to divers opinions

Yet ambition, how violent foever it be, is concerning the Pedigree of Joas, who reign-feldom or never fo shameless as to refuse the ed shortly after. For Athalia being thus dis-commodity of goodly pretences offering poiled of her son under whose name she had themselves; but rather scrapes together all ruled at her pleasure, did forthwith lay hold that will any way serve to colour her proupon all the Princes of the blood, and flew ceedings. Wherefore it were not abfurd for them, that fo the might occupy the Royal us to think, that Athalia, when the faw the Throne her felf, and reign as Queen, rather Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a than live a Subject. She had before-hand put manner, flain by her hufband, and afterwards into great place, and made Counsellors unto his own children destroyed by the Philistims.

Fter the death of Ahazia, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great faid that his house was not able execution done by Jehoram, upon the Printo retain the Kingdom: which ces, and many of the Nobility, had made the Note, and the proceedings of people tame, and fearful to ftir, whatfoever

her fon, such as were fittest for her purpose, and ready at all times to execute her will: ducing by artificial practice, into fair likelithat she kept a strong guard about her, it is hoods, those possibilities wherewith her hus-

hands bad fortune had prefented her. Not, vyomen yyas young and unable to relift. We without great flew of reason, either by her plainly find that the Brethren or Nephews own mouth, or by some trusty creature of hers of Ahazia, to the number of two and forty: might she give him to understand, how need- vvere sent to the Court of Ifrael, only to saful it were to take the best order whilst as yet lute the children of the King, and the chilhe might, for fear of the worst that might dren of the Queen. The flender occasion happen. If the iffue of *David*, which now remained only in his family, should by any acci-ther viith the quality of these persons (bedent fail (as wofull experience had already ing in effect all the stock of Tekoram that the wed what might after come to pass) the could be grown to any strength ) makes it people of Juda were not unlikely to choose a very suspicious, that their entertainment King of some new stock, a popular seditious in jezabels house would onely have been man peradventure, one that to countenance more formall, but little differing in subhis own unworthiness, would not care what stance, from that which they found at the afpersions he laid upon that Royal house, hand of Jehn. He that looks into the courwhich was fallen down. And who could affure less held both before and after by thefe two him, that fome ambitious spirit, fore-feeing Queens, will find cause enough to think what might be gotten thereby, did not alrea- no lefs. Of fuch as have afoired unto Lorddy contrive the destruction of him, and all his ships not belonging to them, and thrust feed? Wherefore it were the wifest way to out the right Heirs by pretence of Testadefign by his authority, not only his successor, ments, that had no other validity than the but also the reversioner, and so to provide, sword of such as claimed by them could give, that the Crown might never be subject to any Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford rifling, but remain in the disposition of them plentiful examples: and the rule of Salocould not retain it.

Such perswasions being urged, and ear- a King might shed his brothers blood, was neftly followed by the importunate follicita- proved by Salomon upon Adonia; that he tion of her that governed his affections, were might alien the Crown from his natural able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that Heirs, David had given proof; but these had the onely way to frustrate all devices of such, good ground of their doings. They which to uphold the first and eldest.

happen, whilest her husbands issue by other seeming security.

that loved him belt, if the worst that might mon is true: Is there any thing whereof one be feared comming to pals, his own posterity may (ay, Behold, this is new? It hath been al- Eccles, 13 ready in the old time that was before us. That

as gaped after a change, was to make her heir follow examples that please them, will negthe last and youngest of his house, whom it lest the reasons of those examples, if they most concerned, as being the QueenMother, please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willing by shewing what If Athalia took no such course as this in her they may doe, than acknowledging why Sahusbands time, yet might she do it in her sons. lomon slew his brother that had begun one com. 12. For Ahazia (befides that he was wholly ruled rebellion, and was entring into another. Je- 13: by his mother ) vvas not likely to take much horam flew all his brethren, which were better care for the security of his half-brethren, or than he: David purchased the Kingdom and their children; as accounting his Fathers o- might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disther wives, in respect of his own-born-Mo- posed of it as the Lord appointed: if Jehother, little better than Concubines, and their ram, who had lost much and gotten nothing, children basely begotten. But if this mischie- thought that he might alien the remainder vous woman forgat her felf so far in her wick- at his pleasure; or if Abazia sought to cut off ed policy, that the loft all opportunity which the fuccession of his brethren, or of their the vycakness of her husband and son did af- issue; either of these was to be answered ford of procuring unto her felf some seeming with the words which Jehojada the Priest u-Title; yet could the afterwards feign fome fed afterwards, in declaring the title of Joafts: fuch matter, as boldly she might: being sure Echold, the Kings son must reign; as the Lord that none vould ask to see her evidence, bath said of the son of David. Wherefore for fear of being fent to learn the certainty though I hold it very probable, that Athalia of her son or husband in another World. did pretend some title, whatsoever it might But I rather think that she took order for be, to the Crown of Juda; yet it is most cerher affairs before-hand. For though the tain that the had thereunto no right at all, had no reason to suspect or sear the sudden but only got it by treachery, murder, and death of her fon, yet it was the wifest yvay open violence, and so she held it six whole to provide betimes against all that might years, and a part of the seventh, in good

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CHAP. XXI.

. could not molest Athalia.

likely to defire being an enemy to her whole the means of holding it. House. But he was occupied at the first in This ingratitude of Jehn drew terrible venestablishing himself, rooting out the poster grance of God upon Israel, whereof Hazael rity of Abab, and reforming somewhat in King of Damascus was the executioner. The Religion: afterwards in wars against the cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may find monuments of that impicty.

ferve; he would needs help to piece out Gods reposed all their confidence. providence with his own circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by frealing a needless Card to affure himfelf of vyinning a frake forfeits his whole test. He had questionless displeased many, by that which he did against Baal; and many more he thould oftend by taking from them

was that Idolatry of Jeroboam. Yet all thefe, how many foever they were, had never How John front his time in Ifract, fo that he once thought upon making him King, if God. whom (to retain them) he now forfook. had not given him the Crown, when more IN all this time Ichu did never goe about difficulties appeared in the way of getting to diffurb her; which in reason he was it, than could at any time after be found in

Aramites, wherein he was fo far overcharg- in the Prophecy of Elizeus, who fore-told it, ed . that hardly he could retain his own, faying: Their strong Cities shalt thou fet on : King 3. much less attempt upon others. Of the line fire; and their young men fialt thou flay with so of Abab there were seventy living in S. m.z. the fword, and fialt dall their Infants against ria, out of which number John by letter ad-the slower, and final table their momen with vised the Citizens to set up some one as child. So did not only the wickedness of A-King, and to prepare themselves to fight in bab cause the ruine of his whole house, but his defence. Hereby might they gather how the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a confident he was; which they well under-lamentable mifery upon all the Land. For frood to proceed from greater power about the fury of Hazaels victory was not quenchhim, than they could gather to refult him. ed with the destruction of a few towns, nor Wherefore they took example by the two wearied with one invalion; but he smote Kings whom he had flain, and being excee- them in all the coaft of Ifrael, and wasted all dingly afraid of him, they offered him their the Country beyond the River of Jordan. : Rivers fervice; wherein they to readily shewed Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems 34 themselves obedient, that in less than one that the people repented not of their Idodaies warning, they fent him the heads of all latry; (For in thefe daies the Lord began to those Princes, as they were enjoyned by a loath Ifrael;) but rather it is likely, that they second letter from him. After this he surpri- bemoaned the noble house of Ahab, under zed all the Priefts of Baal by a fubtilty, feig- which they had beaten those enemies to ning a great facrifice to their god, by which whom they were now a prey, & had bravemeans he drew them all together into one ly fought for the conquest of Syria, where Temple, where he flew them: and in the they had enlarged their border, by winning fame zeal to God utterly demolished all the Ramoth Gilead, and compelled Benhadad to restore the Cities which his Father had won: Concerning the Idolatry devised by Je- whereas now they were fain to make woful roboam, no King of Ifrael had ever greater shifts, living under a Lord that had better reason than leby to deltroy it. For he needed, fortune and courage in murdering his master not to fear left the people should be allured that had put him in trust, than in defending unto the house of David; it vvas (in appea- his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it rance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of commonly falls out, that they who can find Juda in the polletion of a cruel Tyrannels: all manner of difficulties in ferving him, to he had received his kingdom by the unex- whom nothing is difficult, are in fread of the pected grace of God; and further in regard ease & the pleasure to themselves propoun-of his zeal expressed in destroying Baal out ded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with of Ifrael, he was promifed notwithstanding the troubles which they sought to avoid; his following the in of Jeroboam, that the and therein by God, whom they first forsook, kingdom should remain in his Family to the forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours fourth Generation. But all this would not of their own blind wildom, wherein they had

#### 6. III. Of Athaliah's Government.

Hele calamities falling upon Ifrael, kept Athalia fafe on that fide giving her leithe use of superstation, so long practised as sure to look to things at home: as having

like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorman micked Athalia and her children brake up the out, when his body was missing; nor any tracted for his fake.

For the poverty of that facred Tribe of Levi the thanks due to their joyful tidings. must needs have been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly loft, the oblations and other perquifites, by which they lived, being now very few and fmall; and the ftore, laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shameful robbery. Yet God, and the daily facrifice keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Pricft, no less than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was far better.

## §. IV. of the preservation of Joas.

little to do abroad, unless it were fo that the | her to be fuch as the was. By her care Josib held some correspondency with Hazael, pre- the young Prince that reigned soon after. tending therein to imitate her Husbands was conveighed out of the nursery, when 4-Grand-father King Afa, who had done the thalia destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried fecretly into the Temple, where as fecretly he was brought up. How it came ded of her doings. For we find, that this to pass that this young child was not hunted kome of God, and all things that were dedicate great reckoning (for ought that we find ) for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon made of his escape, I will not stand to exam-Baalini. Such a facriledge, though it pro- ine: for it was not good in policy, that the ceeded from a defire to let out her own Ido- people should hear fay, that one of the childlatry, with such pomp as might make it the ren had avoyded that cruel blow; it might more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not have made them hearken after innovations likely to want some fair pretext of necessity and so be the less conformable to their preof the State fo requiring: in which case o- sent government. So Joash was delivered out thers before her had made bold with that of that flaughter, he and his nurse being holy place, and her next successour was fain gone no man could tell whither, and might to do the like, being thereunto forced by be thought peradventure to be cast away, Hazael, who perhaps was delighted with the as having no other guard than a poor Wotalte of that which was formerly thence ex- man that gave him fuck, who foolifhly doubting that the her felf thould have been Under this impious government of Athalia, flain, was fled away with him into some dethe devotion of the Priests and Levites was solate place, where it was like enough that very notable, and ferved (no doubt) very the and he should perish. In such cases flattemuch to retain the people in the Religion rers, or men defirous of reward, eafily coin taught by God himself, howsoever the such tales, and rather swear them to be true Queens proceedings advanced the contrary. in their own knowledge, than they will lose

they up-held in all this mifery the service of Whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the Son of Ahazia.

Ow concerning this Joafh, whose fon he was, it is a thing of much difficulty to affirm, and hath caused much controversie among Writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the fon of Ahazia, feem plain 2 King. 12 enough. How any figure of the Hebrew through, language might give title of Son unto him. [Ebojada then occupied the high Priest- in regard that he was his Successiour, I hood, an honourable, wife, and religi- neither by my felf can find, nor can by any ous man. To his carefulness it may be as- help of Authors learn how to answer the cribed, that the state of the Church was in difficulties appearing in the contrary opinifome flender fort up-held in those unhappy one of them, that think him to have been, times. His Wife was Jehoshabeth, who was or not, the natural fon of Ahaziah. For daughter of King Fehoram, and fifter to Aha- whereas it is faid, that the house of Ahazia 2 Chro. 22; zia, a godly Lady and vertuous, whose piety was not able to retain the Kingdome; some 9. makes it feem that Athalia was not her Mo- do inferre that this Joash was not properly ther, though her access to the Court argue called his son, but was the next of his kindthe contrary: but her discreet carriage red, and therefore succeeded him, as son might more easily procure her welcome to in the inheritance of his Father. And hereher own Fathers house, than the education unto the murder committed by Athalia, under such a Mother could have permitted doth very well agree. For she perceiving that

the Mothers to their Children. ten requireth it, yea, when all humane poliwithout reason would have perswaded.

# ||. II. That Joas did not descend from Nathan.

in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise been ) the pedigree of this Joash is, by them which think him not the fon of Abazia, fet down in fuch fort, that it may very justly be suspected, thought upon, me thinks it were not amis They say, that he descended from Nathan to open at once, and peruse together two whence) of two Families of the race of Da- Saphat King of Juda, for which he and his vid, faying, that the line of salomon held the children perished, rehearseth it as one of Kingdom with this condition, that if at any Gods mercies towards the house of David, time it failed, the Family of Nathan should that according to his promise he would give fucceed it. Concerning this Nathan the fon him a light, and to his children for ever: the of David, there are that would have him to other doth fay, that for the offences of the be Nathan the Prophet, who, as they think, same Jehoram, there was not a son left him, R & 27008. 3. of David, by Bathfua the daughter of Ammes, and Arabians upon the children of Jehoram, and therefore could not be the Prophet. one of the feed of David escaped; why may

mothers to their Nephews, is little less than not our bleffed Saviour iffued from the loins of David, according to the flesh, but had on-This argument is very strong. For it may ly been of his line by courtesie of the Natifeem incredible, that all natural affection on, and form of law, as any other might have should be cast aside, when as neither necessi- been. As for the authority of Philo, which ty urgeth, nor any commodity thereby got- hath drawn many late Writers into the opinion that Foash was not of the posterity of cy doth teach one the same, which nature Salomon, it is enough to say, that this was Frier Annius his Philo: for no other edition of Phile, hath any fuch matter; but Annius can make Authors to speak what he lift.

### Dut (as it is more casic to find a difficulty That Joas may probably be thought to have been the fon of Jehoram.

IN so doubtful a case, if it seem lawful to hold an opinion that no man hath yet the fon of David, and not from Salomon: to places of Scripture, whereof the one telling which purpose they bring a History (I know the wickedness of Jehoram the son of Jeho-19. was by David adopted. And of this opinion fave Jehoahas the youngest of his sons. Now was Origen, as also S. Augustine sometime was, if it were in regard of Gods promise to Dabut afterward he revoked it, as was meet; vid, that after those massacres of Jehoram for this Nathan is reckoned among the fons upon all his brethren, and of the Philiftims

ferved? for had all the race of Salomon been fudden, at his eighteenth year, become unrooted up in these woful Tragedies, and the fruitful, and beget no more in twenty years progeny of Nathan succeeded in place there- following: each of which must have bin true, of; like enough it is that some remembrance if this were true that Ahazia was the same more particular would have been extant, of Jehoahas which was his youngest son. But an event so memorable. That the race of Na- this inconvenience is taken away, and those than was not extinguished, it is indeed appa- other doubts arising from the causes cruelrent by the Genealegie of our Lord, asit is ty of Athalia, in fecking the life of Joss are recounted by S. Luke: but the prefervation easily cleared, if foas and tehoahas were one. of the house of David, mentioned in the Neither doth his age withstand this opinion; ed in the person of Jebeahas, in whom the reign; which if we understand of years com-Royal branch of Salomon, the natural, and pleat, he might have been a year old at the not only legal iffue remaining of David, was death of Jehorum, being begotten somewhat kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought after the beginning of his fickness. Neither that this Joash, who followed Athalia in the is it more absurd to say that he was the na-Kingdom, was the youngest son of Jehoram, tural son of Jehoram, though called the son whose life Athalia, as a step-dame, was not of Ahazia, than it were to say, as great Aulikely to pursue. For it were not easily un- thors have done, this difficulty notwithstandderflood, why the preservation of Davids ing, that he was of the posterity of Nathan. line, by Godsespecial mercy, in regard of One thing indeed I know not how to anhis promite made, should pertain rather to swer; which, had it concurred with the rest, 1605, to that time, when befides Ahazia himfelf, there might have ferved as the foundation of this were two and forty of his brethren, or (as opinion. The name of Jeboahas, that found-in another place they are called) fons of his eth much more near to Joss, than to Abaziah, brethren remaining alive, which afterwards in an English ear, doth in the Hebren (as I were all flain by Jehu; than have reference am informed by some, skilful in that lanto the lamentable destruction and little less guage) through the diversity of certain letthan extirpation of that progeny, wherein ters, differ much from that which it most re-15/mesi one onely did escape. Certainly that inhur sembleth in our Western manner of writing, mane murther which Jehoram committed and little from the other. Now, although upon his brethren, if it were ( as appeareth it be so that Abazia himself be also called Jehoram and all his children, onely Jehoahas der of this point. his youngest son was exempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with Joas, which is called the fon of Ahazia, I should not want good probability. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which Upon what reasons Athalia might seek to dedoth argue that it could no otherwise have been. For it was the youngest fon of Jehoram in whom the race was preferved; which F therefore we shall follow that which is could not in any likelihood be Ahazia, seeing | commonly received, and interpret the that he was twenty years old at the least (as text according to the letter, it may be faid, is already noted ) when he began to reign, that Athalia was not only blinded by the and confequently, was born in the eigh- passions of ambition and zeal to her Idolateenth or twentieth year of his Fathers age. trous vvorship of Baalim, but pursued the ac-Now I know not whether of the two is more complishment of some unnatural desires, in unlikely, either that Jehoram should have seeking the destruction of her grand-child,

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ir not be thought that he was faid to have teen years old, or that having (ashe had) recaped, in whom the line of David was pre- many wives and children, he should upon the Books of Kings and Chronicles, was perform- For he was feven years old when he began to 2 Chron. 13 in the History) revenged upon his own chil- Azaria, and must have had three names, if dren; then was not this vengeance of God he were the same with Jehoahas; in which 2 chren 23 accomplished by the Philistims and Arabi-manner Joss might also have had several s. ans, but being only begun by them, was after- names; yet, because I find no other warrant wards profecuted by Jehn, and finally took hereof than a bare possibility, I will not effect by the hands of that same wicked wo- presume to build an opinion upon the weak man, at whose instigation he had committed foundation of mine own conjecture, but fuch barbarous outrage. And from this exe- leave all to the confideration of fuch as have cution of Gods heavy judgment laid upon more ability to judge, and leisure to consi-

#### ||. 1V.

ftroy Joas, if he were her own Grandchild.

begotten many children before he was eigh- and the rest of the bloud Royal. For whe-

cies, wherein Jezabel had cunning enough perverted by vain additions. to be his Tutoress. But when the sword of But this History of the Kings of Ifrael and Jehu had rudely cut in funder all these fine Juda hath herein a singular prerogative adevices, then was Athalia fain to go round- bove all that have been written by the most ly to work, and do as the did, whereby the fufficient of meerly humane Authors: it fetthought to make all fure. otherwife, if (as I teth down exprelly the true, and first causes could rather think) she were only stepdame of all that happened; not in imputing the to Joas, we need not feck into the reasons death of Abab to his over-frowardness in moving her to take away his life; her own battel; the ruine of his Family, to the secuhatred was cause enough to dispatch him a- rity of Jehoram in Jezreel; not the Victories mong the first.

of uling conjecture in Histories.

ther it were so that Athalia (as proud and cribe the ill success of great undertakings to cruel Women are not alwayes chast) had the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof imitated the liberty of Jezabel her fifter in indeedGod abhorred the performance as velaw, whose Whoredoms were upbraided by hemently, 'as they thought him to be highly Tehu to her fon; or whether she had child- offended with the omission. Hereat we may ren by some former husband, before she was the less vvonder, if vve consider the answer 2 Ning 2 married unto gehoram (which is not unlike- made by the Jewes in Egypt unto Jeremy the ly, in regard of her age, who was daughter Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For of Omri, and fifter to Ahab) certain it is that howfoever the veritten Law of God veas the had fons of her own, and those old e- known unto the people, and his punishments nough to be employed, as they were, in rob- laid upon them for contempt thereof vvere bing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be very terrible, and even then but newly exewondred at , that to fettle the Crown upon cuted; yet vvere they fo obstinately bent unher own children, she did seek to cut off, by to their Wils, that they would not by any wicked policy, all other claims. As for Joas, means be drawn to acknowledge the true if the were his Grand-mother, yet the might cause of their affliction, But they told the mistrust the interest which his mother would Prophet roundly, that they would worship have in him, lest when he came to years, it the Queen of heaven, as they and their Famight draw him from her devotion. And thers, their Kings and their Princes had used hereof (besides that Women do commonly better love their daughters Husbands, than their tons Wives) there is some appearance ding, that all manner of miseries were bessale in 17, 18. in the reign of her fon; for the made him them, fince they left off that fervice of the spend all his time in idle journeys, to no o- Queen of Heaven. So blind is the wisedome of ther apparent end, than that she might rule man, in looking into the counsel of God, at home; and he living abroad be estranged which to find out, there is no better nor ofrom his Wife, and entertain some new fan- ther guide than his own written Will not

of Hazael, to the great commotions raised in Ifrael by the comming of Jehu; but referring all unto the Will of God, I mean, to his revealed Will, from which that his hidden A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty purposes do not vary, this Story, by many great examples, gives most notable proof. True it is, that the concurrence of fecond Hus much concerning the person of causes with their effects, is in these Books Joas, from whom, as from a new root, nothing largely described; nor perhaps exthe tree of David was propagated into many actly in any of those Histories that are in branches. In handling of which matter, the these points most copious. For it was well more I consider the nature of this History, noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir Phiand the diversity between it and others, the lip Sidny, that Historians do borrow of Sid in his less me thinks I need to suspect mine own Poets, not only much of their Ornament, Apol. for prefumption, as deserving blame, for curio- but somewhat of their substance. Informa- Poetry. fity in matter of doubt, or boldness in liberty tions are often false, records not always true, of conjecture. For all Histories do give us in- and notorious actions commonly insufficiformation of humane counsels and events, as ent to discover the passions which do set far forth as the knowledge and faith of them first on foot. Wherefore they are fain the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by the Writers can afford; but of Gods Will, by the Writers and in that which is alwed; for to take out of Livy every one circulty at random, and many times fally. This cumfance of Claudius his journey againft we often find in profane Writers, vwho alCHAP. XXI. Historical, nor Poetical) to search into the deed from such petty trifles, as no Historian particular humour of Princes, and of those would either think upon, or could well which have governed their affections, or fearch out. the inftruments by which they wrought; Therefore it was a good answer that sixfrom whence they do collect the most like tus Quintus the Pope, made to a certain ly motives or impediments of every buli- Frier, coming to visit him in his Popedom, as ness; and so figuring as near to the life as having long before in his meaner estate, been they can imagine, the matter in hand, they his familiar friend. This poor Frier, being judiciously consider the desects in counsel, emboldened by the Pope to use his old li-

or obliquity in proceeding.

to give assurance, howsoever it may give ia- for his Holines, whom he rather took for a tislaction. For the heart of man is unlearch direct honest man, than any cunning Politiable: and Princes, howfoever their intents tian, to attain unto the Papacy; in compafbeseldom hidden from some of those many sing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of eyes which pry both into them, and into fuch the most crafty brains, find work enough: as live about them; yet fometimes either and therefore the more I think upon the by their own close temper, or by some sub- Art of the Conclave, and your unaptness ul mists, they conceal the truth from all rethereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope ports. Yea, many times the affections Sixtus to fatisfie the plain dealing Frier, themselves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, dealt with him again as plainly, saying, Hadst when the preparations which they begat, thou lived abroad as I have done, and feen are converted to another use. The indu- by what folly this world is governed, thou firy of an Historian, having so many things wouldest wonder at nothing. to weary it, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, orbitant Engines, by which the course of it forbeareth to make further learch; affairs is moved, the Pope faid true. For though it often fall out, where fundry oc- the wiscft of men are not without their casions work to the same end, that one small vanities, which requiring and finding mumatter in a weak mind is more effectual, tual toleration, work more closely, and than many that feem far greater. So comes earnestly, than right reason either needs or it many times to pass, that great fires, which can. But if we lift up our thoughts to consume whole houses or towns, begin with that supreme Governour, of whose Empire a few straws, that are wasted or not seen; all that is true, which by the Poet was said when the flame is discovered, having fasten- of Jupiter. ed upon some Wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionless it is, that the War commenced by Darius, and purfued by Xerxes against the Greeks, proceeded from defire of the Tersians to inlarge their Empire: howfoever the enterprize of the Athenians upon Sardes, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrel; yet Herodotus telleth us, that the wanton desire of Queen Atoffa, to have the Grecian dames her bond-women, did first move Darius to prepare for this War before he had received How.l.i. any injury, and when he did not yet fo much defire to get more, as to enjoy what was al-

Herodotus be more justly reprehended by feth to his own honour; He neither deceifome, or defended by others, for alledging veth nor can be deceived, but continuing the vain appetite, and secret speech of the one and the same for ever, doth constantly Queen in bed with her Husband, as the governall creatures by that Law, which he cause of those great evils following; this I hath prescribed, and will never alter. The may boldly affirm (having, I think, in every vanities of men beguile their vain contriestate some sufficient witness) that matters vers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the

nels, or any practice of that kind, is neither ing upon substantial reasons, have issued in-

berty of speech, adventured to tell him, that Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough he very much wondred how it was possible

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat Ventosum, & urbes, regnaque triftia, Divosque mortalesque turmas, Imperio regit unus equo.

Who rules the duller Earth, the Windfwoln ftreams.

The civil Cities, and th' infernal Realms, Who th' Host of Heaven, and the mortal Band.

Alone doth govern by his just command.

Then shall we find the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change; I will not here stand to argue whether he foreseeth all things, and all things dispoof much confequence, founded in all feem- way leading to their destruction: yea, this

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broad and headlong passage to hell is not so strate and make good in humane reason. delightful as it feems at the first entrance, those things which authority alone, withbut hath growing in it, besides the poysons out further circumstance, ought to have which intect the foul, many cruel thorns confirmed in every mans belief. And this deeply wounding the body; all which if may fuffice in defence of the liberty which any few escape, they have onely this misera- I have used in conjectures, and may hereble advantage of others, that their descent after use when occasion shall require, as was the more swift and expedite. But the neither unlawful, nor mif-befeeming an Hifervice of God is the path guiding us to per- storian. feet happiness, and hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeilding such abundance of joy to the conscience as doth easily countervail all afflictions what foevers though indeed those brambles that sometimes tear the skin of such as walk in this blesled way, do commonly lay hold upon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, and longer worn the Crown of Juda, make them wish themselves at their journeys and had found neither any forreign eneend, in the presence of their Lord whom my, nor domestical adversary to disturb they faithfully ferve, in whose presence is the her possession, suddenly the period of her fulness of joy, and at whose right hand are plea- glory, and reward of her wickedness meet-

all History, to teach by example of times For the growth of the young Prince bepast, such Wisdom as may guide our desires gan to be such, as permitted him no longer and actions, we should not marvel though to be concealed, and it had been very the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Isra- unfitting that his education should be simel, being written by men inspired with the ple, to make him seem the child of some Spirit of God, infiruct us chiefly, in that poor man (as for his fafety it was required which is most requisite for us to know; as lite) when his capacity required to have the means to attain unto true felicity, both been indued with the stomack and qualities here, and hereafter, propounding examples meet for a King. All this Jehojada the Prieft which illustrate this infallible rule, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wifdom. Had of impiety, which taking deep root in the the expedition of Xerxes (as it was fore- Court, was likely to spread it self over all told by Daniel) been written by some Pro- the Country, if care were not used to weed phet after the captivity: we may well be- it up very speedily. Wherefore he affocialieve that the counsel of God therein, and ited unto himself five of the Captains, in the executioners of his righteous Will, whose fidelity he had best assurance; and thould have occupied either the whole or having taken an oath of them, and shewed the principal room in that narration. Yet them the Kings fon, he made a Covehad not the purpose of Darius, the defire nant with them, to advance him to the Kingof his Wife, and the bufiness at Sardes, with dom. These drew in others of the principal other occurrents been the less true, though men, to countenance the action, procuring at they might have been omitted, as the less the first onely that they should repair to jematerial: but these things it had been law- rusalem, where they were further acquainted ful for any man to gather out of prophane with the whole matter. There needed not Histories, or out of circumstances other many perswasions to win them to the busiwife appearing, wherein he should not have ness: the promise of the Lord unto the house done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long of David, was enough to affure them that as he had forborn to derogate from the first the action was both lawful, and likely to causes, by ascribing to the second more than succeed as they desired. was due.

that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot ped, that with open force they should bring believe that any man of judgment will tax their purpose to good iffue; neither were me, as either fabulous or prefumptuous, the Captains, and other affociates of Jehojada For he doth not feign, that rehearfeth pro- able by close working, to draw together so babilities as bare conjectures; neither doth many trusty and serviceable hands as would he deprave the Text, that feeketh to illu- fuffice to manage the bufiness. To help in this

#### ś. VII.

#### The conspiracy against Athalia.

ing together, took her away without any Wherefore it being the end and scope of warning, by a violent and shameful death.

as due.

But in compassing their intent, some diffiSuch, or little different, is the business culties appeared: For it was not to be ho-

on the Divine service at the Temple, and town, might give some presumption. were now relieved by others that succeeded Many things argue that she little thought in their turns, that they should not depart upon her own Tragedy; although Josephus until they knew his further pleasure. So by would make it seem otherwise. For we find was enough: for if the Tyranness did not with the Princes, or great men of the Land prevail against them at the first brunt, the sale by him, and the Trumpeters proclaiming on their fide, who made head against her. Treason, Hereby it appears that she was qui-

of inevitable mischief.

and ordering all as the occasion might hap- defence. pen to require. It may be that the thought it fome especial solemnity used in the Divine fervice, which caused this much adoe; and

cale, the Priest gave order to such of the Le- hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites as had finished their courses in waiting vites, and of other devout men, about the

admitting the new comers, and not dischar- in the Text, She came to the people into the admitting admitting the new comers, and not different mittee fext, one thank to the people first the series ging the old, he had, without any noise, made bouge of the Lord (which was near to her Pa-23,13, 2, up luch a number, as would be able to deal lace) and that when she looked and saw the 1 Kingt with the Queens ordinary Guard, and that King stand by his pillar, as the manner was . 11.7 your of the People was like to shew it self him, she rent her cloaths, and cryed Treason, These Levites were placed in the inner ctly going, without any mistrust or fear, to Court of the Temple, about the person of take her place; which when she found octhe King, who as yet was kept close; the tol- cupied by another, then she began to afflict lowers of the Captains, and other adherents, her felf, as one call away, and cried out in were bestowed in the outer Courts: As for vain upon the Treason, whereby she saw that Weapons, the Temple it self had store e- she must perish. But that she came with a nough; King David had left an Armory to guard of armed men to the Temple, (as Tothe place, which was now employed in de- Jephus reporteth) and that her company being beaten back, she entred alone, and com-All things being in a readiness, and the day manded the people to kill the young Tyrant. come, wherein this high design was to be put I find no where in Scripture, neither do I in execution; Jehojada delivered unto the hold it credible. For had she truly known Captains, Armour for them and their adhe- how things went, she would surely have garents, appointed a guard unto the Kings per-thered her friends about her, and used those fon, produced him openly, and gave unto him forces in defence of her Crown, by which she the Crown; using all ceremonies accustom- gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainly, if ed in such solemnities, with great applause of it were granted, that she, like a new Semirathe people. Of these doings the Queen was mis, did march in the head of her troop, yet the last that heard any word. Which is not it had been meer madnes in her, to enter fo strange as it may feem: for insolent natures, the place alone, when her affistants were by dealing outragiously with such as bring kept out; but if she, perceiving that neither them ill tidings, do commonly lose the bene- her authority, nor their own weapons, could fit of hearing what is to be feared, whilest prevail to let in her guard, would nevertheyet it may be prevented, and have no infor- less take upon her to command the death of mation of danger, till their own eyes, amazed the new King, calling a child of feven years with the suddenness, behold it in the shape old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his de-All Jerusalem was full of the rumour, and sence, may we not think that she was mad in entertained it with the very good liking. the most extreme degree? Certain it is that Some carried home the news, others ran forth the counsel of God would have taken effect, to see, and the common joy was so great, that in her destruction, had she used the most without apprehension of peril, under the likely means to disappoint it: yet we need windows of the Court, were the people run-ning and praifing the King. Athalia hearing libilities. It is enough to fay, that the godly and beholding the extraordinary concourse, zeal of Jehojada found more easie success, and noise of folks in the streets, making to-through her indiscretion, than otherwise wards the Temple, with much unufual pafficould have been expected; so that at his on in their looks, did prefently conceive, that appointment, she was without more adoe, somewhat worthy of her care was happened; carried out of the Temple and slain, yea so, though, what it might be, she did not appre- that no bloud, save her own, was shed in hend. Howsoever it were, she meant to use that quarrel; her small train that she brought her own wildom in looking into the matter, along with her, not daring to ftand in her

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her were dead; the Kings who slew them, were and Terabel.

times, with great indignation, bewail- Syrian ( who feems to have been her good ed the rashness of her Nephew Jehoram the friend) pretended her revenge as any part Ifraelite, who did foolishly cast himself into of his quarrel to Juda. Concerning children. the very throat of danger, gaping upon him, all belonging to Jezabel perished in few onely through his eager defire of quickly dayes after her: whether athalia left any knowing what the matter meant: yet the behind her, it is uncertain; the had fons liher felt by the like bait was taken in the like ving after the was Queen, of whom, or of trap, and having lived such a life as Jezabel any other, that they were slain with her, we had done, was rewarded with a fuitable do not find. death. These two Queens were in many points much alike, each of them was Daugh-ter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of upon it. For if the children of Athalia had them ruled her Hulband; was an Idolatress been in Jerusalem when their Mother fell. and a Murdress. The onely difference ap-their death would surely have followed hers pearing in their condition, is, that Jezabel is as nearly, and been registred, as well as the more noted as incontinent of body, Athalia death of Mattan the Priest of Baal. That Law their time in fatisfying her own affections; ungracious Imps, whom the clause following the one using tyranny, as the exercise of her would have cut off, which commands, that haughty mind; the other painting her face, every man should die for his own fin. Seeing for the ornament of her unchaste body. In therefore that they had been professors and the manner of their death little difference advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worthere was, or in those things which may seem ship of Baal, yea had robbed the Temple in this world to pertain unto the dead when of the Lord, and enriched the house of Baal they are gone. Each of them was taken on with the spoil of it; likely it is, that they the fudden by Conspirators, and each of should not have escaped with life, if Jehojaved sentence from the mouth of one that his hands. As there was lawful cause enough had lived under her subjection; in executi- requiring their death, so the security of the on whercof, Jezabel was trampled under the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, feet of her enemies horses; Athalia slain at craved as much, and that very earnestly. her own horse-gate; the death of Athalia For these had been esteemed as heirs of having (though not much) the more leifure their mothers Crown, and being reckoned robber. The fervice of Baal erected by these desolate. two Queens, was destroyed as soon as they

were gone, and their Chaplains, the Priefts of that Religion flain, Herein also it came to pass, alike, as touching them both when they afterwards afflicted, both of them by the fame hand of Hazael the Syrian; in which Oft like it is that Athalia had many point Athalia had the greater honour, if the

This is a matter not unworthy of confideas ambitious: So that each of them surviving by which God forbad that the children should be the form of the state of them surviving by which God forbad that the children should be the state of the st her Husband about eight years, did spend die for the fathers, could not have saved these 16 them exclaiming upon the Treason, recei- da the Priest could have gotten them into to vex her proud heart; that of Jezabel the as her affiftants in that particular bufiness of more indignity, and shame of body. Touch- robbing the Temple, may be thought to ing their burial, Jezabel was devoured by have carried a great fway in other matters. Dogs, as the Lord had threatned by the Pro- as Princes, and fellows with their Mother phet Elias; what became of Athalia we do in the Kingdom. Therefore it is evident, not find. Like enough it is, that she was buri- that either they were now dead, or (perhaps ed, as having not persecuted and slain the following Hazael in his Wars against Jehn). Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to absent from Jerujalem; whereby Jehojada exercise their function; yet of her burial might, with the more confidence, adventure there is no monument, for the was a Church- to take Armes against their Mother, that was

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Of Joas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

> 6. I. of Joas bis doings, whileft Jehojada the Priest lived.

which continued almost forty years. During nourable Funeral seems to have been given his minority, he lived under the protection to him, at the motion of the people; it beof that honourable man Jehojada the Pricit, ing faid, They buried him in the City of David. who did as faithfully govern the Kingdom, as As for the King himfelf, who did owe to him he had before carefully preserved the Kings no less than his Crown and life, he is not likelife, and restored him unto the Throne of his ly to have been Author of it, seeing that he ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he was as easily comforted after his death, as if took by appointment of Jehojada two Wives, he had thereby been discharged of some and begat Sons and Daughters, repairing the heavy debt. For after the death of Jehojada, when the The first Act that he took in hand, when he began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needful piece of work in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the ceived from him, yea and God himfelf, the wickedness of ungodly Tyrants; and requi- Author of all goodness. These Princes drew fite it was that he should uphold the Tem- him to the worship of Idols, wherewith Jeple, whom the Temple had upheld. This bufines he followed with so earnest a zeal, that try, in fifteen or sixteen years, that thirty not only the Levites were more flack than years, or thereabout, of the reign of joas, he, but even Jehojada was fain to be quick- wherein the true Religion was exercised, ned by his admonition. Money was gather were not able to clear it from that michief. ed for the charges of the work; partly out The King himfelf, when once he was entred of the tax imposed by Moses, partly out of into these courses, ran on head-long, as one the liberality of the people 5 who gave fo that thought it a token of his liberty, to defreely, that the Temple, besides all reparati- spise the service of God; and a manifest ons, was enriched with veffels of gold and proof of his being now King indeed, that he filver; and with all other Utenfils. The fa-regarded no longer the fowre admonitions crifices likewife were offered, as under god-of devout Priefts. Hereby it appears, that his ly Kings they had been, and the service of former zeal was only counterfeited, wherein God was magnificently celebrated.

s. II.

The Death of Jehojada, and Apostasie of Joas.

of Jehojada the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty years, dyed be-

Y the death of Athalia, the whole; well deserved, having preserved the race of Country of Juda was filled with them, and restored the true Religion, which great joy and quietnes; wherein the late Princes of that house, by attempting Joss, a child of seven years old, or to cradicate, failed but a little of rooting up there-about, began his reign, themselves, and all their issue. Yet this ho-

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like an Actor upon the stage, he had striven to express much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeed religious.

§. III.

But this endured no longer than the life The causes and times of the Syrians invading

fore his Country could have spared him. He was broken was buried among the Kings of Juda, as he Bloose, gave him over into the hands of

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zael King of Aram, having taken Gath, a gotten goods are wont. Town of the Philistims, addressed himself to- This enterprise of Hazaels, is, by some. wards Jerusalem, whither the little distance confounded with that war of the Aramites of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did upon Juda, mentioned in the fecond book invite him. He had an Army heartned by of Chronicles. But the reasons alledged by many victories, to hope for more; and for them that hold the contrary opinion, doe ground of the war (if his ambition cared for forcibly prove, that it was not all one war. pretences) it was enough that the Kings of For the former was compounded without Juda had affifted the Ifraelites, in their enter- blood-shed or fight; in the latter, Joas tried prifes upon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I the fortune of a battaile, wherein being put think he did not want fome further instigation to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and tion. For if the Kingdom of Juda had mole-hardly escaped with life. In the one Hazael fted the Aramites in the time of his prede- himself was present; in the other, he was not ceffour, this was throughly recompensed, by named: but contrarywife, the King of Aram forbearing to succour Israel, and leaving the then reigning ( who may seem to have ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the been the son of Hazael) is said to have been fury of Hazael himselt. Neither is it likely, at Damascus. The first Army came to conthat Hazael should have gone about to awake quer, and was so great, that it terrified the a fleeping Dog, and fir up against himself a King of Juda; The second was a small company powerful enemy, before he had affured the of men, which did animate Joas (in vain for conquest of Ifrael, that lay between Jerusa- God was against him) to deal with them, as lem and his own Kingdom, if some opportu- having a very great Army. nity had not performed such easie and good Now, concerning the time of this former fucces, as might rather advance, than any invasion, I cannot perceive that God forsook way disturbe his suture proceedings against him, till he had first forsaken God. There the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it proba- are indeed some, very learned, who think ble, that the fons of Athalia, mentioned be- that this expedition of Hazael was in the time fore, were with him in this action, promi- of Jehojada the Priest, because that story fing (as men expelled their Countries ufu- is joyned to the restauration of the Temple. ally doe ) to draw many partakers of their This had been probable, if the death of feown to his side; and not to remain, as Joss hojada had been afterwards mentioned in did, a neutral in the war between him and that place of the fecond book of Kings; or Ifrael, but to joyn all their forces with his, if the Apoltalie of Joas, or any other matter as they had cause, for the rooting out of implying so much, had followed in the rela-Jehn his posterity, who like a bloody Traition. For it is not indeed to be doubted, tor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, of the Queens, their mother, even the whole according to his own will and pleasure; neihouse of Ahab, to which he was a subject. If ther was he more unjust in the afflictions of this were so, Hazael had the more apparent Job that righteous man, or the death of Joreason to invade the Kingdom of Juda. How- star that godly King, than in the plagues soever we find, that Joss was afraid of him, which he laid upon Pharaoh, or his judge-1 King, 12 and therefore took all the hallowed things, and ment upon the house of Abab. But it appears all the gold that was found in the treasure of plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temthe house of the Lord, or in his own house, ple, and the magnificent service of God with which present he redeemed his peace: therewithall, which are joyned together, his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as affurance of this for the possibility of not some very learnedly collect) in the fixt, or much more. So Hazael departed with a rich thirty seventh year of this Joas his reign, the booty of unhappy treasure, which belong- King falling away from the God of his Faing to the living God, remained a small thers, became a foul Idolater. while in the policifion of this mighty, yet And indeed we commonly observe, that corruptible man, but fent him quickly to the crosses which it hath pleased God somethe grave. For in the thirty feventh year of times to lay upon his fervants without any Joas, which was the fifteenth of Jehoahaz, he cause notorious in the eyes of men, have almade this purchase; but in the same or very waies tended unto the bettering of their next year he died, leaving all that he had good. In which respect, even the sufferings of

men, that would not casily be shaken off. Ha- treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-

the Syrian (questionless) thinking it a better were used in the house of the Lord continually s com. w bargain, to get so much readily paid into all the daies of Jehojada; soon after whose it.

unto his fon Benhadad, with whom these the blessed Martyrs ( the death of his Saints

CHAP. XXII. 14.15. being precious in the fight of the Lord) are to as one durft tell him the plain truth, how their great advantage. But with evil and re- great soever that mans deservings were, that bellious men, God keepeth a more even and did so, yea though Gods commandment refrict account; permitting ufually their faults quired it. So they conspired against this holy to get the start of their punishment; and ei-Prophet, and stoned him to death at the ther delaying his vengeance (as with the A- Kings appointment; but whether by any form morites ) till their wickedness be full; or not of open Law, as was practised upon Naboth; working their amendment by his correction, or whether furprifing him by any close treabut suffering them to run on in their wicked chery, I do neither read, nor can conjecture. courses, to their greater misery. So hath he, The dignity of his person, considered togeshould endure to imitate.

#### 6. IV. How Zacharia was murthered by Joas.

to reclaime the people from their fuperfition, Zacharia the fon of Ichojada the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickedness, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This Zacharia was a man so much honoured, and fon to a man so exceedingly be- his memory detested in all ages; so had it loved in his life time, and reverenced, that the well described curse of the blessed Marif Joas had reputed him (as Ahab did Elias) tyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, his open enemy, yet ought he in common and to call for vengeance from thence, which truth is, that the mellage of a Prophet sent hope for. from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever he appeares that brings it. | bloudy malice against his best friend, is, in my But this King Joas, having already scorned judgement proof sufficient: though otherthe admonitions and protestations of such wise his base composition with Hazael, when Prophets as first were sent, did now deal with he might have levied (as his son after him heir of the Vineyard; who faid, This is the the whis temper. Yet now he would needs be beir, come let us kill him, that the inheritance valiant; and make his people know, how may be ours. By killing Zacharia he thought frout of disposition their King was, when he to become an absolute Commander, suppo-sing belike that he was no free Price, as long heart was not well cloaked. For to encoun-

dealt with many; and fo it appears that he ther with their treacherous conspiracy, makes dealt with Joas. For this unhappy man did it probable, that they durst not call him into not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but publick judgement, though that the manner grew fo forgetful of God and all goodness, of his death, being such as was commonly, and as if he had stroven to exceed the wicked- by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, ness of all that went before him, and to leave may argue the contrary. Most likely it is that fisch a villanous pattern unto others, as few the Kings commandment, by which he fufor none of the most barbarous Tyrants fered, took place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power ( as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of Juda.

CUndry Prophets having laboured in vain How Joas was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.

His odious murther, committed by an unthankful fnake upon the man in whose bosom he had been fostered, as of it felf alone it fufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hateful to men of his own time, and honesty to have cloaked his ill affection, and fell down swiftly, and heavily upon the head have used at least some part of the respect of that ungrateful monster. It was the last that was due to fuch a person: On the other year of his reign; the end of his time comfide, the fingular affection which he and his ming then upon him, when he thought himfather had born unto the King, and the un- felf beginning to live how he lifted without recountable benefits which they had done controulment. When that year was expired unto him, from his first infancy, were such, as the Aramites came into the Country, rather should have placed Zacharia in the most as may seem to get pillage, than to perform 2 chro.24. hearty and affured love of Joas, yea though any great action; for they came with a small in he had been otherwise a man of very small company of men: but God had intended to mark, and not very good condition. The do more by them, than they themselves did

That Joas naturally was a coward, his Zacharia, like as the wicked husbandmen, in did muster ) three hundred thousand chothat parable of our Saviour, dealt with the fen men for the war, doth well enough

that he drew along with him.

fouldiers, or by whatfoever means it plea- upon earth. fed God to work, so it was, that that great When the Aramites had what they listed, Army of Juda received a notable overthrow, and faw that they were not able, being fo and all the Princes were destroyed: the Prin- few, to take any possession of the Country, ces of Juda, at whose perswasion the King they departed out of Juda loaden with spoil, had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. which they fent to Damascus, themselves beexpound the story) he was forely beaten and to be thought that they sped not half so well. hurt by them, being (as they think) taken The King of Juda being in ill case, vvas kil-

him an excessive ransome.

ftrengthen this conjecture: for the Text (in names, being strangers, are expressed) think the old translation ) saith, they exercised up- to have been bondmen. Whether it vvere on Jous ignominious judgments; and that contempt of his fortune, or fear, lest (as departing from him, they dismissed him in Tyrants use ) he should revenge disaster the fon of Hazael over the Syrians, in Da- Jehojada, this befell him. And the same apful heart being likely to quake upon any ap- which well deserved death. prehension of danger, was able to put the SyrianKing in hope, that by terrifying him with some thew of yvar at his doores, it vvere easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good success hereof, already related, and the ( per-

ter with a few bands of Rovers, he took a haps as unfulpected ) ill fuccels, which the very great Army, so that wife men might Aramites found in their following wars awell perceive, that he knew what he did, gainft the King of tirael, theweth plainly the making flew as if he would tight for his weakness of all earthly might, relifting the Country, and expole himfelf to danger of power of the Almighty. For by his Orwar, when as indeed all was meer oftentation dinance, both the Kingdom of Juda, after and no peril to be feared; he going forth fo more than forty years time of gathering strongly appointed, against so weak ene- strength, was unable to drive out a small mies. Thus might wife men think, and laugh company of Enemies; and the Kingdom of at him in fecret; confidering what adoe Ifrael, having so been trodden down by Hahe made about that, which in all apparent zael, that onely fifty Horsemen, ten Charireason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. ots, and ten thousand footmen vvere left; pre-But God, before whom the wildom of this vailed against his Son, and recovered all world is foolishness, did laugh not only at this from the victorious Aramites. But examples vain-glorious King, but at them that thought hereof are every-where found, and therefore their King secure, by reason of the multitude I will not insist upon this though indeed we should not, if vve be Gods children, think it When the Aramites and King "oas met, more tedious to hear long and frequent rewhether it were by some folly of the Leaders ports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of or by some amazement happening among the the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers

As for joas himself ( as Abulensis and others like falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is and shamefully tormented, to wring out of led on his bed vvhen he came home, by the m an exceflive ransome.

And surely, all circumstances do greatly whom some (because onely their Mothers (prophers)) great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill- vibratioever elfe it vvere that animated them '5. favoredly. Now at that time Joas the fon of to murder their King; the Scripture tels us Jehoahaz reigned over Ifraei, and Benhadad plainly, that, For the bloud of the children of mascus: the one a valiant undertaking Prince, pears to have been used as the pretence of railed up by God to restore the State of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when his miserable Country, the other inferiour it was done. For Amazia, the son and sucevery way to his father, of whose purcha-cessor of Joas, durst not punish them, till his fes he lost a great part, for want of skill to Kingdom vvas established: but contrariwise keep it. The difference in condition found his body vvas judged unworthy of burial between these two Princes, promising no o- in the Sepulchres of the Kings: vvhereby it ther event than such as afterward follow-ed, might have given to the King of Ju-the treason, vvrought against the King, to da good cause to be bold, and pluck up his find more approbation, than was requisite, spirits, which Hazael had beaten down, if among the people, though afterwards it was God had not been against him. But his fear- recompenced by his son, upon the Traytors,

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of the Princes living in the time of Joas: of the time when Carthage was built: and of Affimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.

Here lived with Joss, Mezades, and Dignetus in Athens : Eudemus and Ariftomedes in Corinth: about which time Agrippa Splvius, and after him Splvius Aliadius, Sed Jurius fugiens, atque arma procavis Iarbæ, were Kings of the Albans in Italy. Ocrazapes, commonly called Anacyndaraxes, the thir- Pedore transfixo calios quod pertulit enfes) ty feventh King succeeded unto Ophratanes, begar his reign over the Affgrians, about the Sic cecidife juvat: vixi fine vulnere fame, eighteenth year of Joas, which lasted forty two years. In the fixteenth of Joas, Ceptrenes, Invida cur in me stimulasi Muja Maronem, the fourth from sefac, succeeded unto Cheops in the Kingdom of Egypt, and held it fitty

of Figuration in Tyre, and the foundation of Carthage by Dido; the building of which City is, by divers authors, placed in divers ages, some reporting it to be 70. years youngerthan Rome, others above 400. years elder, few or none of them giving any reason of their affertions, but leaving us uncertain whom to follow: Josephus, who had read As Maro scign'd, incestuous and soul. the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three years and eight moneths Beheld my face, or landed on this coast. from the building of Salomons Temple, in the But flying proud Iarbas villanie, twelfth year of Hyram King of Tyre, to the Not mov'd by furious love or jealousie, founding of Carthage by Dido, in the feventh I did with weapon chafte, to fave my fame, of Pigmalion. The particulars of this ac- Make way for death untimely, ere it came. compt (which is not rare in Josephus) are very This was my end; but first I built a Town, perplexed, and serve not very well to make Reveng'd my husbands death, liv'd with recleer the totall fum. But whether it were so that Josephus did omit, or else that he did Why did it thou stir up Virgil, envious Muse, mif-write some number of the years, which Falsely my name and honour to abuse ? he reckoned in Fractions, as they were di- Readers, believe Historians; not those vided among the Kings of Tyre, from Hyram Which to the world Joves thefts and vice to Pigmalion, we may well enough believe, that the Tyrian writers, out of whole books Poets are lyars, and for Verses sake, hegives us the whole sum, had good means Will make the Gods of humane crimes parto know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, between two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or four generations nick war, that Carthage grew and flourished might easily reach, This hundred forty and in wealth and conquests, we find in many four years current, after the building of Sa- Histories: but in particular we find little of lomons Temple, being the eleventh year of the Carthaginian affairs before that war, ex-Joss, was a hundred forty and three years cepting those few things that are recorded before the birth of Rome; and after the dewith this Epigram:

Talis eram, fed non Maro quam mihi finxit,

Vita nec incestis lata cupidinibus : (Namque nec Ancas vidit me Troius unquam Nec I vhiam advenit classibus Iliacis. Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam; Non furor, aut lafo crudus amore dolor. Ulta virum positis manibus oppetii. Finocret ut noltra damna pudicitia? os magis Historicis lectores credite de me Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq; canunt. In this time of Joas, was likewise the reign Fallidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum, Humanisque dees assimulant vitiis.

#### Which in effect is this:

Am that Dido which thou here doft fee, Cunningly fram'd in beauteous Imag'ric, Like this I was but had not fuch a foul, Eneas never with his Trojan hoaft

expose.

From the time of Dido unto the first Pustruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and therefore deser the relation of matters connine: a time fo long after the death of Eneas, cerning that mighty City, until such time as that we might truly conclude all to be fabu- they shall encounter with the State of Rome, lous which Virgil hath written of Dido, as by which it was finally destroyed; and pro-Ausonius noteth, who doth honour her Statua secute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

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King of Ilrael, and Elisha the Prophet. Mazia, the fon of Joash, being twenty twelve or thirteen years. Afive years old when his Father died, As Amazia gathered strength in Juda by had ones (in their best times) imitating the Hazael and Benhadad in the time of Jehu and learned of his father the art of distimulati- of Ephraim. on, did not onely forbear to punish the Trai- Whether it were so, that the great Prorested secure, as having done well, seeing before his death.

revenging fon. This being done, and his own life better fecured by fuch exemplary juffice The beginning of Amazia his reign: of Joas against the like attempts, Amazia carried himself outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, and so continued in rest, about

took possession of the Kingdom of Juda; the commodity of a long peace, so Joas the jewherein he laboured so to demean himself; raelite grew as fast in power, by following the as his new beginning reign might be least war hotly against the Aramites. He was a vaoffensive. The Law of Moses he professed to liant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, observe; which howsoever it had been se- as his Predecessors had been, worshipping the cretly despised since the time of Jehoram, by Calves of Jeroboam. For this sin had God so many great persons of the Land, yet had it plagued the house of Jebu, that the ten tribes by provision of good Princes, yea, and of wanted little of being utterly confumed, by good, but especially by the care of holy his son Jehoahaz. But as Gods benefits to Jehn, Priests, taken such deep root in the peoples sufficed not to withdraw him from this polihearts, that no King might hope to be very tick Idolatry, so were the miseries, rewarding plaufible, who did not conform himself un- that impiety, unable to reclaim Jehoahaz from to it. And at that present time, the slaugh- the same impious course : yet the mercy of ter which the Aramites had made of all the God beholding the trouble of Ifrael, did Princes, who had withdrawn the late King condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly from the service of God, being seconded by Prince, even then when he and his mise-the death of the King himselt, even whilst rable subjects, were obstinate in following that execrable murther, committed by the their own abominable ways. Therefore in King upon Zacharia, was yet fresh in memo-temporal matters the ten Tribes recory, did serve as a notable example of Gods vered apace; but the favour of God which inflice against Idolaters, both to animate had been infinitely more worth, I do not the better fort of the people in holding the find, nor believe that they fought: that Religion of their fathers, and to discourage they had it not, I find in the words of the actions, Amazia from following the way, which led Prophet, faying plainly to Amazia, the Lord? to fuch an evil end. He therefore, having is not with Ifrael, neither with all the house

tors that had flain King Joas, but gave way phet Elisha, who lived in those times, did foreto the time, and fuffered the dead body to tell the prosperity of the Ifraelites under the be interred, as that of Jehoram formerly had reign of Joas; or whether Johoahaz, weabeen in the City of David, yet not among ried and broken with long adversity, thought the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda. Ne it the wifest way, to discharge himself in vertheless, after this, when (belike) the noise part of the heavy cares attending those unof the people having wearied it self into happy syrian Wars, by laying the burthen silence, it was found that the Conspirators upon his hopeful son; we find that in the ways (howfoever their deed done, was applau- thirty seventh year of Joas, King of Juda, Joas 10. ded as the handy-work of God ) had nei- the son of Jehoahaz began to reign over Ifrael ther any mighty partakers in their fact, nor in Samaria; which was in the 15. year of his strong maintainers of their persons, but fathers reign, and some two or three years

it was not ill taken the King, who perceived It appears that this young Prince, even his gouernment well established, called them from the beginning of his Rule, did so well into question, at such a time, as the heat of husband that poor stock that he received mens affections being well allayed, it was from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horseeasie to distinguish between their treasons men, and ten thousand Foot, that he might and Gods judgments, which, by their trea- feem likely to prove a thriver. Amongst fons, had taken plaufible effect. So they were other circumstances, the words which he put to death without any tumult, and their spake to Elisa the Prophet, argue no less hidden (as the Law did require) were suf- For Joas viliting the Prophet, who lay sick, 14. fered to live: which could not but give con-tentment to the people feeing that their King the Chariots of Ifrael, and the hor smen of the did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a Jame : by which manner of speech he did acknowledge,

acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy cruel Aramites ) did not love, because they man had ftood his kingdome in more ftead vvere Idolaters. The Ifraelites therefore de-

after terrible to Samaria.

6. VIII.

cy and overthrow by loas.

fuch as might kindle in Amazia a defire of it were, he got both honour by the journey, undertaking some expedition, wherein him- and gains enough, had he not lost himself. felf might purchase the like honour. His King-Jehoram, had about fifty years been unre- ped them, and burned incense unto them.

than all the Horses and Chariots could doe. parted in great anger, taking in ill part this This prophet who fucceeded unto Elias, difmiffion, as an high difgrace, vyhich to reabout the first year of Joran the son of Ahab venge, they fell upon a piece of juda in their King of Ifrael died ( as some have probably return, and thewed their malice in the collected ) about the third or fourth year of flaughter of three thouland men, and fome this Joas, the Nephew of Jehn. To shew how spoil, which they carried away. But Amagica the spirit of Elias was doubled, or did rest with his own forces, knowing that God upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is would be affiftant to their journey, entred recorded of him, that he did not onely raife couragiously into the Edomites Country; oa dead child unto life, as Elias had done, but ver whom obtaining victory, he flew ten when he himselfe was dead, it pleased God thousand, and took other ten thousand prisothat his dead bones should restore life unto a ners, all which he threw from an high rock; carcafs, which touched them in the grave. In holding them, it feems, rather as Traytors, fine, he bestowed as a legacie, three victories than as just enemies. This victory did not upon King Joas, who thereby did fet Ifrael feem to reduce Edors under the fubication in a faire way of recovering all that the Ara- of the Crown of Juda, which might be the mites had usurped, and weakning the kings cause of that severity, which was used to of Damasco in such fort, that they were never the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refuting to buy the lives of their friends and kinimen at to dear a rate, as the loss of their own liberty. Some towns in Mount Seir, Amazia took, as appears by his carrying of Amazia his mar against Edom ; His Aposta- away the Idols thence ; but it is like they vvere the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrifons there, whereby he might The happy fuccess which Joss had tound another year the better than partial in his war against the Aramites, was conquest of the viviole countrey. How for the journey,

Among other spoyls of the Edomites, vvere dom could furnish three hundred thousand carryed away their gods; which being vanserviceable men for the Wars, and his trea- quished and taken prisoners, did deserve fures were sufficient for the payment of these, | vvell to be led in triumph. But they contrariand the hire of many more. Cause of war he viile, I know not by what strange witchhad very just against the Edomites, who hav- craft, so besotted this unworthy King Amazia ing rebelled in the time of his grand-father that he fet them up to be his gods, and worthing a Chro.25.

claimed, partly by reason of the troubles For this when he was rebuked by a Prohappening in Juda, partly through the floth phet fent from God, he gave a churlith and and timerousness of his father Joas. Yet, foral- threatning answer; asking the Prophet, who much as the men of Juda had in many years made him a Counseller, and bidding him been without all exercise of War (excepting hold his peace for fear of the worst. If either that unhappy fight wherein they were bea- the costly stuffe, whereof these Idols were ten by a few bands of the Aramites ) he held made, or the curious workmanship and beauit a point of wildom to increase his forces, ty, with which they were adorned by Artistwith fouldiers waged out of Ifrael, whence cers, had ravished the Kings fancie; mehe hired for an hundred talents of filver, an thinks, he should have rather turned them admin hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scrip- to matter of profit, or kept them as houseture telleth us, though Josephus diminisheth hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than ture telleth us, though Josephus dimininerin noise ornaments and time of the number, faying that they were but twen-thereby have fuffered himself to be blinded, which first numerically deventible deventible to the transfer of the numerical transfer of with fuch unreasonable devotion towards This great Army, which with so much them. If the superstitious account wherein cost Amazia had hired out of Ifrael, he vvas the Edamites had held them, were able to fain to dismiss before he had imployed it, be- work much upon his imagination; much ing threatned by a Prophet with ill fue more should the bad service which they had cess, if he strengthened himself with the done to their old Clients, have moved him help of those men, vvhom God ( though in thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites, mercy he gave them victory against the and them. Wherefore it feems to me, that

CHAP. XXII

unto the fervice of Idols, which afterwards his carriage)troubled nor his head; he had moved him to talk fo roughly to the Pro-thewed himfelf a better man of war than any phet reprehending him. He had already o- King of Juda, fince the time of Jekofaphat, beyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and and could be well contented, that his people tent away such auxiliarie forces as he had should think him little inferiour to David; of 1 circ. 15. gathered out of Ifrael, which done, it is faid, which honour he faw no reason why the prothat he was encouraged, and led forth his peo- phets should rob him, who had made him ple, thinking belike, that God would now loofe an hundred talents, and done him no rather affilt him by miracle, than let him fail- pleasure; he having prevailed by plain force of obtaining all his hearts defire. But with and good conduct, without any miracle at contended with him.

ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of on the injury done to him by the Israelites, those actions, in which it hath pleased him to whom he dismissed in the Journey against use their own industrie, courage, or fore- Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the sense of fight. Therefore it is commonly feen, that a late wrong had more power to stirre him they, who entring into battell, are carefull up, than the remembrance of an old title, to pray for aide from heauen, with due ac forgotten long fince, and by himfelfe negknowledgment of his power, who is the giver leded thirteen, or fourteen years. Neverof victory; when the field is won, doe vaunt thelesse it might so be, that when he was of there own ex-ploits; one telling how he thus provoked, he thought it not enough to got such a ground of advantage; another, require new wrongs, but would also callold how he gave check to such a battalion; a matters into question; that so the Kings of Ifthird, how he feized on the enemies Canon; rael might, at the leaft, learn to keep their every one firiving to magnific himself, whil- subjects from offending Juda, for fear of enest all forget God, as one that had not been dangering their own Crowns. Had Amazia present in the action. To ascribe to fortune desired onely recompence for the injury the effects of another mans vertue, is, I con- done to him, it is not improbable that he fesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, should have had some reasonable answer that ashe which findeth better successe, than from Joas, who was not desirous to fight he did, or in reason might expect, is deeply with him. But the answer which Joar returnbound to acknowledge God the Authour of ed, likening himselfto a Cedar, and Amazia his happinesse; so he whose meer wisdome in respect of him to no better than a thistle, and labour hath brought things to a profpeflewes that the challenge was made in inforous iffue, is doubly bound to flew himself lent termes, ftuft perhaps with such proud thankful, both for the victory, and for those comparison of Nobility, as might be made vertucs, by which the victory was gotten. (according to that which Josephus hath writ-And indeed to far from weaknesse is the naten) between a King of ancient race and one ture of such thankigiving, that it may well of less Nobility than vertue.

Solution in Sol ture of such thanksgiving, that it may well of less Nobility than vertue. which the spirit of man advanceth it self did bid him to be valiant, and get victory with confidence of acceptation, unto the by Gods affiftance, he made answer, That by love of God. In which fense it is a brave Gods affistance a coward could get victospeech that Evander in Virgil useth to Ane-ry, but he would get it alone without such as, none but a Christian being capable of the help: after which proud speech, though he

dienum

the lame affections carried him from God, With this Philosophy Amazia (as appears by better reason he should have limited his de- all. That he was distempered with such vain fires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was thoughts as these (besides the witnese of his that Flan having broken the yoak of Jacob impiety following) Josephus doth testifie from his neck, according as Isaac had fore- saying, That he despited God, and that betold, should no more become his fervant. If ing puft up with his good success, of which therefore Amazia did hope to reconquer all nevertheless he would not acknowledge the countrey of Edom, he failed of his expec- God to be the Authour, he commanded Joss tation, yet fo, that he brought home both King of If ael to become his subject, and to profit and honour, which might have well let the ten Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraign, as they had done his Ancestours But there is a foolish and a wretched King David and Salomon. Some think that pride, wherewith men being transported, can his quarrel to Joss was rather grounded up-

vertue being fo truely heroical, as that by when going to the warre of Troy, his father Last. did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, Ande bosses contenuere opes , & te quoque and finally , killing himself in a madnes, whereinto he fell upon difgrace received,

thoughts, which are parents of fuch words, on, they fled all away, leaving their King to he was rewarded with fuecess accordingly. shift for himself; which he did so ill, that The very first counsell wherein this war his enemy had soon caught him, and made was concluded, ferves to prove that he was him change his glorious humour into most wife Prince indeed at erufalem, among abject baleness. That the Army which his Parafites, but a fool when he had to deal tled, fulfained any other lefs than of honour, with his equals abroad. For it was not I neither find in the Scriptures nor in foleall one, to fight with the Edomites, a weak phus, it being likely that the foon beginning people, trufting more in the feat of their of their flight, which made it the more thame-Country, than the valour of their Soul- full made it also the more fafe. But of the diers; and to encounter with Joas, who from mischief that followed this overthrow, it was fo poor beginnings had raifed himfelf to Gods will that Amazia himfelf should sufuch ftrength, that he was able to lend his frain the whole difgrace. For Joas carried friend a hundred thousand men, and had him directly to Jerusalem, where he bad him all his Nation exercised, and trained up in a procure that the gates may be opened to let long victorious war. But as Amazia dif- him in and his Army; threatning him othercovered much want of judgment, in under- wife with present death. So much amazed taking such a match; so in prosecuting the was the miserable captive, with these dreadbulines, when it was fet on foot, he behaved ful words, that he durft do no other than himself as a man of little experience, who perswade the Citizens, to yelld themselves to having once onely tryed his fortune, and the mercy of the Conquerour. The Town, found it to be good, thought that in War which afterwards being in weaker flate held there was nothing else to do, than fend out two years against Nebuchadnezzar, was greedy hopes, the spoile of Ifrael, fully per-glad of his life, and returned to Samaria. iwading themselves to get as much, and at as easie a rate, as in the journey of Edom; were so far disappointed of their expectation that well they might suspect all new ashir A discourse of the reasons hindering Joas from rance of good luck, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this not with standing, their King that had ftomack enough to challenge the patrimony of salomon, thought like another David to winne it by the fword. The iffue of which fool-hardiness might in fight, God, whose help this wretched fon and grand-child of Kings, together with

was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. man had fo despited, did (as Josephus reports That Amazia did utter fuch words, I do it ) strike such terrour and amazement into Tol. art. not find, but having once entertained the the men of Juda, that without one blow giv. L. s.c.to. a defiance, fight, and win. Joss on the utterly difmaied, when the King that should contrary fide, having been accustomed to have given his life to fave it, used all his deal with a stronger enemy than the King force of command and intreaty to betray it. of Juda, used that celerity, which peradven- So the gates of Jerusalem vvere opened to ture had often flood him in good flead a- Joss, with which honour (greater than any gainst the Aramite. He did not sit waiting King of Israel had ever obtained) he could till the enemies brake in & wasted his Coun- not rest contented, but the more to despise trey, but presented himself with an Army in Amazia and his people, he caused 400, cubits Juda, ready to bid battel to Amazia, and of the wall to be thrown down, and entred fave him the labour of a long journey. This the City in his Chariot through that breach, could not but greatly discourage those of carrying the King before him as in triumph. Juda, who (besides the impression of sear This done, he sack'd the Temple, and the which an invalion beats into people, not in- Kings Palace, and so taking hostages of Amaured in the like ) having devoured in their zia he dismitted the poor creature that was

> uniting Juda to the Crown of Ifracl when be had won Jerufalem, and held Amazia prifoner. The end of Joas his reign.

VVE may justly marvel how it came to pais, that Joar, being thus in eafily have been fore-feen in humane rea-potterfion of Jernfalem, having the King in his fon; comparing together, either the two hands, his enemics forces broken, and his own Kings, or the quality of their Armies, or the entire, could be so content to depart quietfirst and ominous beginning of the War. ly with a little spoil, when he might have But meer humane wisdom, howsoever seized upon the whole Kingdom. The reign it might foresce much, could not have prog- of Athalia had given him cause to hope that nosticated all the mischief that fell upon A the issue of David might be disposses of mazia. For as foon as the two Armies came that Crown; his own nobility, being the

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me minous acts that he people of Juda think and lay his ravenous hands upon the confighighty of himsysho might also have preferred crated vessels, calling the family of obed Ehis form of government before that of their dom (whose children had hereditary charge of thered the thanks which were due to the me- they confidered him rather as an execrable mory of a few good ones. The commodity Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, that would have enfued upon the union of all an Ifraelite, and their brother, though of a the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is so ap-nother Tribe. Thus following that course, parent, that I need not to infilt on it. That a- which the most vertuous King of our age ny mellage from God forbade the Ifraelite (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely (as afterwards in the victory which Peka the avoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost fon of Romelia gotupon Ahaz) to turn his pre- the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The fent advantageto the best use, we do not read. people detested him, and after the respite All this makes it the more difficult to refolve of a few days, might, by comparing themthe question, why a Prince so well exercised selves one to one, perceive his Souldiers to as Joas had been in recovering his own, and be no better than men of their own mould. winning from the enemy, should for sake the and inferiour in number to the inhabitants policifion of Jerusalem, and wilfully neglect of so great a City. It is not so easy to hold the pohibilities, or rather cast away the full by force a mighty town entred by capitu-

dom of Juda. thers had been most material, I mean the gin to understand their first errour, they will defire of the vanquifted people to accept the think upon every advantage, of place, of Israelite for their King, it is plainly seen, provisions, of multitude, yea of women arthat entring Jerujalem in triumphant manner, med with tile-stones; and rather choose by falem. Therefore when the people faw him themselves, and come readily to this agree-

the famous acts that he had done, were e- take his way directly to feife that holy place. own Kings, especially at such a time, when a the treasure) to a strict account, as if they count long fuccession of wicked Princes had smo- had been officers of his own exchequer; 15. affurance of fo fair a conquest, as the King- lation, as to enter the gates opened by unadvised fear. For when the Citizens, not be-But concerning that point, which of all o- ing difarmed, recover their spirits. and be-Joas was unable to concoct his own pro- desperate resolution, to correct the evills sperity. For the opening of the gates had grown out of their former cowardise, than been enough to have let him not onely into fuffer those mischies to poyson the body, the City, but into the Royal Throne, and which in such half-conquests, are easily the peoples hearts, whom by fair intreaty tafted in the mouth. A more lively example (especially having sure means of compul-hereof cannot be desired, than the City of fion) he might have made his own, when Florence, which through the weakness of they saw themselves betrayed, and basely Peter de Medices, governing therein as a given away by him whose they had been Prince, was reduced into such hard tearms, before. The fair mark which this oppor- that it opened the gates unto the French tunity presented, he did not aim at, be- King Charles the eighth, who not plainly cause his ambition was otherwise, and more professing himself either friend or foe to meanly bussed, in levelling at the glory the State, entred the Town, with his Arof a triumphant entry through a breach, my, in triumphant manner, himself and his Yet this errour might afterwards have been horse armed, with his lance upon his thigh. corrected well enough, if entring as an ene- Many infolencies were therein committed my, and thewing what he could do, by by the French, and much argument of quarfpending his anger upon the Walls, he had rell ministred between them and the within the City done offices of a friend, and Towns-men: fo far forth that the Floren-I boured to shew good will to the inhabi-tines, to preserve their liberty, were dritants. But when his pride had done, his cove- ven to prepare for fight. To conclude the tousnels began, and sought to please it self matter, Charles propounds intollerable conwith that which is commonly most read ditions, demanding huge sums of ready dy to the spoyler, yet should be most formoney, and the absolute Seigniory of the born. The Treasure wherewith sefac, Hazael, State, as conquered by him, who entred the and the Philiftims, men ignorant of the true City in Arms. But Peter Caponi, a princi-God and his Religion, had quenched their pal Citizen, catching these Articles from greedy thirst, ought not to have tempted the Kings Secretary, and tearing them bethe appetite of loar, who though an Idolater, fore his face, bad him found his Trumpets, yet acknowledged also and worshipped the and they would ring their Bels: which peeternal God, whose Temple was at Jeru- remptory words made the French bethink

ment, that for forty thousand pounds, and j change of fortune and fusier losses we must not half of that money to be paid in hand, needs conclude, That the Aramite prefit, who upon the uncertain hope of destroy- other facrilegious Potentates. ing a Town, forfakes the affurance of a good Florence.

CHAP. XXII.

of him, to take hostages for his better secauses it was the more unapt to fight,

Besides these impediments, within the City and without, ferving to cool the ambition of Joas, and keep it down from afpiring to the Crown of Juda; it appears that fomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of Elisha the Prophet; who, when this foas had smitten the ground with his arrows thrice, told him that he flould no oftner fmite the Aramites. The three victories which Ifrael had against A-

charles should not only depart in peace, but vailed upon him this yeare, it being the last reffore whatfoever he had of their Domini- of his Reign. That this was fo, and that the on and continue their affured friend. So dan- Syrians, taking advantage of Jour his ablence gerous a matter did it feem for that brave gave fuch a blow to Ifrael, as the King at his Army, which in few moneths after wan the return was not able to remedie, but rather Kingdom of Naples, to fight in the streets, a- fell himself into new misfortunes which ingainst the armed multitude of that populous creased the calamities we may evidently per-City. It is true, that Charles had other buliness ceive in that which is tooken of Jeroboam his ( and fo perhaps had Joas, as shall anon be fon. For it is faid, That the Lord fam the exceeshewed ) that called him away : but it was ding bitter affliction, of Ifrael, and that having the apprehension of imminent danger that not de reed to put out the name of Ifrael from made him come to reason. In such cases the under the Heaven, he preserved them by the firing of houses, usually draws every Citizen | band of Jeroboam the sonne of Joas. This is eto fave his own, leaving victory to the Soul- nough to prove, that the victorious Reign dierivet where the people are prepared and of Jour was concluded with a fad cataftroresolved, women can quench, as fast as the plie; the riches of the Temple hastening his enemy, having other things to look unto, can mifery and death, as they had done with fet on fire. And indeed that Commander is Sefac, Athalia, and Hazael, and as afterwards more given to anger than regardful of pro- they wrought with Antiochus, Crassius, and

Thus either through indignation conceit composition. Diversity of circumstance ved against him, by the people of serufalem, may alter the case: it is enough to say, that and courage which they took to set upon it might be in Jerusalem, as we know it was in him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Army that lay abroad in the How ftrongly foever Joas might hold Countrey to bid him battel in open field, & himself within Jerusalem, he could not easily recover by a new charge the honour which depart from thence, with his booty fafe, if was loft at the former encounter; or through the Army of Juda, which had been more ter- the miseries daily brought upon his own rified than weakned in the late encounter, Countrey, by the syrian in his absence (if should re-enforce itself, and give him a check not by all of these) Jours was driven to lay aupon the way. Wherefore it was wifely done fide all thought of winning the Kingdom of Juda; and taking hostages for his quiet pascurity, his Army being upon return, and bet- lage, made all hafte homewards, where he ter loaden than when it came forth-for which | found a fad wel-come, and being utterly forfaken of his wonted prosperity, forsook also his life in few moneths after, leaving his Kingdom to Jeroboam the second, his fortunate and valiant fon.

ş. X. The end of Amazia his Reign and life.

Ny man is able to ghess how Amazia A looked, when the enemy had left him. ram, are by fome, and with great probabi- He that had vaunted fo much of his own lity, referred unto the fifth, fixth, and feventh great prowefs and skill in Arms, threatyeares of Joas: after which time, if any losles ning to work wonders, and set up a-new ensuing had blemished the former good suc- the glorious Empire of David, was now uncess, ill might the King of Ifrael have likened cased of his Lions hide, and appeared nohimself to a stately Cedar, and worse could thing so terrible a beast as he had bin painhe have either lent the Judaan one hundred ted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had thousand men, or meet him in battell, who ministred unto such as held him in difwas able to bring into the feild three hun-like, which at this time doubtless were very dred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it many: for the shame that falls upon an inis made plain by the words of Elisha, that folent man, feldom fails of meeting with aafter three victories Joseph should find some bundance of reproach. As for Amazia,

his fault unto God, that had punished him by tain, before the chase and slaughter of an all this difhonour. But we find no mention of Army of Stags that followed him. his amendment. Rather it appears, that he These or the like words comforting Amacontinued an Idolater to the very last. For zia, were able to perswade him, that it was it is faid of him, that after his turning away even so indeed. And such excuses might have from the Lord, they wrought treason against served well enough to please the people, if him in evulatem: a manifest proof that he the King had first studied how to please was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And God. But he that was unwilling to afcribe Temple bare a part. If Joas might so easily of his authority in purchaling the name of a

( befides that the multitude are alwayss have been kept out; why did their Anceprone to lay the blame upon their Gover- stors let Sefae in? Ala was reputed a vertinours, even of those calamities which hap- ous Prince, yet with his own hands he empen by their own default) there was no ptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but child in all Gerufalem, but knew him to be held excusable by necessity of the State. the root of all this mitchief. He had not only Belike these traducers would commend no challenged a good man of War, being him- Actions but of dead Princes: if so he should felf a Dafford; but when he was beaten and rather live to punish them, than die to please taken by him, had baiely picaded for the them. Though wherein had he given them common enemy, to have him let into the Ci- any cause of displeasure? It was he indeed ty, that with his own eyes he might fee what that commanded to fet open the gates to spoil there was, and not make a bad bargain Joas; but it was the people that did it. Good by hear-fay. The father of this Amazia was a servants ought not to have obeyed their beaftly man; yet when the Aramites took Masters Commandments to his disadvanhim and termented him, he did not offer to tage, when they saw him not master of his buy his own life at 6 dear a rate, as the City own Person. As his captivity did acquit him and Temple of Jerujulem. Had he offered, from blame of all things that he did or sufthould they have made his promife good? fered in that condition; fo was that misforfurely the hafte which they had made in tune it felf, in true estimation, as highly to condefeending to this hard match, was very his honour, as deeply to his loss. For had he unfortunate: for by keeping out the Ifrae- been as hafty to fly as others were, he might lites (which was easie enough ) any little have escaped as well as others did. But while they flouid foon have been rid of him, feeking to teach the base multitude courage feeing that the Aramites would have made by his Royal example he was shamefully behim run home, with greater speed than he trayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworcame forth. Then also, when having truffed thy creatures, that could readily obey him, up his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a when speaking another mans words, being little courage would have ferved to per- prisoner, he commanded them to yeild; ha-Iwade him to leave his load behind; had ving neglected his charge, when leading not their good King delivered up hoftages, them into the field, he bad them stand to it to secure his return, as loath to defraud him, and fight like men. The best was, that they of the recompence due to his pains taken. must needs acknowledge his mischance, as Such exprobations could not but vex the the occasion whereby many thousand lives heart of this unhappy King: it had been well were faved; the enemy having wifely prefor him, if they had made him acknowledge ferred the furprise of a Lion that was Cap-

certainly, they which tell a man in his adver- unto God the good success foretold by a fity et his faults passed, shall sooner be Prophet; could easily find how to impute thought to upbraid him with his fortune, this late disafter unto fortune, and the fault than to leek his reformation. Wherefore it is of others. Now concerning fortune, it feems no marvel, that Priests and Prophets were that he meant to keep himself safe from her less welcome to him, than ever they had by sitting still; for in sisteen years following been. On the other fide, flatterers, and fuch (fo long he out-lived his honour) we find as were defireus to put a heart into him, not that he stirred. As for his subjects, though whereof themselves might alwayes be mainothing henceforth be recorded of his gosters, wanted not plausible matter to revive vernment, yet we may see by his end, that the him. For he was not the first, nor second of middle time was ill spent among them, inthe Kings of Juda, that had been overcome creafing their hatred to his own ruine. He in battei. David himfelf had abandoned the that fulpecteth his own worth or other mens City, leaving it before the enemy was in opinions, thinking the less regard is had of fight, unto Alfalom his rebellious Son. Many his person than he believeth to be due to besides him had received losses, wherein the his place, will commonly spend all the force fevere CHAP. XXII. feyere man. For the affected sowreness of a Kingdom of Ifrael. Therefore it may seem vain fellow, doth many times resemble the that he was detained there, where certain it gravity of one that is wife: and the fear is that he found no kind of favour: for had wherein they live, which are subject unter not the people of this Town added their oppression, carries a shew of reverence to own treason to the general insurrection; him that does the wrong; at least it serves the murderers could not at so good leisure to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping as they did, have carried away his body to them from prying into the weakeness of Jerusalem, where they gave him burial with such as have jurisdiction over them. Thus his fathers.

the time, wherein, by well using it, men might

attain to be fuch as they ought, they do usu-

ally mif-spend, in seeking to appear such as

they are not. This is a vain and deceiveable

course; procuring, in stead of the respect

that was hoped for, more indignation than

was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous

consequence; especially when an unable spirit, being over-perted with so high au-

thority, is too paffionate in the execution

fected to him; yet found he there none o-

of the Hiftory of the World.

#### 6. XI.

of the Inter-regnum, or vacancy, that was in the Kingdom of Juda, after the death of Amazia.

T hath already been shewed, that the Reigns of the Kings of Juda and Ifrael of fuch an office, as cannot be checked but were sometimes to be measured by compleat by violence. If therefore Amazia thought years, otherwhiles, by years current: and by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, that the time of one King is now and then what did he else than strive to make the confounded with the last years of his fathers people think he hated them, vvhen of them- Reign, or the foremost of his sons. But we selves they were apt enough to believe that are now arrived at a meer vacation, wherein he did not love them? the best vvas, that the Crown of Juda lay void eleven whole he had, by revenging his fathers death, pro- years: a thing not plainly fet down in Scrivided well enough for his own security : but prures, nor yet remembred by Josephus, and who should take vengeance (or upon therefore hard to be believed, were it not vyhom?) of such a murther, wherein every proved by necessary consequence. one had a part? Surely God himself, who

Twice we find it written, that Amazia, 2 chron. the people to take his office out of his hand, King of Juda, lived after the death of Joas state the people to take his office out of his hand, King of Ifrael, fifteen years; whereupon it to in fledding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet follows, that the death of Amazia, was about as Amazia careless of God, was carried head- the end of fifteen years compleat, which Jelong by his own affections; fo his subjects, roboam the second (who in the fifteenth year 2 King 14. following the same ill example, without re- of Amazia was made King over Ifrael ) had 23. quiring what belonged unto their duties, reigned in Samaria. But the succession of rose up against him, with such headlong su- Ozzia, who is also called Azaria, unto his fary, that being unable to defend himself in ther in the Kingdom of Juda, was eleven Jerusalem, he was driven to forsake the City, years later than the fixteenth of Jeroboam: and fly to Lachis, for fafeguard of his life. for it is expressed, that Azaria began to reign 2 King 15.8 But so extream was the hatred conceived a- in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam; gainst him, and so general, that neither his the sixteenth year of his life, being joyned absence could allay the rage of it in the Ca- with the first of two and fifty that he reignpital City, nor his presence in the Country ed. So the Inter regnum of eleven years canabroad procure friends to defend his life. not be divided, without some hard means Questionless he chose the Town of Lachis used, of interpreting the Text otherwise

for his refuge, as a place of all other best af- than the letter sounds. Yet some conjectures there are made, ther favour, than that the people did not kill which tend to keep all even, without achim with their own hands; for when the knowledging any void time. For it is thought Conspirators (who troubled not themselves that in the place last of all cited, by the second about raising an Army for the matter ) sent ven and twentieth year of Jeroboam , we pursuers after, he was abandoned to death. should perhaps understand the seven and Lachie was the utmost City of his Dominion twentieth year of his life; or else (because Westward, standing somewhat without the like words are no where else interpreted border of "sada", so that he might have in the like sense) that Azaria was else. made an easie escape(if he durst adventure) years under age, that is, five years old into the Territory of the Philiftime, or the his father died, and so his fixtured

vve flould call the text in question; vvhich

could not be falfified in all copies, if perhaps

it vvere in one: as for the fecond, it may be

began his Reign being five years old; but

then must vve add those cleven years which

not fo apparent.

CHAP.XXII might concur with the feven and twentieth, reign fingle in the fifteenth of Amazia; did of 'croboam; or that the Text it felf might it not swallow up almost the whole reign of have inflered some vyrong, by miswriting Joss, and extending the years of those which

twenty feven for seventeen years; and so, reigned in Ifrael (by making such of them by making the feventeenth year of Jero- compleat as were onely current) and take at boam to be newly begun, all may be falved. the shortest the reigns of Princes ruling in

These are the conjectures of that worthy other Nations. But I will not stand to dispute man Gerard Mercator: concerning the first further of this: every man may follow his of which, it may fuffice, that the Author own opinion, and fee mine more plainly in himself doth easily let it pass, as improbathe Chronological Table, drawn for these

ble; the last is followed by none that I purposes. know, neither is it fit that upon every doubt,

6. XII.

held with some qualification, that Azaria Of Princes Contemporary with Amazia, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.

passed in his minority, to the two and fifty THe Princes living with Amazia, and in that followed his fixteenth year, which is the eleven years that followed his all one in a manner, with allowing an Inter- death, were loss and leroboam in Ilrael: Cephrenes and Mycerinus in Egypt ; Sylvius Al-But why should we be so careful to a- ladius, and Sylvina Aventinus in Alba: Agavoid an Inter-regnum in Juda, feeing that memnon in Corinth; Diegnetus Pheredus, and the like necessity hath inforced all good Ariphron in Athens; in Lacedamon Thelectus, Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, in whose time the spartans wan from the Atwice happening vvithin few years, in the chaians, Gerautha, Amyela, and some other Kingdom of I/rael? The space of time be- Towns.

tween Jeroboam's death, and the beginning of Zachariai's reign, and fuch another gap found between the death of Peka, and the tieth year of Amazia, succeeding his father beginning of Hosea, have made it easily to be Ocrazapes or Anacyndaraxes, reigned twenadmitted into Samaria; vvhich the confideration of things as they ftood in Juda, when Amazia vvas flain, doth make more Azaria. In him ended (as most agree) probable to have happened there, yea, al- the line of Ninus, which had held that Emthough the necessity of computation vvere pire one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and effeminate Pal-For the publick fury having so far extend- liard he was, passing away histime among

ed it felf, as unto the destruction of the strumpets, whom he imitated both in apparel Kings own person, was not likely to be ap- and behaviour.

peakd without order taken for obtaining In these voluptuous courses he lived an fome redress of those matters, which had unhappy life, knowing himself to be so vile, caused it at the first to break forth into such that he durst not let any man have a fight of extremity. We need not therefore wonder him; yet feen he was at length, and the how it came to pais that they which already fight of him was fo odious, that it procured

had thrown themselves into such an horri- his ruine. For Arbaces, who governed Meble treason, should afterwards dare to with- dia under him, finding means to behold the hold the Crown from a Prince of that age, person of his King, was so incensed with which being invested in all ornaments of that beastly spectacle, of a man disguised in

Regality, is nevertheless exposed to many womans attire and striving to counterfeit an injuries, preceding from head-strong, and harlot, that he thought it a great stame to forgetful subjects. live under the command of fo unworthy a As for their conjecture, who make Azaria creature. Purpofing therefore to free him-

to have been King but one and torty years felf and others from fo base subjection, he after he came out of his non-age; I dare was much encouraged by the prediction of not allow it, because it agrees too harshly Belesis or Belosus a Chaldean, who told him with the Text. The best opinion were that plainly, that the Kingdom of Sardanapalus which gives unto Jeroboam eleven years of should fall into his hands. Arbaces well reign with his Father, before he began to pleafed with the Prophecy, did promife unthering such forces as he could out of other breach for Arbaces to enter. manner of his retiredness. For in three bat- nuchs, and all his Treasures, did fet the house tels he carried away the better, driving Ar- on fire, wherewith he and they were togehates and his followers into such fearful ther confumed. Strabo speaks of a Monuconstantly some unexpected succours, they Cilicia, whereon was found an inscription, would forthwith have broken up their shewing that he built that City and Thar-Camp. . About the same time, an Army out sur upon one day: but the addition hereto. of Badria was coming to affift the King; bidding mencat and drink, and make mering to be a flight, caused Sardanapalus to seeming a Prince.

CHAP. XXII.

heart, that leaving his Wives brother Sala-Writer, that lived in the Court of Persia, menus to keep the field, he withdrew himself where the truth might best be known. into the City of Nineve; which, till new Concerning the Princes which reigned

ving in two battels overthrown the Kings because they did nothing worthy of memoance. It seems that he wanted Engines and them.

to occupies and fo concluding how to handle the hundred foot high, and thick enough for business, one of them stirred up the Medes, three Chariots in front to pass upon the and allured the Persans into the quarrel, the rampire. But that which he could not do in other perswaded the Babylonians and Ara- two years, the River of Tieris did in the bians to venture themselves in the same third: for being high swoln with rains, it cause. These four Nations armed forty thou- not onely drowned a part of the City fand men against Sardanapalus, who in this through which it ran, but threw down twendanger was not wanting to himself, but ga- ty furlongs of the wall, and made a fair Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that Sardanapalus, either terrified with the acwould by deeds refute the tales that they compliftment of the old Oracle, or feeing had told of him. Neither did his carriage in no means of refiftance left, flutting up himthe beginning of that War, answer to the self into his Palace, with his Wives, Eu-

terms, that had not Belofus promifed them ment of his, that wasin Anchiale, a City of Strab 1.3. but A-baces encountring it upon the way, ry, encouraged others with verses well perswaded to strongly by promise of liberty, known, to a voluptuous life, by his own exthat those forces joyned themselves with his. ample testified that his nature was more The sudden departure of the enemy seem- prone to sensuality, than to any vertue be-

fealt his Army, triumphing before victory. There are fome that faintly report other-but the Rebels being ftrengthened with wife of his end; faying that Arbdees, when this new fupply, came upon him by night, he first found him among his Concubines, and forced his Camp, which through over-great fecurity was unprepared for refi-great fecurity was unprepared for refiof Writers agrees with this relation of Dio- nied sic.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings dorus Siculus, who citeth Clesson a Greek L. c. 7.

aids that he sent for should come, he thought in Affria, from the time of Semiramis, unto eafily to defend; it having been prophelied, Sardanapalus, though I believe that they that Nineve should never be taken, till the were sometimes (yet not, as Orosius hath it, River were enemy to the Town. Of the incessiantly) busied in offensive, or else defengreatness and strength of Nineve, enough sive arms; yet for the most part of them I hath been fpoken in our discourse of Ninus do better trust Diodorus Siculus, who saith It was so well victualled, that Arbaces (ha-that their names were overpassed by Ctessas, Died. 1. 2.

Army, and flain Salamenus) was fain to lye ry. What foever they did, that which Theo-Theoshilut two whole years before it, in hope to win it philus Antiochenus hath faid of them is very Antiochen by famine; whereof yethe faw no appear-true; Silence and Oblivion hath oppressed unit 21.

CHAP. XXIII. Of UZZIA.

The prosperity of Uzzia, and of Jeroboam the second, who reigned with him in Ifrael. Of the Anarchythat was in the ten Tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zacharia, Sallum Menahem, and Pekahia.

twentieth year of Jeroboam the was enough that he found water, by digging fon of Joss King of Jeroel-He ferved the God in the most likely places. If by their Towers of his father David, and had therefore good he fo commanded the water, that none could fuccess in all his enterprises. He built Eloth, a without his consent, relieve themselves Town that frood near to the Red Sea, and therewith, questionless he took the onerestored it to Juda. He overcame the Phili- ly course, by which he might securely hold stims, of whose I owns he dismantled some, the Lordship over all the Wilderness; it and built others in fundry parts of their Ter- being hardly pallable, by reason of the exritories. Also he got the mastery over some tream drought, when the few Springs thereparts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites in found, are left free to the use of Travelto pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of lers. his prosperous Wars wherein (as Josephus rehearfeth hisacts) he began with the Phili- of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of fundry films, and then proceeded unto the Arabians Towns among the Philiftims; he repaired and Ammonites. His Army confifted of three the wall of Jerusalem, which Joas had brohundred and seven thousand men of War, ken down, and fortified it with Towers, over which were appointed two thousand whereof some were an hundred and fifty and fix hundred Captains. For all this multi- Cubits high. tude the King prepared fields, and spears, and helmets, and other Arms requifite; fol- at this time, fince the division of the twelve lowing therein happily a course quite oppo- Tribes into two Kingdoms. For as Uzzia fite unto that which some of his late prede- prevailed in the South, so (if not more) Jeroceffors had held, who thought it better poli- boam the fon of Joas, King of the ten Tribes, cy to use the service of the Nobility, than of enlarged his border on the North; where the multitude; carrying forth to war the obtaining many victories against the syrians, Princes, and all the Chariots.

important, than the atchievments of all that bout from the entring of Hamath, unto the had reigned in Juda, fince the time of Da- Sea of the Wilderness, that is (as the most exvid; so were his riches and magnificent pound it) unto the vast desarts of Arabia, works, equal, if not superiour to any of theirs the end whereof was undiscovered. So the that had been Kings between him and salo- bounds of Ifrael in those parts, were in time mon. For, befides that great conquefts are of this Jeroboam, the fame (or not much narthe happiness to get. He turned his lands to But it was not for the piety of Jeroboam, the best use, keeping Ploughmen and Dref that he thrived so well, for he was an Idolafers of Vines in grounds convenient for fuch ter: it was only the compassion which the hufbandry. In other places he had Cattel Lord had on Ifrael, feeing the exceeding bitnites and Arabians, that had abundance of the fuccession of war, and to throw the victowaste ground serving for pasturage. For de- rious Aramites under the feet of those whom

Zzia, who is called Abazia, the fence of his Cattel and Heardsmen, he built fon of Jotham, was made King Towers in the Wilderness. He also digged of Juda, when he was fixteen many Cifterns or Ponds. Josephus calls them years old, in the feven and Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it

Besides all this cost, and the building both

The state of Israel did never so flourish, as inces, and all the Chariots. he wan the Royal City of Damasem, and he stight. As the victories of Vzzia were far more wan Hamath, with all the country therea-15.8. won to repay the charges of War with triple rower) which they had been in the reign of interest, he had the skill to use, as well as David.

feeding; whereof he might well keep great ter affliction whereinto the Aramites had ftore, having won so much from the Ammo | brought his people, which caused him to alter

John to which God had promifed the King- his one and fortieth (his feven and twentieth dom of Ifrael unto the fourth generation, was concurring with the first of Uzzia) and the now not far from the end; and now again eight and thirtieth of the same Uzzia, in the 124 lo it was invited unto repentance by new bene- last fix moneths whereof Zacharia reigned firs. as it hath been at the beginning. But the in Samaria. There are some indeed that by

ment. victorious reign of one and forty years, had life than he did his fervant David. ended his life; it feems in all reason that Zacharia his son should forthwith have been ad- wherein the Throne of Israel was void before mitted to reign in his stead; the Nobility of the reign of Zacharia; little may suffice to that race having gotten such a lustre by the be said of his reign it self, which lasted but a immediate succession of four Kings, that any little while. Six months only was he King; in Competitor, had the Crown passed by electi- which time he declared himself a worshipper on, must needs have appeared base; and the of the golden Calves; which was enough to vertue of the last King having been so great, justifie the judgment of God; whereby he as might well serve to lay the foundation of a was slain. He was the last of Jehu's house, benew house, much more to establish the alrea- ing(inclusively)the first of that line; which are likely not to have been wanting upon for the eradication of Ahabs house: which the wisdom of man was ready to cast army ( who afterwards flew one another fo faff, that in fourteen years there reigned five What this salinm was, I do not find; fave Kings)did now byhead-strong violence, rend onely that he was a Traytor, and the son the Kingdom afunder, holding each what he of one Jabesh, whereby his father got no could, and either despiting or hating some honour. It seems that he was one of those, qualities in Zacharia; untill, after many years, who in time of faction had laboured for wearied with diffention, and the principal himself, and now when all other Competiof them perhaps, being taken out of the way tors were fitten down; thought eafly to by death, for want of any other eminent man, prevail against that King, in whose person the they consented to yeild all quietly to the race of Jehn was to fail. Manifest it is, fon of Jeroboam. That this Anarchy lasted al- that Sallum had a strong party : for Tiphsah most three and twenty years, we find by the or Thapfa, and the coast thereof even from difference of time between the fifteenth year Tirah, where Menahem his enemy and sup-

they had to cruelly oppressed. The line of of Uzzia, which was the last of Jeroboane fin of Jeroboam the fon of Nebat was held fo supposing Jeroboam to have reigned with his pretious, that neither the Kingdom it felf gi- father eleven years, do cut off the interregvento him by God, was able to draw Jehn num in Juda (before mentioned) and by the from that politick Idolatry; nor the mifery fame reason abridge this Anarchy that was falling upon him and his posterity, to bring before the reign of Zacharia in Israel. Yet them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, they leave it twelve years long: which is at the last, this great prosperity of Jeroboam time sufficient to prove that the Kingdom of the son of Joas, to make him render the ho- the ten Tribes was no less distempered than nour that was due to the onely giver of vi- as is already noted. But I choose rather to dory. Wherefore the promile of God made follow the more common opinion, as conunto Jehu, that his fons, unto the fourth gene- curring more exactly with the times of other ration, should fit on the throne of Israel, was Princes reigning abroad in the World, than not enlarged; but being almost expired, this doubtful conjecture, that gives to Jerogave warning of the approaching end, by an boam two and fifty years, by adding three accident (fo strange, that we who find no par- quarters of his fathers reign unto his own; ticulars recorded, can hardly ghess at the which was it self indeed so long, that he may occasions) foregoing the last accomplish well seem to have begun it very young; for I do not think that God blessed this Idolater When Jeroboam the fon of Joas, after a both with a longer reign, and with a longer

Thus much being spoken of the time dy confirmed right of a family so rooted in may have been some cause of the troubles possession. All this notwithstanding, two or impeaching his orderly succession: the prothree and twenty years did pass before Za- phesie having determined that race in the charia the fon of Jeroboam was, by uniform tourth generation. But (befidesthat Gods preconsent, received as King. The true original mise was extended unto the utmost ) there causes hereof were to be found at Dan and was no warrant given to Sallum or to any o-Bethel, where the golden Calves did stand; ther, for the death of Zacharia, as had been giyet second instruments of this disturbance ven to Jehn for the slaughter of Jehoram, and

Zacharia having been fix moneths a King, 2 King. 15 an eye. Probable it is, that the Captains of the was then tlain by Sallum, who reigned af-13 Kkko planter

planter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his fread, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, sallum received the reward of his treason, and vvas flain by Me-

earnest, in procuring unto him his Fathers Lord, God made him prosper.

his room.

joyned with Arbaces the Median, against Sar- the Kings face, which was presently infectdanapalus, or whether he were some other ed with leprosie. All this may have been man. At the present it is more fit that we re- true; and some there are vvho think that this late the end of Ozzia's life, who out-lived Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned the happiness wherein we left him.

6. II. The end of Uzzia his Reign and Life.

nahem who reigned in his place.

Menahem the son of Gadi, reigned after sallum ten years. In opposition to Sallum, David in the person of Joas, so it appears; that his hatred was deadly, and inhumane, for the care of holy men was not wanting to he not onely destroyed Tiphsab, and all that Vzzia, to bring him up and advance him to vvere therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up the Crown of Juda, when the hatred born to all their women with child, because they did his Father Amazia had endangered his such not open their gates and let him in. Had this cession. For it is said of Vzzia, That he south cruelty been used in revenge of Zacharia's God in the days of Zacharia (which understood death, it is like that he would have been as the visions of God and when as he sought the Crown when it was first due. But in perform- But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted ing that office, there was used such long de- up to his destruction: for he transgressed against liberation, that we may plainly discover Am- the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of Valent. bition Dildain and other private passions, to the Lord to burn incense upon the Altar of inhave been the causes of this beaftly outrage. cense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own In the time of Menahem, and (as it feems) authority, by medling in the Priests office. in the beginning of his Reign, Pul, King of vyhole power had in every extremity been Affyria, came against the Land of Ifrael, whom so helpful to the Kings of Juda, that meer this new King appeared, with a thousand ra-lents of filver, levied upon all the substantial back Uzzia from incroaching thereupon.yea, men in his Countrey. With this money the If though the Law of God had been filent in raelite purchased, not onely the peace of his this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoever, Kingdom; but his own establishment therein: the King forgot his duty, the Priests rememfome factious man (belike) having either in- bred theirs, & God forgat not to affift them. vited Pul thither, or (if he came uncalled ) Azaria the high Priest interrupted the Kings fought to use his help, in deposing this ill-be-loved King. Josephus reports of this Menahem, little to his honour it vvould prove, that he that his reign was no milder than his en- took upon him the office of the fons of Aaron. trance. But after ten years, his tyranny ended There vvere vvith Azaria fourfcore other with his life;and Pekahia his Son occupied Priests, valiant men, but their valour vvas shewed onely in assisting the high Priest, Of this Pekahia the story is short : for he vvhen (according to his duty) he reprehenreigned onely two years; at the end whereof, ded the Kings prefumption. This was enough he was fluin by Peka the son of Ramalia, whose the rest God himself performed. We find in treasen was rewarded with the Crown of If- Josephus, that the King had apparelled himrael as, in time comming, another mans Trea- self in Priestly habit, and that he threatned fon against himself shall be. There needs no Azaria and his Companions, to punish them more to be faid of Menahem and his son, save vvith death, unless they would be quiet. that they were both of them Idolaters, and Josephus indeed inlargeth the Story, by in- 10 at the fon (as we find in Josephus) like to his fa- ferting a great Earth-quake, which did tear ther in cruelty. Concerning Pulthe Assyrian down half an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, King, who first opened unto those Northern till it rested against another Hill, stopping Nations the way into Palastina; it will shortly up the high-ways, and spoiling the Kings follow in order of the Story, to deliver our o-Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake pinion: whether he were that Belosus (called he saith, that the roof of the Temple did also Beleses, and by some Phul Belochus ) who cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon

by the Prophet Amos; vvherein they do

much mif-reckon the times. For the Earth-

quake spoken of by Amos, vvas in the days

of Jeroboam King of Ifrael, who dyed feven

and thirty years before Uzzia, so that Jotham

the fon of Uzzia, which supplyed his Fa- Flay, the first of the four great prophets, bethere place in government of the Land, gan to fee his visions. This difference of creat cause he was a Leper.

Of the Prophets which lived in the time of Uzand in some other Countries.

N the time of Vzzia were the first of the the Kingdom of Judalesser Prophets, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadia and Jonas. It is not indeed fet down, lowed in the Kingdom of Egypt: unto him fucwhen foel or Obadia did prophecy but if the ceeded Amylis, and these two occupied that Prophets, whose times are not expressed, Crown fix years. Then Sabacus, an Æthiopian, ought to be ranged (according to Saint Hie- became King of Egypt, and held it fifty years, rome's rule ) with the next before them; then whereof the ten first ran along with the last must these two be judged contemporary of Uzzia his Reign and Life. Of these and owith Hofea and Amos, who lived under King ther Egyptian Kings, more shall be spoken, Uzzia. To enquire which of these five was when their affairs shall come to be interthe most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, medled with the business of Juda. at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age teme, victories of Tereboam King of Ifrael, and with the three and twenty of Silvius Procas, therefore is like to have prophesied in the and two and twenty the first of Silvius Amuby his fufferings, than by his writings, now ex- not likely to forget it. tant in all the rest are found express promises of the Meffias.

In the reign of Vzzia likewise it was, that,

should, by this accompt, have been then un- and leffer prophets, is taken from the Voborn: for he vvas but five and twenty years lumes which they have left written as S. old when he began ro reign as King. There- Augustine gives reason of the distinction before, thus far onely vve have affurance; that cause the greater have written larger Books. dra. 6. while Uzzia was wroth with the Priefts, the le- The prophet Flay was great indeed, not on- Ang de profie rose up in his forc-head, before the Priests. ly in regard of his much writing, or of his first, res. Hereupon he vvas caused, in all haste, to de- Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who part the place, & to live in a house by himself think him to have been the son of Amos the untill he dyed, the rule over the Kings house, Prophet) and the high account wherein he and over all the Land, being committed to lived; but for the excellencie both of his frile Jotham, his Son and Successour. Jotham took and argument, wherein he so plainly foretelnot upon himself the stile of a King, till his eth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole Father yyas dead; vyhom they buried in the History of our Saviour, with the calling of ame field wherein his Ancestors lay interred; the Gentiles, that he might as well be called vet in a Monument apart from the rest, be- an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in such wise, That ( as Hierome faith ) Hier. in one would think he did not foretell of things to pref. Just come but compile an History of matters already

Bocchoris was King of Egypt, and the ninth zia; and of Princes then ruling in Egypt, year of his reign, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when Uzzia took possession of

After the death of Bocchoris, Afthis fol-

In Athens, the two last years of Ariphron wherein Homer lived, hath fo plentifully been his twenty, the feven and twentieth of Thefought, without reprehension, how can he be spains, the twentieth of Agamnestor, and the taxed, which offers to fearch out the anti-three first of Æschilus his three and twenty, quity of these holy Prophets? It seems to me, made even with the two and fifty of Vzzia: that the first of these, in order of time, was as likewise did in Alba the last seven of Silthe Prophet Jonas; who foretold the great vius Aventinus his seven and thirty, together days of Joas, whilest the afflictions of Ifrael lius. In Media Arbaces began his new Kingwas exceeding bitter; the Text it felf intima- dom in the first of Uzzia, wherein, after ting no less: by which consequence he was eight and twenty years, his son Sofarmus sucelder than the other Prophets, whose works ceeded him, and reigned thirty years. Of are now extant. But his prophecies that con- this Arbaces, and the division of the Asyrian cerned the Kingdom of Ifrael are now lost. Empire, between him and others, when they That which remaineth of him, feems, not had oppressed Sardanapalus, I hold it conwithout reason unto some very learned, to venient to use more particular discourse, that have belonged unto the time of Sardana- we may not wander in too great uncertain-Palus in whose days Nineve was first of all de- ty in the story of the Assyrian Kings, who have stroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ already found the way into Palastina and are

CHAP. XXIII.

ş. IV.

reigned a part in Nineve and Babylon.

rent, that the chief therein was Arbaces the Afgrians under their subjection, when the Medyan; to whom the rest of the Confede-rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but rates did not onely fubmit themselves in in consideration of the Kings themselves. that War, but vvere contented afterwards who reigning afterwards in Babylon and Nito be judged by him, receiving by his au- neve are confounded by fome, and diftinguiforfeited lives. The first example of his pow- made uncertain. cr. yvas flewn upon Belofus the Babylonian, I will first therefore deliver the opinion by vyhose special advice and help, Arbaces generally received, and the grounds wherehimself vvas become so great: Yet vvas not upon it stands: then, producing the objectithis power of Arbaces exercised in so tyran- ons made against it, I will compare together nical a manner, as might give offence in that the determination of that worthy man Joseph great alteration of things, either to the Prin- Scaliger, with those learned that subscribe ces that had affifted him, or to the genera-thereunto, and the judgement of others that lity of the people. For in the condemnation were more ancient Writers, or have followof Belofus, he used the counsel of his other ed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Nei-Captains, and then pardoned him of his own ther shall it be needfull to set down a-part grace; allowing him to hold not onely the the feverall authorities and arguments of City and Province of Babylon, but also those fundry men, adding somwhat of weight, or treasures, for embezelling vyhereof his life of clearnesse one to another: it will be had been endangered.

rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers and without sear to be taxed of partialitie, of Provinces; retaining (as it appears ) onely as being no more addicted to the one opinithe Soveraignty to himself, which to use on than to the other, by any fancie of mine immoderately he did naturally abhor. He own, but meerly led by those reasons, which is faid, indeed, to have excited the Medera- upon examination of each part, feemed to gainst Sardanapalus, by propounding unto me most forceable, though to others they them hope of transferring the Empire to may perhaps appear weak. their Nation. And to make good this his pro- That which until of late, hath paffed as curmife, he destroyed the City of Nineve, per- rent, is this That Belofus was the same King, mitting the Citizens nevertheless to take and who, first of the Affirians, entred Palastina carry away every one his own goods. The with an Armie; being called Pul, or Phul, in other Nations that joyned with him, as the the Scriptures, and by Annius his authors by the allurement of liberty; which he him- this man it is faid, that he was a skilfull Afelf fo greatly leved, that by flacking too ftrologer, fubrile, and ambitious; that much the reins of his own Soveraignty, he he got Babylon by composition made with did more harm to the general effate of Me- Arbaces; and that not therewith content, he dia, than the pleasure of the freedom, which got into his hand part of Affyria: finally that it enjoyed could recompence. For both the he reigned eight and fortie years, and then rower by Salmanaffar, (or perhaps by some his son in whose Posterity it continued some of his Progenitors) whom we find in the few defeents, till the house of Merodach Scriptures to have held some Towns of the prevailed. The truth of this, if Annius his Medes; and the civil administration was so Metasthenes were sufficient proof, could not disorderly, that the people themselves were be gainfaid; for that Author (such as he is) is terms of obedience,

How the force of the Allyrians grew to be fuch as might in fourfcore years, if not fooof the Affyrian Kings, descending from Phul: ner.both extend it felf unto the conquest of and whether Phul and Belolus were one Ifrael, and tear away some part of Media, it is person, or heads of sundry Families, that a question hardly to be answered; not onely in regard of the destruction of Nineve, and Subvertion of the Alivrian Kingdom, whereof Y that which hath formerly been thew- the Medes, under Arbaces, had the honour. Sed of Sardanapalus his death, it is appa- who may feem at that time to have kept the thority fentence of death or pardon of their flied by others; whereby their Hiftory is

enough to relate the whole fubstance of each In like manner, he gave rewards to the discourse which I will doe as briefly as I can.

Persians and Ballrians, he drew to his side, with such as follow them, Phul Belochus. Of Territory of that Countrey was pared nar-dying, left the Kingdome to Teglat-phalassar glad to fee that reformation, which Deioces peremptorie herein. But, howfoever Annithe fift of Arbaccs his Line, did make in that is his Authors deferve to be suspected, it government, by reducing them into stricter stands with no reason, that wee should conclude all to be falle which they affirme. fie it by divers good. Allegations, as a mat- he had fuch means as Telejus had, which Field ter confirmed by circumftances found in all if he were not Belows is likely to have want-Authors, and repugnant unto no historie at ed. all. For it is manifest by the relation of Dio-dorus (which is indeed the foundation fon from Belojus, and Lord of Africa, which

as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire. Flowers both. This being for how can it be thought triendship of these Arabians was a thing of that the Affyrians in three or four years had main importance, to those that were to pass less, to reftore fuch a City as Nineve, was an mory whereof was availeable to the Syrians,

They, who maintaine this Tradition, justi-tenterprise fit for none to take in hand, except

whereupon all have built) that Arbaces and lay beyond the Countries of Eabylon and Belows were partners in the action against Melopotamia, it would not have been an easie Sardanapalus; and that the Ballrians, who matter for him, to pass quite through anojoyned with them, were thought well re- ther mans Kingdom with an Army, feeking warded with libertie, as likewise other Cap- booty a far off in Jirael; the onely action tains were with governments: but that any by which the name of Phut is known. But third person was so eminent, as to have Affy- if we grant, that he, whom the Seciptures call ria it felte, the cheife Countrey of the Em- Pul or Phul, was the fame whom prophane pire bestowed upon him, it is a thing where- writers have called Belefins, fielder, and Be-Liosus, of not the least appearance is found in any lestis (in like manner as losey has acknowledge Hiftoric. And certainly it flood with little eth, that he whom the Scriptures called nereason, that the Asyrians should be commit- ver otherwise than Darius the Mede, was the ted unto a peculiar King, at such time as it son of Assigners, and called of the Greeks by was not meet to trust them in their own another name, that is, Cyaxeres ) then is this walls and houses. Rather it is apparent, that scruple utterly removed. For Babylon and the destruction of Nineve by Arbaces, and the Mesopotamia did border upon Syria and Patransplantation of the Citizens, was held a lestina: so that Belosus having settled his afneedfull policy, because thereby the people sairs in Alignia towards the East and North, of that Nation might be kept down from af- might with good leifure encroach upon the piring to recover the Soveraignty, which Countries that lay on the other fide of his elfe they would have thought to belong, Kingdom, to the South and West. He that looks into all particulars, may find every Upon such considerations did the Romans, one circumstance concurring, to prove that in ages long after following, deftroy Carthage | Phul, who invaded Ifrael, was none other and dillolve the Corporation, or Body poli- than Belofus. For the Prince of the Arabians, tick, of the Citizens of Capua; because those who joyned with Arbaces, and brought no two Towns were capable of the Empire: a small part of the forces wherewith Sardanamatter esteemed over-dangerous, even to palus was overthrown, did enter into that Rome it felfe, that was Miltrelic of them action, meerly for the love of Relofus. The erected their Kingdome a new under one over Euphrates with an Army into Syria. Pul? or what must this Pul have been ( of Wherefore Beloss, that held good correswhose deservings or entermedling, or in-pondence with them, and whose most fruitdeed of whose very name, we find no men-full Province, adjoying to their barren tion in the Warre against Sardanapalus) to quarters, might yearly do them inestimable whom the principal parts of the Empire fell pleasures, was not only likely to have quiet either by generall confent in division of the passage through their borders, but their ut-Provinces, or by his owne power and pur- most assistance: yea, it stands with good reachase very soon after? Surely he was none son, that they who loved not Israel, should other than Belofus; whose neer neighbour- for their own behoofe have given him intellihood gave him opportunity( as he was wife gence of the destructions and civil broyles aenough to play his own game) both to get mong the ten Tribes; whereby as this Pul Allyria to himself, and to empeach any other got a thousand talents, so it seems that the syman that should have attempted to seize riuns and Arabians, that had selt an heavy upon it. The Province of Babylon, which Be- neighbour of Jeroboam, recovered their own, losus held, being ( as Herodotus reports ) in setting up a new King in Damasco, and clearriches and power as good as the third part of ling the coast of Arabia, ( from the Sea of the the Persian Empire, was able to furnish him Wilderness to Hamath) of the Hebrew Garriwith all that was requifite for fuch a butiness: fons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, if that were not enough. he had gotten into that made the Nations, divided by Euphrates, his own hands all the gold and filver that had hold together in fo good terms of friendbeen in the Palace of Nineve. And question- thip: it was ancient contanguinity, the me-

They

in the time of David, when the Aramites this Reign; manifest it is, that the conquest

business which might allure the Chaldeans made until Belosus could find leisure; and the into Palæstina, it may be doubted, lest it time of advantage which Belosus did let slip, should seem to have ill coherence with that argued his business in some other quarter, which hath been faid of the long Anarchy namely, in that Province of which Phul is that was in the ten Tribes. For if the called King. Briefly, it may be faid, that he Crown of Israel were worn by no man in who conquered Affyria, and performed somethree and twenty years, then is it likely that what upon a Country fo far diftant as Pale-Belofus was either unwilling to stir, or un-fina, was likely to have been, at least, named able to take the advantage when it was fair-in some History, or, if not himself, yet his est and first discovered. This might have com- Country to have been spoken of for those vipelled those, who alone were not strong ctories: but we neither hear of Phul, in any enough to feek after help from some Prince prophane Author; neither doth any Writer, that lay further off; and so the opinion of sacred or prophane, once mention the vithose that distinguish Phul from Belosus, Ctories or acts whatsoever of the Assertant would be somewhat confirmed. On the other done in those times; whereas of Belosus, and fide, if we fay, that Belosus did pass the river the power of the Chaldeans, we find good of Eurphrates, as foon as he found likelihood Record. of making a prosperous journey, then may Surely, that great slaughter of so many it feem that the inter-regnum in Ifrael was thousand Affyrians, in the quarrel of Sardananot so long as we have made it: for three palus, together with other calamities of that and twenty years leifure would have afford-long and unfortunate war, which overed better opportunity, which ought not to whelmed the whole Country, ending but have been loft.

what Orofius and Eusebius have written con- of Asyria, that it could not in thirty years cerning the Chaldees: the one, that after the space be able to invade Palastina, which the departure of Arbaces into Media, they layd ancient Kings, reigning in Nineve, had, in all hold on a part of the Empire : the other, that their greatness, forborn to attempt. Yet they prevailed and grew mighty, between these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did the times of Arbaces and Deioces the Medes. help to enable Belosus to subdue it; who ha-Now, though it be held an errour of Orost- ving once extended his Dominion to the w, where he supposeth that the occupying of borders of Media, and being (especially if Babylonia by the Chaldwans was in a manner he had compounded with the Medes) by the of a rebellion from the Medes; yet herein he interpolition of that Countrey, secure of the and Enselius do concur, that the autho- Scythians, and other warlike Nations on that riry of Arbaces did restrain the ambition, side, might very well turn Southward, and which by his absence grew bold, and by his try his fortune in those Kingdoms, wheredeath, regardful onely of it felf. Now, though into civill diffention of the inhabitants, and fome have conjectured that all Affyria the bordering envy of the Arabians and Arawas given to Belosus ( as an overplus, besides | mites about Damasco, Friends and Cousins the Provinces of Babylon which was his by to the Chaldeans and Mesopotamians, did inplain bargain made aforehand ) in regard vite him. For these, and the other before of his high defervings; yet the opinion alledged reasons, it may be concluded, That more commonly received, is, that he did what is faid of Pul in the Scriptures, ought to onely incroach upon that Province by lit- be understood of Belosus; even as by the tle and little, whilest Arbaces lived, and af-names of Nebuchadnezzar, Darius the Mede, terwards dealing more openly, got it all Artashasht, and Abashuerosh, with the like, himselse. Seeing therefore, that there pass are thought, or known, to be meant the fed but twelve years between the death of fame whom prophane Historians, by names Arbaces, and the beginning of Menabem better known in their own Countreys, have

beyond the river came over willingly, to of Assyria, and settling of that Countrey, was the fuccour of Hadadezer, and the Aramites work enough to hold Belofus occupyed about Damasco. So Belosus had good rea- besides the restauration of Nineue, which fon to look into those parts: what a King alone was able to take up all the time remaireigning fo far off as Nineve, should have to ning of his reign, if perhaps he lived to fee do in Syria, if the other end of his Kingdom it finished in his own days. So that this had not reached to Euphrates, it were hard to argument may rather ferve to prove that Phul and Belofus were one person, forasmuch But concerning this last argument of the as the journey of Phul against Ifrael was not

with the ruine and utter desolation of Ni-For answer, hereunto we are to consider, neve, must needs have so weakened the state felves or others with framing new conjecttures, This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no nasjar none other than Baladan King of Babel. great consequence to know the truth of this and not Salmanasar King of Assyria point (confidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether Pul were Belosus, of these two names, Nabonassar and Salmanaor some other man: the whole race of these far, which in Greek or Latine writing hath Affrian and Babylonian Kings, wherein are no difference, we are taught by Scaliger, that found those famous Princes, Nabonassar, Mar- in the Hebrew letters there is found no affidocempadus, and Nabopollassar (famous for the nity therein. So concerning the places of Ba-Astronomicall observations recorded from bylonia, whereinto Salmanassar carried captheir times) is the main ground of this con- tive some part of the ten Tribes, it may well tention. If therefore Belosus or Beleses were be granted, that in the Province of Babylon, that Phul which invaded Ifrael; if he and his Salmanassar had gotten somewhat, vet will posterity reigned both in Nineve and in Baby- it not follow that he was King of Babylon it lon; if he were father of Teglat-Phul-Afer, selfe. To conclude, Merodach began his from whom Salmanasar, Senacherib, and A- reign over Babylon in the fixt year of Hezisarbaddon descended; then it is manifest, that kia, at which time Salmanasar took Samaria; we must seek Nabonassar the Babylonian King, among those Princes, yea, and conclude him then must we say that he and Merodach, yea, to be none other than Salmanafar, who is and Nabonassar, were all one man. These are known to have reigned in those years which the arguments of that noble and learned Ptolomy the Mathematician hath affigned Writer Joseph Scaliger; who not contented to This is the scope and end of all his disputa- ference.

will not be fatisfied with fuch conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by their ignorance, that have spent their labour shaking that into peices, hope to overthrow to so little purpose. Honest and painfull all the premises upon which it is inferred. For (say they) if Nabonassar that reigned in their diligence might have won the good li-Babylon, could not be Salmanasar, or any of king of their Readers, had they not, by menthose other Asserian Kings, then it is manifest tioning Annius his Authors, given such ofthat the races were diffinct, and that Phul and Belofus were feverall Kings. This confequence is so plain, that it needs no confirmation. To prove that Nabonassar was a diftinct person from Salmanassar, are brought fuch arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had fworn to hold the contrary. For first, Nabonasar was King of Babylon, and not of Affyria. This is proved by his name, which is meerly Chaldean, vvhereas Salman, the first part of Salmanasars name, is proper to the Affyrians.

It is likewise proved by the Astronomical observations, which proceeding from the Babylonians, not from the Assyrians, do shew

called Nabopollasser, Cyaxares, and Artaxer- | that Epocha, or account of times, vvas a Babyxes: especially considering, that hereby we lonian, and no Affyrian. Thirdly, and more shall neither contradict any thing that hath strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of been written of old, or need to trouble our Nabonaffar, which vvas Mardocempadus, called in his own language Mero-dac-ken-pad, E/sy 39.1. but more breifly in Elay his prophecie. Merodac by the former Part of his name; or Merodach Baladan the fon of Baladan. Now if Now this being once granted, other Merodachthe fon of Baladan King of Babel. were the fonne of Nabonaffar, then was Nabo-

What can be plainer? As for the cadence unto Nabonassar. As for Merodech, who supplanted Asir-haddon, manifest it is, that likelihood of conjectures, hath drawn his he and his successors were of another house. proofes from matter of more necessary in-

Touching all that was faid before of Phul But they that maintain the contrary part, Belosus, for the proving that Phul and Belosus were not fundry Kings; Joseph Scaliger pities men he confesseth that they were, who by fences that men refused thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A short

For mine own part, howfoever I beleeve nothing that Annius his Berofus, Metasthenes, and others of that stamp affirm, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so sqeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Book, though I find the names of one or two of these good fellows alledged in it: I have (fomewhat peradventure to often) already spoken my mind of Annius his Authors: Neverthelesse, I may say here again, that where other Histories are filent, or speak not enough, there may we without that Nabonassar, from vvhom Ptolomy draws shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elfewhere we find, and wife King Philip loft partly, and partly did probabilities.

ful men (as sealiger terms them, meaning, them, being me-thinks none other than anif I mistake him not, good filly fellows) who swers to somewhat that is or might be alledfet down the Affrian Kings from Pul for- ged on the contrary fide) one of them which wards, as Lords also of Babylon, taking Pul is drawn from the unlike sound and wrifor Belosus, and Salmana far for Nabonasiar, ting of those names, Salmanasjar and Nabofuch Writers as a man should be assamed or nassar in the Hebrew, I hold a point about unwilling to read. For ( to omit a multitude, which no man will dispute; for it is not likeof others, that herein follow Anniue, though nefs of found, but agreement of time, and disliking him in general ) Gerard Mercator is many circumstances else, that must take anot so slight a Chronologer, that he should be I way the distinction of persons: the other likelaughed out of doors with the name of an wife may be granted, which is, that Salmahonest meaning fellow.

Scaliger and Mercator; they were both of lon it felt: this indeed might be so, and it them men notably learned: let us examine might be otherwife. Hitherto there is nothe arguments of scaliger, and see whether thing save conjecture. But in that which is althey be of fuch force as cannot either be re- ledged out of the Prophet Esay concerning fifted or avoided. It will eafily be granted, Merodach the fon of Baladan; and in that that Nabonassar was King of Babylon; that he which is said of this Merodach, and Mardowas not King of Alpria, some men doubt kerpadus, his being the Successor of Nahonassar whether scaligers reasons be enough to and his beginning to reign in the fixt year of prove. For though Nabonasar be a Chalda an Hezekra. I find matter of more difficulty, than name, and Salmanasar an Asyrian; yet what can be answered in hast I will therefore defer hinders us from believing that one man in the handling of these objections untill I meet two languages might be called by two feve- with their subject in his proper place; which ral names. That Astronomy flourished a- will be when we come to the time of Hezekia, mong the Chaldees, is not enough to prove wherein Merodach lived, and was King. Yet Nabonaljar either an Astrologer or a Chalda- that I may not leave too great a scruple in Scales. an. So it is, that Scaliger himself calls them, the mind of the Reader, thus far will I here Prophetas nescio quos, qui Nabonastarum latisfic himsthat how strong soever this argu-Allronomum suife in somnis viderunt; Pro- ment may seem, scaliger himself did live to phets I know not who, that in their fleep have retract it, ingenuoually confessing, that in

Whether Nabonassar were an Astrologer Now therefore let us consider, in v t or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintain fort they have sashioned their Story, who

ferveth to explain or inlarge it without im- put to a dangerous hazzard all the Netherlands, by such a course. As for the two un-Neither indeed are those honest and pain- answerable arguments, ( as Scaliger terms nasjar might be Lord of some places in the But I will not make comparisons between Province of Babylon, yet not King of Eabydreampt of Nabonatiar, that he was an Altro- thinking Merodach to be the fon of Nabon C Jur, he had been deceived.

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the negative: But as his being Lord over the king Ful to be a dillinct person from Belosus Chaldeans, doth not prove him to have or Belestis, have in like sort, as was necessary been learned in their sciences; so doth it ry, distinguished their off-spring, making not prove him not to have been also that of Ful to fail in Alarhaddon, which left King of Assyria. The Emperour Charles the all to Meradach the Babylonian. And here I fift, who was born in Gant, and Philiphis must first confess my want of Books, if Son, King of Spain, and Lords of the Ne- perhaps there be many, that have gone atherlands, had non far more learned in all bout to reduce this narration into some such Sciences, and particularly in the Mathema- order, as might present unto us the body of ticks, among their Subjects of the Low Counthis History, in one view. Divers, indeed, tries, than were any that I read of then living there are, whom I have seen, that since Join Spain, if Spain at that time had any; yet feph Scaliger delivered his opinion, have writ-I think, Policrity will not use this as an artice in favour of some one or other point gument, to prove that Spain was none of thereofibut Sethis Calvifus himfelf, who hath theirs. It may well be, that salmanassar or abridged scaligers leatned Work, De emen-Nabonassar did use the Asyrian Souldiers, and datione Temporum, hath not been careful to Eabylonian Scholars; but it scems, that he give us notice, how long Belojus, Ealadan, and his pesterity, by giving themselves Pul, or Tiglat Pulassar did reign, (perhaps wholly to the more warlike Nation; loft the because he found it not expressed in Scaliger) richer, out of which they first issued, as like- but is content to set down Baladan, for the

same person with Nabonassar, which Scaliger in there space, that is, in four years, it came himself revoked. In this case therefore I to pass by the just judgment of God, that Phil must lay down the plot of these divided and Belosus rebelled against Arbaces, like as Kingdoms, in such fort as I find it conceived Arbaces had done against Sardanapalus; and by Augustinus Torniellus; who onely of all instead of being Vice-Roys, made themselves that I have feen, fets down the fuccession, absolute Kings. And to this later opinion Torcontinuance, and acts, of those that reigned niellus himself leans, holding it much the in Allyria after Sardanapalus, distinguishing more probable, as being more agreeable to them from Belofus, and his Posterity, of that which is found in prophane Histories. whom he hath the like remembrance. This Why he did make and publish theformer sup-Torniellus is a Regular Clark of the congre- poling, refolving to hold the later. Ishall agation of S. Paul, whose Annales were prin- non, without any wrong to him, make bold to ted the last year; he appears to me a man ghels. Having thus devised how Phul and Beof a curious industry, found judgment, and losus might, at the first, attain to be Kings, he free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, orders their time and their fuccessors in this wilfully)forgetfulof thanking, or mentioning manner. those Protestant Writers, by whose Books he hath received good information, and reign, and continues eight and forty years. enriched his works by inferting somewhat Theglatphalasar (whose name, and the names of theirs. But in this business he hath of other Princes, I write diversly, accoropenly professed to follow scaliger, whose ding to the Authors whom I have in hand help, without wrong or dishonour to him- are pleased to diversifie them) succeeding felf, he hath both used and acknowledged. unto Phul, reigned three and twenty. Salma-For mine own part, I will not spare to do nassar followed him, and reigned ten. After right unto Torniellus; but confess my felf him Senacherib reigned seven; and when he to have received benefit by his writing; and was flain, Afarhadden his fon ten years; in wish that his Annals had sooner come to light; whom that line failed. for that as he hath much confirmed me in fomethings, fo would he have instructed King of Assertion, or not long after (why not and imboldened me to write more fully and rather afore? for fo it had been more likely) less timerously in other things, which now Belosus usurped the Kingdom of Babylon, I have no leisure to revise. Particularly in and held it threescore and eight years; at that coniecture (which I had faintly deliver- the least threescore and eight years did pass, ed, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily pas- before Nabonassar followed him in the posfed out of my hand, and been exposed to o- fession. ther mens constructions) of the four Kings To Nabonassar, whom (with Scaliger) he

as I have done, to fay, that they may pro- dach, or Mardocempadus: four and twenty to bably be thought to have been some petty Ben Merodach: and lastly one and twenty to Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers Nabolassar the father of Nebuchodonosor; who notwithstanding. But now let us consider is like to offer matter of further disputation. how he hath ordered these last Assyrian and

Four years after Arbaces, Phul begins to

that invaded the Valley of Siddim, and were thinks to be Baladan, are assigned fix and flain by Abraham, I find him adventuring twenty years: then two and fifty to Mero-

Concerning the original of these Assyrian Babylonian Kings. After the destruction of and Babylonian Kingdoms, I may truly Sardanapalus, Arbaces, being the most migh- say, That the conjectures of other men, who ty, fought to get all to himself, but was op-give all to Belosus, and confound him with posed by Belosus; in which contention, one Phul, appear to me more nearly resembling Phul a powerful man in Affyria, fided with the truth. Neither do I think, that Tor-Belofus, and they two prevailed to far, that niellus would have conceived two different finally Arbaces was content to share the Em- waies, by which Phul might have gotten Afpire with them, making such a division there- fired ( for how Belosus came to get Babylon, of, as was long after made of the Roman it is plain enough ) if either of them alone Empire between Octavian, Anthony, and could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with Another conjecture is (for Torniellus of Diodore, and other Historians. But he perfers not this, or the rest, as matter of cer- ceived, that to make Phul on the sudden King tainty) that Arbaces made himself Soveraign of Affiria; or to give him so noble a Province, Lord of all, and placed the feat of his as would, of it felf, invite him to accept Empire in Media, appointing Belofus his Lieu- the name and power of a King, was a thing renant in Babylonio, and Phulin Affria. But most unlikely to have happened, unless his

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been proportionable to fo high a reward, without bluffing after a little, to help our And for this caule (as I take it) hath he de- own opinions, and lay the blame upon Annivised the means, whereby Phul might be us, against whom we shall be sure to find made capable of fo great a share in the Em- friends that will take our part. pire. If this were a true or probable suppo- The reigns of Theglathalasar and Salmatition, then would a new doubt arife, Why naffar did reach, by Annius his measure, to this Phul being one of the three that divided the length of five and twenty years the all betweene them, was utterly forgotten by one, and feventeen the other; Torniellus all Hilterians? yea, why this division it selfe, hath cut off two from the former, and seand the civil Warres that caused it, were ven from the latter of them to fit (as I think) never heard of? Questionlesses, the enterver- his own computation; using the liberty ting of some treasures by Belosus, with his whereof I spake last: for that any Author. Judgment, Condemnation, and Pardon fol- fave our good Metasthenes, or those that borlowing, were matters of farre lefte note, rowed of him, hath gone about to tell how Therefore I doe not fee, how one of the two long each of these did reign, it is more than I inconveniences can this way be avoyded; have yet found. To Senacherib and Afarhadbut that either we must confesse the Domi don, Torniellus gives the same length of reign, nion given to Phul to have been exceeding which is found in Metasthenes, I think there his merits; or else his merits, and name with are not many, that will arrogate so much all, to have been strangely forgotten; either unto themselves, as may very well be allowof which is enough to make us thinke, that ed unto a man fo judicious as is Torniellus: rather the conjecture, inferring such a sequel, and yet I could wish that he had forborn is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of to condemn the followers of Annius in this Phul and Belofus, against Arbaces, it was al- business, wherein he himself hath chosen. most impossible for the Alignians to recover in part rather to become one of them, than fuch ftrength in foure years, as might ferve to fay, as else he must have done, almost noto hold out in rebellion: for Belofus it was thing. needlesse to rebell, considering, that Arbaces did not seek to molest him, but rather per- the measuring the reigns of the Chaldaans, mitted (as being an over-great favourer of filling up all the space between the end of liberty) even the Medes that were vnder Sardanapalus and the beginning of Nabonafhis own Government, to doe what they far, with the threescore and eight years of

them all (for some will require a large dis-score and eight years would seem a long course in their own times; but speaking of time for him to hold a Kingdom, that was no their order and time in generall. If it be foe young man when he took possession of it. unlawfull to think, that some of Annius his But how is any whit of his age abated by tales (let them all be counted his tales, which shortning his reign, seeing his life reacheth are not found in other Authors as well as in to the end of such a time, as were alone withhis) may be true, especially such as contra-out adding the time wherein he was a prilikelihood; why then is it faid, that Phul did eight and forty years had been somewhat of reign in Alignia eight and forty years? For the most, considering that he seems by the this hath no other ground than Annius. Itory to have been a little less at such time as It is true that painful and judicious Writers he joyned with Arbaces; and therefore the have found this number of years to agree fit- addition of twenty years, did well deserve ly with the course of things in History: yet that note (which Torniellus advisedly gives) all of them took it from Annius. Let it there- that if his reign extended not fo far, then the fore be the punishment of Annius his for- reign of such as came after him, occupied gery (as questionless he is often guilty of this the middle time, unto Nabonassar. crime) that when he tels truth, or proba- I neither do reprehend the boldness of bility, he be not believed for his own fake ; Torniellus, in conjecturing, nor the modesty though for our own fakes we make use of of Scaliger and Sethus Calvifus, in forbearing his boldness, taking his words for good, to set down as warrantable, such things as whereas (nothing elfe being offered) we are depend onely upon likelihood. For things, unwilling our felves to be Authors of new, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken athough not unprofitable conjectures. Herein way from us by Antiquity must be described

deferts( who roof we find no mention) had twe shall have this commodity, that we may

Belofus. In this respect it was perhaps that But it is now fit that we peruse the Cata- he thought Belosus might have begun his logue of these Kings; not passing through reign somewhat later than Pkul: for threedict no acknowledged truth, or apparent vate man, enough for a long liver? Indeed

is made no true discovery, that is, either by to one of those Authors whose names he pre-Describer, as that which ariseth from the re- learned. mediles oblivion of confuming time. For it is true that the Poet faith.

- Neque fervidis Pars inclusa caloribus Mundi, nec Boreæ finitium latus, Duratæque fele Nines, Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi Vincunt aquora Navita,

Nor Southern heat, nor Northern Snow That freezing to the ground doth grow, The fub iects Regions can fence, And keep the greedy Merchant thence: The fubtile Shipmen way to find, Storm never so the Seas with Wind.

they cannot ferve alwayes. To which pur- for lack of better. pole I remember a pretty jest of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthy Spanish gentleman, who had been imployed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of Megellan: Of the Olympiads, and the time when they for when I asked, him being then my Prifoner, some questions about an Island in those Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprife, he told me merily, that it was to be games, by Iphitus, in the reign of the same called the Painters vives Iland; saying, That King Uzzia and in his one and fiftieth year. It fitting by, defired to put in one Countrey games were established by Iphitus, in the first an Island of her own. But in filling up the but that Authors, weighty enough, have giblankes of old Histories, we need not be soe ven to them a more early beginning. The time shall runne backward, and by restoring cred History, which are found in prophane the things themselves to knowledge, make Authors, we should not be too careful of our conjectures appear ridiculous: What if drawing the Hebrens to those works of time, fome good Copy of any ancient Author, which had no reference to their affairs, it is e-could be found, flewing (if we have it not al-nough, that fetting in due order these beginties would it be more shame to have believed
in the mean while, Annius or Torniellus, than
to have believed nothing? Here I will activity, were first instituted by Hereules, who

in Hiltory, as Geographers in their Maps de- not fay, that the credit which a gave to scribe those Countreys, whereof as yet there Annius, may chance otherwhiles be given leaving some part blank, or by inserting the tendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of au. Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Load-stone, with thority, I had rather trust scaliner or Torni-Head-lands, Bayes, great Rivers, and other ellus, than Annius, yet him than them, of his particularities, agreeable to common report, affertion be more probable, and more agreethough many times controlled by following able to approved Hilteries than their conicexperience, and found contrary to truth. Cture, as in this point it feems to me; it hav-Yet indeed the ignorance growing from di- jing moreover gotten some credit, by the apstance of place, allows not such liberty to a probation of many, and those not meanly

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a fure course in examination of such opinions as have once gotten the credit of being general, fo to deal as Pacuvius in Capua did with the multitude, finding them defirous to put all the Senators of the City to death. He lockt the Senators up within the Statehouse, and offered the lives of the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hafty: for as fast as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him dye: but the execution required more leifure; for in substituting of another some notorious Therefore the fictions (or let them be vice of the person, or baseness of his condicalled conjectures) painted in Maps, doe tion, or fufficiency of his quality, made each ferve only to mif-lead fuch discoverers as new one that was offered to be rejected: so rashly believe them; drawing upon the pub-that finding the worse and less choice, the lifters, either some angry curses or well de-further and the more that they sought, it was ferved fcorn; but to keep their owne credit, finally agreed, that the old should be kept

§. V.

A Fter the division of the Assyrian Empire, follows the instauration of the Olympian whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife is, I know, the general opinion, that these for her; that she in imagination, might have of Jotham: yet is not that opinion so general, scrupulous, For it is not to be feared, that truth is, that in fitting those things unto the saready ) the perfect truth of these uncertain- nings of accounts, we joyn them to matters of

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measured he length of the race by his own loponnesus, were sourscore years; thence to cians, and reputed among the Wonders of cluded. the World, was known by the name of the But vain labour it were to feek the beginfus, near the River Alpheus.

Aul Gell I. rearling ings were discontinued for many years, till year current after Troz. we may reckon back

ved under Constantine the Great.

Grecian times and their stories to be certain: the beginning of the Olympiads to the pafbut reckoned all before, either doubtful or fage of Xerxes into Greece, two hundreth fabulous: and yet Pliny gives little credit fourscore and seventeen years; from thence to all that is written of Greece, till the reign to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, of Cyrus, who began in the five and fiftieth eight and forty years; forwards to the vi-Olympiad, as Fuschins out of Diodore, Castor, Ctory of Lyfander, seven and twenty; to the Polybius, and others, hath gathered, in whose battel of Leudra, thirty four; to the death of time the seven wise Grecians flourished. For Philip King of Macedon, five and thirty; and Solon had speech with Crassus, and Crassus was finally to the death of Alexander, twelve. overthrown and taken by Cyrus.

boured to find out the certain beginning of allowed by the most. these Clympiads, namely, to set them in the true year of the World, and the reign of lympiads in the one and fiftieth year of Uzfuch and fuch Kings: but feeing they all dif- zia, we have arguments grounded upon that fer in the first accompt that is, of the Worlds which is certain, concerning the beginning year, they can hardly jump in particulars of Cyrus his reign, and the death of Alexan-

thereon depending.

Azariab.

Falch, de

Eusebius, who is contrary to himself in this of divers other. years later.

Solinus, and many others adhere.

foot: by which Pythagoras found out the the Ionian expedition, threescore years; state and likely strength of Hercules his bo- from that expedition to the time of Lycurdy. They took name, not from the Mountain gus his government in Sparta, one hundred Olympus, but from the City Olympia, other- fifty nine; and thence to the first Olympiad. wife Fifa, near unto Elis; where also Jupi- one hundred and eight years. In this account ter's Temple in Elis, famous among the Grethe first year of the first Olympiad is not in-

Temple of Jupiter Olympius. These games ning of the Olympiads by numbring the vears were exercised from every fourth year com- from the taking of Troy, which is of date pleat in the plains of Elis, a City of Pelopone- far more uncertain. Let it suffice that by knowing the inflauration of thefe games to After the death of Hercules, these meet- have been in the four hundreth and eight Iphitus, by advice from the Oracle of Apollo, to the taking of that City, fetting that, and re-established them, Licurgus the Law-giver other accidents which have reference therethen living: from which time they were to, in their proper times. The certainty of continued by the Grecians, till the reign of things following the Olympiads must needs Theodosius the Emperour, according to Ce- teach us how to find when they began.

drenus: others think that they were dissol- To this good use we have the ensuing years unto the death of Alexander the Great. From this institution, Varro accompted the thus divided by the same Eratosthenes. From The whole sum ariseth to 453, years; which Many patient and piercing brains have la- number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is

Now for placing the institution of the oder; as also upon the Astronomical calcula-Cyril against Julian and Dydimus begin the tion of fundry Eclipses of the Sun; as of that Olympiads the nine and fortieth of Osias, or which happened when Xerxes fet out of Sardis with his Army to invade Greece; and

reckoning, accounts with those that find Touching Cyrus, it is generally agreed that Tal de vange. Live the very first Olympiad in the beginning of his reign as King before he was Lord of the the four hundreth and fixth year after Troy; great Monarchy, began the first year of the English yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth five and fiftieth Olympiad, and that he reign-Prop. b. year of Uzziah, which is (as I find it) two ed thirty years: they who give him but e. ou twenty nine years of reign (following Hero-Dem. 1-Eratofihenes placeth the first Olympiad four dotus rather than Tully, Juffin, Enfebius, and Tang Lin apud. clem. hundred and seven years after Troy, reckon- others) begin a year later, which comes all Aiex. Since L.I. ing the years that passed between; to whom to one reckoning. So is the death of Alexan-Dionysius, Halicarnasseus, Diodorus Siculus, der set by all good Writers in the first year of the hundreth and fourteenth Olympiad. The distance between the destruction of This latter note of Alexanders death serveth Troy and the first clympiad, is thus collected well to lead us back to the beginning of Cyby Eratosthenes. From the taking of Troy to rus; as many the like observations do. For the descent of Hercules his posterity into Pe-lif we reckon upwards from the time of Alexthe Persian Empire.

Cyrus his Monarchy ( which was the last of dy had befallen him. In the like sense Horace the lixtieth Olympiad, and the two hundreth speaks of these Victors, calling them. and fortieth year from the institution of those games by Iphitus) followed the last of the seventy years of the captivity of Juda, and defolation of the Land of Ifrael: manifelt it is, that we must reckon back those seventy years, and one hundred threescore, and ten years more, the last which patied under the Kings of Inda, to find the first of these Clym-

beginning of Xerxes, and from him to Cyrus, of a Province. whence we have a fair way through the threescore and ten years, unto the destruction ed at the full of the Moon; and upon the of Jerusalem; and so upwards through the sisteenth day of the Moneth Hecatombaan, reigns of the last Kings of Juda, to the one and which doth answer to our June; and what fiftieth year of Uzzia.

Thus much may fuffice, concerning the time wherein these Olympiads began.

with what exceeding great concourse of all the Kings of Juda, and leave the merry Greeks Greece, they were celebrated. I hold it a fu- at their games, whom I shall meet in more seperfluous labour. It is enough to fay that all | rious imployments, when the Persian quarrels bodily exercises, or the most of them, were draw the body of the History into the coasts therein practifed, as Running, Wrestling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they only contend for the Mastery in those feats, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kinds of exercises that ferved only for oftentation. Thirher also repaired Orators, Poets: Muficians and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryal of their skill. Yea, the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having plaid the best part!

ander, we shal find all to agree with the years The Eleans were presidents of those Games. of the Olympiads; wherein Cyrus began his whose justice, in pronouncing without parreign either as King, or taking the word Mo- tiality who did best, is highly commended. As narch, to fignific a Lord of many Kingdoms, for the rewards given to the Victors, they as a great Monarch. From the beginning of Cy-were none other than Garlands of Palm, or rus, in the first year of the ave and futteth o- Olive, without any other commodity follow-Impiad, unto the end of the Persian Empire, ling than the reputation. Indeed there needed which was in the third of the hundreth and no more. For that was held fo much, that twelfth Olympiad, we find two hundred and when Diagoras had feen his three fons crownthirty years compleat: from the beginning of ed for their feveral victories in those games, Cyrus his Monarchy, which lasted but seven one came running to him with this gratulayears, we find compleat two hundred and tion: Morere, Diagoras, non enim in colum affeven years, which was the continuance of cenjurus es, that is, Die, Diagoras, for thou shalt not clime up to heaven: as if there could be no Now therefore seeing that the first year of greater happiness on earth, than what alrea-

> Quos Elæa domum reducit Palma Cælestes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come With an Elean Garland home.

Harst.

Neither was it only the voyce of the Peopiads; which by this accompt is the one and ple, or fongs of Poets, that so highly extolled fiftieth of Vezzah, as we have already noted. them, which had won these Olympian prizes; The Eclipses whereof we made mention, but even grave Historians thought it a matserve well to the same purpose. For examiter worthy of their noting. Such was ( as ples fake; that which was feen when Kerxes Tully counts it ) the vanity of the Greeks, that Tull is mustered his Army at Sardis, in the two they esteemed it almost as great an honour place. hundred threescore and seventh year of Na- to have won the victory at Running or wrestbonassar, being the last of the threescore and ling in those games, as to have triumphed in fourteenth Olympiad, leads us back unto the Rome for some famous victory, or conquest

That these Olympian games were celebratmeans they used to make the Moneth begin with the new Moon, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another To tell the great folemnity of them, and place. Wherefore I may now return unto of Ionia and Hellespont.

> 6. V I. Of Jotham and his Contemporaries.

Otham the sonne of Uzziah, when he was hive and twenty years old, and in the fecond of Pekah King of Ifrael, was anointed King in Jerusalem, his Father yet living. He 33. built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called Ophel: besides divers Cityes in the

Hills of Juda, and in the Forrest, Towers and war: which was ended by Theopompus, the son Palaces: he inforced the Ammonites to pay of Nicander his royal companion. him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thou- fore-told the destruction of the Asyrian Emfand measures: he reigned fix and twenty pire, and of the city of Nineve, which succeedyears: of whom Josephus gives this testi- ed (saith Josephus) a hundred and fifteen years monie: Ejusmodi vero Princeps bic fuit, ut after. The Cities of Cyrene and of Aradus were nullam in eo virtutis genus desideres: ut qui built at thistime, while in Media, Sosarmus Deum adeo Fie coluerit, hominibus suis adeo and Medidus reigned, being the second and juste presuerit, urbem ipsam tanta sibi cura esse third Kings of those parts. passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, ut universum regnum hostibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fælix, fauftum & fortunatum fua virtute effecerit; This was such a Prince, as a man could find no kind of vertue wanting in him:he worshipped God so religiously, he governed his A in the seventeenth year of Peka, the son and happy

himself was devout and vertuous.

of Cyplelus, who drove them out.

with reigned 27. years.

At this time lived Nahum the Prophet, who

6. VII. of Achaz and his Contemporaries.

Has or Achaz, succeeded unto Fotham men so right coulty, he was so provident for the Ci- of Remalia: the same being also the last ty, and did so greatly amplify it, that by his ver- year of his fathers reign, who began in the the and prowels he made his whole Kingdom not second of the same Peka, and reigned 16.but contemptible to his enemies, but to his Ser- not compleat years. This Ahaz was an Idolavants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous ter, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for Baalim, and burnt his fon This is all that I find of Jotham: his reign for facrifice before the Idol Moloch, or Saturn, gant was not long, but as happy in all things, as he which was represented by a man-like brazen mfelt was devout and vertuous.

| body,bearing the head of a Calfe, fet up not that
| Anchomenes about this time succeeded Phe| far from Jerufalem, in a valley shadowed with leftens in Corinth:after whom, the Corinthians Woods, called Gehinnom, or Tophet, from erected Magistrates, which governed from whence the word Gehenna is used for Hell. year to year. And yet Pausanias in his second The children offered, were inclosed within book with strabo & Plutarch, in many places the carkass of this Idol, and as the fire encreaare of opinion, That Corinth was governed fed, so the facrificers, with a noise of Cimbals, by Kings of the race of the Bacide, to the time and other Instruments, filled the air, to the end the pittifull cries of the children Teglathphalaffar, or Teglathpeleser, the son of might not be heard: which unnatural, cruel, Phul the second of the Babylonians and Affyri- and divillish Oblation, Jeremy the Pro-2 King 15 ans that was of this new race, about this time phet vehemently reprehendeth, and of invaded Ifrael, while Pekah (who murthered which S. Hierome upon the tenth of Matthew his master Pekeiah) was King thereof. In which hath written at large. By the prohibition expedition he took most of the Cities of Neph- in Leviticus the eighteenth, it appeareth that tali and Galilee, with those of Gilead over for- this horrible sin was ancient: in the twelsth dan, and carried the inhabitants captive. This of Deuternomy, it is called an abhomina-Tiglath reigned five and twenty years, accortion which God hateth. That it was also ding to Metasthenes. But Krentzhemius finds, practised elsewhere, and by many Nations rethat with his fon Salmanassar he reigned yet mote from Indea, divers Authors witness; two years longers, which years I would not as a Virgil in the second of Eneids cribe to the son, because the Aera of Nabonaf- Sanguine Placastis, &c. and Silvins --- Pofsar begins with his single reign, but reckon cere cade Deos. Saturn is said to have brought them to Tiglath Phulassar himself, who there- this custom into Italy; besides the casting of many fouls into the River of Tyber, in Æschylus, the son of Agamnestor, about the stead of which, Hercules commanded, that fame time, the twelfth Archon in Athens, the waxen Images of men should be thrown ruled 25. years. Alcamenes governed Sparta: in and drowned. The Devil also taught the after whom, the Estate changed, according Carthaginians this kind of butchery, into Eusebius. But therein surely Eusebius is somuch, that when their City was besiegmistaken: for Diodore, Plutarch, Pausanias, ed, and in distress, the Priest made them and others, witness the contrary. Pausanias believe, that because they had spared their affirmeth, That Polydorus, a Prince of emi- own children, and had bought and brought nent vertues, succeeded his father, and reign-cd 60. years, and out-lived the Messeniack turn had stirred up and strengthened their Enemies

Enemies against them: whereupon they pre- not firmly settled at home, and the writin fently caused two hundred of the noblest Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet which youths of their City to be flain, and offered strong both in men and same. But Tiglath, to Saturn or Satan, to appeale him: who be- having now, with the treasures of ferufalem, fides these forenamed Nations, had instructed prepared his Army, first invaded the Territhe Rhodians, the people of Crete, and Chios, tory of Danssfens, wan the City, and killed of Messensof Calatia, with the Massingetes, and Rezin the last of the race of the Adads, who others, in these his services. Further, as if he began with David, & ended with this Achaz. were not content to destroy the soules of At Damaseus, Achaz met Tiglath, and taking many Nations in Europe, Alia, and Africa, (as thence a pattern of the Altar, fent it to Vri-Acofta writeth) the Mexicans and other peo- ab the Priest, commanding the like to be ple of America, were brought by the Devil made at Jerusalem, whereon at his return he under this fearful fervitude, in which he also burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the Syrians. holdeth the Floridans and Virginians at this In the mean while Tiglath possess all Basan,

God stirred up Rezen of Damasons, and Pekah And then passing the River, he mastered the the Son of Remaliah, King of Ifrael against Cities of Galilee, invaded Ephraim, and the him, who invaded Judea, and befreged Jeru- Kingdom of Ifrael, and made them his Vaf-Calem. but entred it not.

dren, the Israelites lead away to Samaria: Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda. but by the counsell of the Prophet Oded, again.

evermore attended the ruine of Judea, 50. years. entred upon them from the South, and took Kings house.

tenant, King of Babylon and Affyria, had a how long he reigned with his Father, it had little before led him the way into Judea, invi- been hard to define. ted by Menahem, King of Ifrael. Wherefore At this time began the Ephori in Lacedamon, now the Son willingly harkened to Achaz, a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus, vita 5010. and embraced the advantage. As for Belo- according to Plutarch. Eusebius makes their chus himself, he was content to assign some beginning sar later, namely, in the sistenth other time for going through with this enter-olympiad. Of these Ephori, Elalus was the

and the rest beyond Jordan, which belong-For the wickednesse of this King Abaz, ed to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasse. fals. And notwithstanding that he was in-The King of Syria, Rezin, possest himself vited and waged by Achaz, yet after the spoil of Elab by the Red Sea, and cast the Jewes of Ifrael, he possest himself of the greater part out of it; and Pehah flaughtered in one day of Juda, and, as it feemeth, inforced Achaz to an hundred and twenty thousand Jud wans, pay him tribute. For in the second of Kings, of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time the eighteenth, it is written of Ezechia, that Magleiah, the Sonne of Achaz, was also flaine he revolted from Ashur, or rebelled against. by Zichri, with Azrikam the Governor of his him, and therefore was invaded by Sennachehouse, and Eleanath the second person rib. After Ahaz had beheld and born these unto the King. Besides all this, two hundred miseries, in the end of the sixteenth year of thousand prisoners of women and chil- his reign he died; but was not buried in the

With Abaz lived Medidus, the third Prince they were returned and delivered back in Media, who governed 40. years, faith

Eulebius: Diodorus and Ctelius find Anticar-Eulebins: As Israel and Aramvexed Juda on the mus instead of this Medidus, to have been North fo the Edomites and the Philistims, who Sosarmus his successor, to whom they give

Tiglath Pileser held the Kingdom of Assy-Bethlemes, Ajalon, Gaderoth, Shocho, Timnah, ria, all the reign of Ahaz: yet fo, that Saland Gemzo, flew many people, and carried a- manaffar his Son may feem to have reigned way many prisoners. Whereupon when Achaz with him some part of the time. For we find faw himself environed on all sides, and that that Abaz did fend unto the Kings of Ashur to his Idols and dead gods gave him no com- help him. The Geneva note fays, that these fort, he sent to the Alfrian Tiglathpileser, to Kings of Albur, were Tiglath Pileser, and those 2 King 18 defire fome aid from him against the Ijraelites Kings that were under his Dominion But that 16. and Aramites, presenting him with the he or his Father had hitherto made such confilver and gold both of the Temple, and quests, as might give him the Lordship over other Kings, I do neither find any History, Tiglathpileser wanted not a good example nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I to follow, in making profit of the trouble think that these Kings of Ashur, were Tiglath, that rose in Palestina. His Father having and Salmarasjar his Son, who reigned with lately made himself from a Provincial Leiu- his Father, as hath been said before: though

prize: because (as I have said before) he was first; Theopompus and Polydorus being then

without their advice and confent For (faith rule.

ending in this Alcemenon, they erected a Ma- fixt Olympiad. But Halicarnaffeus, Solimus was a kind of Burgho-Mafter, or Governour of febius, to the first year of the feventh; who their City for ten years.

This alteration Paulanias in his fourth Book ed Chronologers, to have kept herein the begins in the first year of the eight Olympiad, best account.

joynt Kings. Thefe Ephori, chosen every Eusebius and Halicarnassaus in the first of the year, were controllers, as well of their Sena- feventh Olympiad: at which time indeed tors, as of their Kings, nothing being done Carops the first of these, began his ten years

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Cicero) they were opposed against their Kings The Kingdom of the Latines, governed as the Roman Tribunes against the Consuls. about three hundred year by the Silvii, of In the time of Ahaz died Afekylus, who had the race of Aneas, took end in the same Ahaz ruled in Athers ever fince the 1 ftieth year of time : the foundation of Rome being Uzzia. Alcamenon the thirteenth of the Me- laid by Romulus and Remus in the eighth year dontide, or Governours of the Athenians ( fo of the fame King, Codoman builds it in the called of Atedon who tollowed Codrus ) fuc- eleventh of Achaz, Bucholzer in the eighth as ceeded his Facher Afchylus, and was the last I think he should; others somewhat laof their Governors: he ruled only two years, ter, and in the reign of Ezechias, Cicero. For the Athenians changed first from Kings Entropius, Orofius, and others square the time (after Codrus) to Governors for life; which of the foundation to the third year of the gistrate, whom they termed an Archon, who Antiochemus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eufeem not only to me, but to many very learn-

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Of the Antiquity of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

Of the Inhabitants, and the name of Italy.

Nd here to freak of the more. That by late ages of Posterity, much fabulous matter hath been mixed with are many and repugnant. But like enough the one name arising of the seat, the other of first accepted without good cause. Thereone ancient name of it was also Oenotria, and the first planters of this noble Country, concerning which changes of names, Virgil did lead into Italy, before the name of Italy freaks thus:

Fft locus, Hefperiam Graii cognomine dicunt, Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere gleba Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

Ancient, and ftrong, of much fertility: Oenotrians held it, but we hear by fame,

ancient times of Italy, and what Tis from a Captains name call'd Italy.

Nations possess it before the arir- Who this Captain or King may have bin, val of Aneas, the place may feem it is very uncertain. For Virgils speaks to invite us: the rather because no more of him, and the opinions of others the truth of those elder plantations. Italy be- it is, that the name which hath continued fore the fall of Troy, was known to the Greeks lo long upon the whole Country, and worn by divers names 32s first Hesperia, then Ausonia, out all other denominations, was not at the the Ausones, a people inhabiting part of it; fore to find out the original of this name, which it had of the Oenotrii, whom Halicar- Reyneccius hath made a very painful fearch, nasiaus, thinks to have been the first that and not improbable conjecture. And first of brought a Colony of Arcadians into that all he grounds upon that of Halicarnaffeus, Halicarn Land. Afterward it was called Italy of Italus; who speaks of a Colony which the Eleans lib. 1. was given to it; Secondly, upon that of Justine, who saith, that Brundusium was a Colony of the Ætolians; Thirdly, upon that Jaff. 11.1. of Straba, who affirms the same of Temesa or 12. Tempfa, a City of the Brutii in Italy ; Last- Strabolii. ly, upon the authority of Pliny, who shews Piin lib 3. that the Italians did inhabit onely one Re-There is a Land which Greeks Hesperia name, gion of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is faid of the Eleans and Ætolians

who (as he shews ) had one original; from rehearfed, wherein he vious d not have said. them he brings the name of Italy. For the ---- Nunc fama minores Italiam dixife word Italia, differs in nothing from Aitolia, ducis de nomine gentem, had that name been fave that the first Letter is east away, which heard of ere Dardanus lest the Countrey, in the Greek words is common; and the let- But feeing that, when Hercules, who died a ter(0) is changed into (s) which change is tew years before the War of Trey, had found in the name of Æthalia an Illand near left in Italy a Colony of the Fleans (vyho in Italy, peopled by the Ætholians; and the like a manner vvere one and the fame Nation changes are very familiar in the Holic Dia- vvith the Htolians, as Strabo, Herodotus, and left:of which Dialect (being almost proper Pausanius teach) then the name of Italy beto the Ætolians ) the accent and pronuncia- gan; and feeing Virgil makes mention of Italus tion, together with many words little alter- among the Italian Kings, it were no great ed, were retained by the Latines, as Dionysus boldness to say, that Italus vvas Commander Halicarnassicus, Quintilian, and Friscian the of these Eleans. For though I remember not Grammarian teach.

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and the Fable of Janus whose Image had han Kingdom. Neither is it more hard to detwo faces, looking East and West, as Greece rive the name of Italus from Atolus, than Itaand Italy lay, and was stamped on Coins, lia from Ætolia. So may Virgil's authority with a Ship on the other tide; all which stand well with the collections of Remecciis, by interpretation, referred to favan, fa- us; the name of Italy being taken both from a ther of the Greeks and Latines; who fay- Captain, and from the Nation, of which he ling over the Ionian Sea, that lyes between and his people were. Ætolia and the Western parts of Greece and Italy, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas Reineccius thinks, that the names of Atlas and Italus belonged both to one man, & of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of thereto applyes that of Berofus, who called Cethim, Ralus; though it may feem strengthened by the marriage of Dardanus, whileft he abode in Italy with Electra, the daughter IN Italy the Latines and Hetrurians vvere

long before the War of Troy. of Dardanus his marriage with Electra, think to have bin Arcaians and this name of hath nothing of his meeting with her in I- Aborigines ( to omit other fignifications that taly, but calleth Elettra and her lifter Maia are strained, imports as much as Original, or (poetically) daughters of the Mountain in Native of the place, which they poliefled: Africa, naming Italus among the Kings of which title the Arcadians areknown in vaunthe Aborigenes; which he would not have ting manner to have always usurped, fetch-

vve need the less to regard it, for that Rey- of Peloponnesus inforced to forsake their neccius himself, vvhose conjectures are more seats so oft as other Greeks were, who did to be valued than the dreams vyherewith dwell without that halfe Island, neither Annius hath filled Berosus, holds it but a had the Arcadians so unsure a dwelling as the

Atlas, it appears by the verfes of Virgil last ous, and hard of access, and they themselves

that I have read of any such Greek as vvas Hereunto appertains that of Julian the named Italias; yet the name of Aitalias vvrit-Apostata, who called the Greeks coulins ten in Greek Anolus, was very famous among of the Latines. Also the common Original the Ætolians, and among the Eleans, he being of the Greeks and Latines from Javan ; fon of a King of The and founder of the Eto-

Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

of Atlas, yet is it by arguments (in my valua- i most famous; the Hetrurians having held tion) greater and (tronger, easily disproved. the greatest part of it under their subjecti-For they who make mention of Atlas, place on , and the Latines by the vertue and felihim before the time of Moses: and if Atlas city of the Romans, who were a branch of were Cethim, or Kittim, then was he the fon them, subduing all Italy, and in a few ages of Javan, and Nephew of Japheth, the eldelt what soever Nation was known in Europe: tofon of Noah: which antiquity far exceeds the gether with all the Western parts of Asia, the name of Italy, that began after the depar- and North of Africk.

ture of Hercules out of the Countrey, not The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the Aborigines, whom Halicarnasa-Likewise Virgil, who speaks of Atlas, and us, Varro, and Reprocess (following them) done, had Atlas and Italus been one person. ing their antiquity from beyond the Moon; As for the authority of Berofus in this case, because indeed, neither were the inhabitants rest of the Peloponnesians, because their That the name of Italy began long after Countrey was less fruitfull in land, mountain-

warlike men. Some of these therefore having other times men into stones: ) in like manner long, did according to the Arcadian man- himself was some allusion to that old opininoted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, have this very fignification, if it be derived should have bin Authors of new discoveries, (as some think) from the Hebrew Satar, which dren, in which those ages abounded, inforc- to be fought elsewhere. ed the superfluous company to seek another Reyneccius doth conjecture that the Cetefeat, & that some expeditions of the Arcadi- ans, who descended of Cethim, the Son of ans, as especially that of Evander, into the Javan, were the men who gave the name to same parts of Italy, are generally acknow- Latium. For these Ceteans are remembed ledged.

ancient Nation, who forgetimes gave name calls them subjects to the Crown of Troy, to all Greece: but their antiquities are long Hereupon Reyneccius gathers, that their afince dead, for lacke of good records. Nei- bode was in Asia: viz. in agro Elaitico, in the ther was their glory such in Italy, as could Elaitian Territory, which agreeth with Strabo. long sustaine the name of their owne Tribe; Of a City which the Eolians held in Asia, for they were in short space accounted one called Elaa, or Elaia, Paulanias makes mentipeople with the former inhabitants. The si- on: Stephanus calls it Cidemis, or (according cani, Ausones, Arunci. Rutili, and other peo- to the Greek writing) Cidamis, which name ple, did in ages following diffurbe the peace last rehearled hath a very neer found to ceof Latium, which by Saturne was brought thim, Citim, or Cithim; the Greek Letter (D)

ed as a god.

or Sterculius, others term him Stercutius, and between many English words written with fay, that he taught the people to dung their the fame letters. Wherefore that these cegrounds. That Latium took his name of teans, being descended of cethim, Cittim, or Saturn, because he did latere, that is, lie hid- Kittim, the Son of Javan, who was Progeden there, when he fled from Jupiter, it is nitor of the Greeks, might very well take questionless a fable. For as in Heathenith su- a denomination from the City, and Region, persition, it was great vanity to think that which they inhabited, and from thence be any thing could be hidden from God, or that called Eleites, or Elaites, it is very likely, there were many gods of whom one fled confidering that among the Arcadians, Phofrom another; so in the truth of History, it is cians, Atolians, and Eleans, who all were of well known, that no King reigning in those the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of parts was so mighty, that it should be hard the Mountain Elans, the Haven Elans, the to find one Country or another, wherein a people Elaitæ, the City Elaws, Elaia, and Elaman might be fafe from his pursuit, And yet, teia; of which last it were somewhat harsh See 1.6. 1. as most fables and poeticall fictions were oc- in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabicassioned by some ancient truth which either tants by any other name then Elating, from by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, whence Latini may come. Now vvhereas they did maimedly and darkly expresse (for both the Cetai and Arcadians, had their oriso they seigned a passage over a River in ginal from Cethin, it is nothing unlikely, that Hell, because death is a passage to another agreeing in language & similitude of names, life: and because this passage is hateful, la- they might nevertheless differ in found and mentable, and painfull, therefore they nam- pronunciation of one and the same worded the River Strx, of hate; Cocytus of lamen- So that as he is by many called Sabinus, to tation, and Acheron, of Pain: fo also because whom some (deriving the Sabines from him) men are stonic-hearted; and because the give the name of sabus: in the like manner Greek Naci, people, and Naces, stones, are neer might he whom the Arcadians would call E-

(as in such places commonly are found) very of Ducalion stones converted into men, as at occupied a great part of latinm, and held it it may be, that the original of Saturns hiding ner. Stile themselves Aborigenes, in that langue on of the wifest of the Heathen, that the age, which either their new Seat, or their true God was ignotus Deus, as it is noted in Neighbours thereby had taught them. How the Acts; whence also Esay of the true God Acts it might be that the Arcadians, who dwelt faies, tu Deus abdens te. For it cannot be in Fines. fomewhat farr from the Sea, and are alwaies vain, that the word Saturnus should also were a question not case to be answered, is to hide: Howbeit I deny not but that the were it not fo, that both fruitfulnesse of chil- original of this word, Latium, ought rather

by Homer as aiders of the Trojans in their After the Aborigenes, were the Pelassi, an war. Strabo interpreting the place of Homer. to fome civility; and he therefore cannoniz- having (as many teach) a pronunciation yery like to (TH) differing onely in the frength This Saturne S. Augustine calleth Sterces or weakness of utterance, which is found in found, therefore they feigned in the time latus (of which name they had a Prince that

founded the City Elateja ) be named of the | name was not borrowed from the skill which Exclid whom Hercules begat upon Auge, the daugh- feem fome other man. ter of Aleus King of Arcadia ) was tlain by A-Auge, an Arcadian Lady, was well contented grounds on which Rome was afterward built, that after to take an Arcadian name, and to be called imposed by the Arcadians, it is the more easie marriage, it self being meerly incostuous. to be thought, for that there were then two between these two families the succession in a Nymph called Marica. that Kingdom did pass, almost interchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the fave onely that her aboad was about the Trojan war it fell into the hand of Hippotheus River Lyris near Minturnæ. of the race of Elatus, in whose Posterity it better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of Revneccius. which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the less reproofe, considering that it is not casy to find either an apparent truth, or fair probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of Latium.

6. V I. Of the ancient Kings of the Latines until Eneas his comming.

"He Kings which reigned in Latium before the arrival of Eneas, were Saturnus Picus, Faunus, & Latinus. Of Saturn there is nothing remembred, fave what is mentioned already, and many Fables of the Greeks, other, stiled Saturn by the Aborigines. For the of Troy, gave his Daughter to him, breaking him to have bin the same: but the names of incensed herewith, sought to avenge himself

sounded the Golf Reyneccius, pursuing this he taught the people, but rather the foil the idels likelihood, thinks that when Euripylus, Lord which they laid on their grounds had that of the of the Celeans, (being the Son of Telephus, appellation from him ) do rather make him Heathen

Of Picus it is faid, that he was a good bence it chilles in the Trojan War: then did Telephus, horse-man. The fable of his being changed in-that in brother to Euripylus, conduct the Ceteans, who to a Bird, which we call a Pv. may well feem the Evan-(fearing what evill might befall themselves (as it is interpreted )to have grown from the gelist we by the Greeks, if the affairs of Troy should go skill which he had in sooth-saying or divina- Betyebub; by the Green, it the animals of the part o Arcadians were planted by Oenotrius. And Faunus, the Son of Picus, reigned after his Fa-interpre-Respectives farther thinks, that Telephus being ther: He gave to Evander the Arcadian (who ted Domlthe more gracious among the Oenotrian Ar- having flain by mischance his father Echemus read; and cadians, by the memory of his Grand-mother King of Arcadia, fled into Italy ) the wast it may be

Fauna, called Fatua, the fifter of Faunus, became Elains, which in the dialect and pronunciawho was also his wife, as all Historians agree, the name the way have of the Contain the way held a Propheto and Links. tion either of the Ceteans, or of the Oenotri- she was held a Prophetes, and highly com-it pleased ans, was first Elatinus, and then Latinus. That mended for her chastity, which praise in her God that this name of Elatus may have bin taken or must needs have bin much blemished by her in a like

It is not mentioned that Faurus, had by cutius thould Families, the one of Iphidas, the other of E- his fifter any child, neither do we read of flick latus, who were Sons of Arcas King of Arca- any other Wife which he had, fave only that unto him, dia, which gave name to the Countrey: and Virgil gives unto him Latinus as his Son, by Enrid.7,

But who this Marica was, it is not found,

Of the name Latinus, there are by Pompocontinued untill the last. Again, the name of nins Sabinus recounted four:one, the Son of Latinus, having a derivative found, agrees the Faunus, another of Hercules, a third of Olylles by Circe, the fourth of Telemachus. Suidas suldas in takes notice only of the second, of whom he the word faith, that his name was Telephus, and the peo-Latini, ple anciently named the Cetii, were from his furname called Latini. This agrees in effect with the opinion of Reyneccius, the difference confifting almost in this only, that Suidas cals Telephus the fon of Hercules, whereas Reyneccius makes him his Nephew, by a fon of the fame name. This Latinus having obtained the fuccession in that Kingdom after Faunus, did promise his only Daughter and Heir Lavinia, to Turmus the son of Venilia, who was sister to

Amata Latinus his Wife. But when Eneas arrived in those parts with fifteen ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which Thucydides allows to the Vessels then used, about one thousand & two hundred men: then which whether they be applyable to this Latinus finding that it would stand best with man, it is for him to judge, who shall be able his assurance, to make alliance with the Troto determine, whether this were the Saturn jan, and moved with the great reputation of of the Greeks called by them seine, or some Eneas, which himself had heard of in the war age wherein he lived, may very well admit off the former appointment with Turnus: who Sterces, and Stercutius ( for it may be, this by war: which was soon ended with his own

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Amata the Wife of I atimus, it is very years: Virgil gives him thirty; others five was born betore Telephus came into Italy. were afterwards called sylvii. That this name Arrata, by which Fireil and rather a furname, it may feem by Varro; who fet down: calleth her Palatia: which name very well might be derived from the Greek name Pallas. Amata ... mich fignifieth beloved, or dear, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he took to ferve as a Nun of Teffa; wherefore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoever Virgil discourse of her and Venilia her sister.

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Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, being given in marriage to Eneas, the Kingdom of Latium.or the greatest part of that Country. was established in that race: wherein it continued until it was overgrown by the might and greatness of the Romans.

#### §. IV.

Of Æneas, and of the Kines and Governours of Alba.

New himself being of the Royal bloud brance. of Troy, had the command of the Dar-

certain, that were she an Italian, she could and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his not have born a Daughter marriageable at decease, there are secontention between sylthe arrival of Aneus; unless we should whol- vins, the son of Aneus, and Julus the son of ly follow Suidas and rather give the conduct Ascanins, about the Kingdom: but the peoof the Cetei into Italy, to Telephus the Father, ple inclining to the fen of Lavinia, Julus than to his Son, who served in the last year was contented to hold the Priesthood, which of the Trojan War. But Reyneccius holds her he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingan Allatique, and thinks withall that Lavinia dom to Sylvius Posthumus, whose posterity

The reign of the Alban Kings, with the Halicarnassaus call her, was not proper, but continuance of each mans reign, I find thus

1			
I	Sylvius Posthumus.	29	7
2	Sylvius Æneas.	31	1
3	Sylvius Latinus.	50	j.
4	Sylvius Alba.	39	1
5	Eylvius Atis.	26	i
6	Sylvius Capys.	28	Ī
<i>7</i> 8	Sylvius Capetus.	13	í
8	Sylvius Tiberinus.	8	years
	Sylvius Agrippa.	41	1
	Sylvius Alladius.	19	i i
	Sylvius Aventinus.	37	!
	Sylvius Procas.	23	}
	Sylvius Amulius.	44	
	vius Numitor.		
	called also Rhea and	Sylvia.	
Romu	lus. Remus.	-	

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remem-

Latinus founded many Towns in the bordanians: he was a valiant man, very rich, ders of Latium: who standing much upon and highly honoured among the Trojans. By the honour of their original, grew thereby his Wife Crenja, the daughter of Priamus, he to be called Prisei Latini. Of Tiberinus some had a fon called Afeanius; whose turname think that the River Tiber had name, being was Julus, having before the ruine of Troy formerly called Albula: but Virgil gives it (as I rigil notes ) been furnamed Ilus. But that denomination of another called Tibris, when Ancas was dead, his Wife Lavinia, the before the coming of Ancas into Italy. The daughter of Latinus, being great with child Mountain Aventinus had name ( as many by him, and fearing the power of this Afea- write) from Aventinus King of the Albanes, nius, fled into the Woods, where she was de- who was buried therein: but Vireil hath it livered of a fon, called thereupon sylvius, otherwise. Julius the brother of Aventinus, and surnamed Postlumus, because he was is named by Eusebius as father of another born after his fathers Funeral. This flight of Julius, and grandfather of Julius Proculus, Lavinia was so evil taken by the people, that who leaving Alba, dwelt with Romulus in Ascanius procured her return, entreated her Rome: Numitor, the elder son of Procas, was honourably, and using her as a Queen, did deprived of his Kingdom by his brother Afoster her young son his half-brother Sylvius. mulius; by whom also his son Ægesthus was Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occasi- slain, and Ilia his daughter made a Nun of ons of disagreement, or delighted with the Vesta, that thereby the issue of Numitor might fituation of the place; Ascanius leaving to be cut off. But she conceived two sons, either his mother in law the City Lavinium, which by her Uncle Amulius, as some think; or by Aneas had built and called after his new Mars, as the Poets feign; or perhaps by some Wives name, founded the City Alba Longa, man of war. Both the children, their Uncle and therein reigned. The time of his reign commanded to be drowned and the mother was according to some, eight and twenty buried quick, according to the law; which foordained, when the Vestal Virgins brake their chastity. Whether it was fo, that the

mother was pardoned at the entreaty of An-

the Law required (for Authors herein do

ty of the Koman Empire(much by him enlar-

ged ) to himfelf and his posterity; whereby

the name of Aneas, and honour of the Tro

jan and Alban Race, was so revived, that sel-

dom, if ever, any one Family hath attained to

a proportionable height of glory.

6. V.

thathe daughter of Amulius, or punished as Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus birth and death.

vary) it is agreed by all, that the two childrenwere preferred, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the Kingdom, I may here best shew the beflaughter of him and all his, and reftored Nu- ginnings, which (though somewhat uncermitor their grandfather to the Kingdom: tain) depend much upon the birth and eduwherein how long he reigned, I find not, nci- cation of Romulus, the grand-child of Numither is it greatly material to know; for as tor the last that reigned in Alba. For how much as the Estates of Alba and of Latinum not onely the bordering people, but all Nawere presently eclipsed by the swift increase tions between Euphrates and the Ocean. of Rome; upon which the computation of were broken in pieces by the iron teeth of Time following (as far as concerns the things this fourth Beaft, it is not to be described in of Italy) is dependant. After the death of one place, having been the work of many A-Numitor, the Kingdom of Alba ceased; for ges; whereof I now do handle onely the Numitor left no male islue. Romulus chose ra- first, as incident unto the discourse precedther to live in Rome; and of the Line of Syling. Q Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calphurnigius none else remained. So the Albanes were us Pifo, Sempronius, and others, seek to derive governed by Magistrates; of whom onely the Romans from Janus: but Herodotus, Martwo Dictators are mentioned, namely Caius Sylus, and many others of equal credit, give Cluilius, who in the dayes of Tullus Holtilius, the Gracians for their Ancestors: and as Stra- strab. s. King of the Romans, making War upon bo reporteth in his fifth Book, Cacilius re-f. 159. Rome, dyed in the Camp; and Metius Suf- rum Romanarum Scriptor, co argumento collifetius, the fuccessor of Chilins, who furren- git, Romam à Gracis effe conditam, quod Romadred the Estate of Alba unto the Romans, ni Graco ritu, antiquo instituto, Herculi rem having committed the hazard of both Sig- Gacram faciunt: matrem quoque Evandri venenories to the success of three men of each rantur Romani; Cacilius (saith he) a Roman side, who decided the quarrel by Combat : Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, in which, the three brethren Horatii, the that Rome was built by the Greeks, because the Champions of the Romans, prevailed against Romans, after Greekish fashion, by ancient orthe Curiatii, Champions of the Albanes. Af- dinance, do facrifice to Hercules: the Romans ter this Combat, when Metius (tollowing also worship the mother of Evander.

Tullus Hostilius with the Albane forces against Plutarch in the life of Romulus rememthe Veientes and Fidenates) withdrew his breth many Founders of that City: as Roma-Companies out of the battel, hoping thereby nus the fon of Vlyffes and Circe; Romus the to leave the Romans to such an everthrow, son of Emathion, whom Diomedes sent thias might make them weak enough for the ther from Troy; or that one Romns, a Tyrant Albanes to deal with; Tullus, who notwith- of the Latines, who drave the Tuscans out of franding this falshood, obtained the victory, that Countrey, built it. Solinus bestows the did reward Metius with a cruel death, cau- honour of building Rome upon Evander, fing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and fo faying, That it was beforetimes called Valentorn in pieces. Then was Alba destroyed, and tia. Heraelides gives the denomination to a the Citizens carried to Rome, where they captive Lady, brought thither by the Grecimade free Denizens, the noble Families being ans: others fay, That it was anciently called made Patricians; among which were the Febris, after the name of Februa, the mother Julii: of whom C. Julius Calar being descen- of Mars; witness S. Augustine in his third ded, not onely gloried in his ancient, royal, Book de Civitate Dei. But Livie will have it and forgotten pedigree, in full assembly of to be the work of Romulus, even from the the Romans, then governed by a free Estate foundation: of whom and his consort, Juveof the People: but by his rare industry, va- nal to a Roman Citizen, vaunting of their lour, and judgment, obtained the Soveraign- original, answered in these Verses:

> Attamen ut longè repetas longéque revolvas, Mijorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum. Aut paftor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

> > Yet

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so far; jup into heaven, or rather out of the world. Thy first Progenitor, who cre he were, Some Sherheard was or elfe, that I'll ferbear. der and lightning: fo was it faid that Aneas

his Antiquitez de Gaule, that Merouee, King of Father-in-law, commanded that he should list; Il le croira qui vondra: Also of Alexander, seus end this dispute; whose words are these and of Scipio African, there are poetical in- They (saith he) who drew nearest to the truth, ventions: But to answer these imaginations in say that he was sain by his own Citizens; and general, It is true, that in those times, when that his cruellies in punishment of offenders, the World was full of this barbarous Idola- together with his arrogancy, were the cause of try, and when there were as many gods as his flaughter. For it is reported, that both when try, and when there were as many goods the mind, or his mother was ravilled, whether by some man, as there were of vices and vertues, then did or by agod, the whole body of the Sun was eclipmany women greatly born, cover such slips sed, and all the earth covered with darking as they made, by protesting to be forced by like unto night, and that the same did happen at more than humane power: so did Oenone con- his death. fess to Paris, that she had been ravished by Such were the birth and death of Romn-

by his father Alars, in a great from of thun-

meaning, either a Shepheard or a Theif, vanished away by the River Numicus: but thereof Livie also speaketh modestly; for he Now of Romulus begetting, of his education rehearfeth the other opinion that the from and preservation, it is faid. That he had Rhea was the fury of the Senators, but seemeth to for his mother, and Mars supposed to be his adhere partially to this taking up; and many father; that he was nurft by a Wolf, tound Authorsagree, that there was an unnatural and taken away by Fanfinla a Shapin ards darkness, both at his birth, and at his death; wife. The same unpartural matting had Cprus, and that he might be slain by thunder or the same incredible fortering had semmanns; lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperor the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as Anaftafus was flain with lightning; fo was Plutarch faith, it is like enough that Anulius Strabo the Father of Pompey flain with a came covered with armour to Rhea, the mo-thunder-bolt: fo Carus the Emperour (who ther of Romulus, when he begat her with succeeded Probus) whilest he lodged with child: and therein it feemeth to me that he his Army upon the River Tygris, was there might have two purposes; the one, to de-flain with lightning. But a Mars of the same ftroy her, because she was the daughter and Kind might end him that began him; for he heir of his elder brother, from whom he in-juriously held the Kingdom; the other, to lence destroyed. And that he died by viofatisfie his appetite, because she was fair and lence ( which destiny followed most of the goodly. For she being made a Nun of the Roman Emperours ) it appeareth by Tarquigoddess Vesta, it was death in her, by the Law, nins Superbus, who was the seventh King afto break her chaftity. I also find in Fanchet ter him: who when he had murthered his the Francs, was begotten by a Monster of the not be buried, for (said he) Romulus himself Sca : but Fanchet fayes, Let them believe it that died and was not buried. But let Halicarnaf-

Apollo. And Anchyses boasted that he mad lus: whose life historified by Plutarch, doth known Venus. But Khea was made with child contain (befides what is here already spoken by some man of War, or other, and therefore of him) the conquest of a few miles, which called Mars, the god of battel, according to had foon been torgotten, if the Roman greatthe sense of the time. Oenone was overcome ness built upon that foundation, had not giby a strong wit, and by such a one as had even it memory in all ages following, even those properties ascribed to Apollo. The Mo- unto this day. A valiant man he was, very ther of Merouee might fancy a SeaCaptain, to strong of body, patient of travel, and tempebe gotten with young by such a one: as the rate in diet, as for bearing the use of wine and Daughter of Inachus fancied, according to delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew Herodotus. Eneas was a bastard, and begot- not how to temper, which caused him to slay ten upon some fair Harlot, called for her his brother, and neglect to revenge the death beauty Venns, and was therefore the child of of Tatins, his companion in the Kingdom, lust, which is Venus. Romulus was nurst by a that he himself might be Lord alone in those Wolf, which was Lupa, or Lupina; for the narrow Territories. He reigned 37. years, Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfs, first alone, then with Tatius, and after his Que nunc (faith Halicarnasseus honestiori vo- death, single, till he was slain, as is already cabulo amica appellantur; Which are now by an shewed: after which time, the Soveraignty honester name called friends. It is also written, fell into the hands of Numa, a man to him that Romulus was in the end of his life taken unknown, and more Priest-like than King-

like: wherein Rome it felf in her latter times [ctorious to excellive magnificence, from having long bin fole Governess, till Constant ven from luxury to defensive arms, and the retinople flared with her: afterwards, when in having bin unfortunate, at length betakes as the Greek Emperour was crushed by for-her self-again to the Croster staff. And thus much of *Kome* in this place, by oclimeral power, the fell into the fubjection casion of the story of the times of King Abaz. of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the during whose reign in Jury, the foundations Sheep-hook to the Sword, and therewith vi- of this famous City were laid.

hath somewhat resembled this King. For whence by the same degrees it fell, being dri-

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, and his Contemporaries.

of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolemy, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, and Mardocempadus, with the history of the Bible.

fon. This appears by the Reign of Hosea, o- tion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessiaver Israel, which began in the twelfth of A- ry that he produce some record of obserhaz, and therefore the third thereof was vation made at such a time. Howsoever it be, the fourteenth of Ahaz, was almost spent prove that Ezechia reigned not with his Faof Ahaz may have been concurrent, for the at the death of Jehofaphat, and succession most part, with the first of Ezechia.

dom, when the twelfth year of Ahaz was al- | Father lived, we have already faid enough. most compleat, some vyould find the means labour to alter the first year.

tholomer Scullet, vvho is much commended down the brafen serpent of Moses, because the

S the first year of Abaz his reign for skill in Astronomy, hath by calculation was confounded with the last of on found the very day, which answered unhis father Jotham, so was the later to the twenty fift of April, in the Julian year, end of his fixteen years taken up being then Thursday. I have not seen any in the three first of Ezechias his vvorks of Scullet; but surely to find a moconcurrent with Ahaz his fourteenth. But the fifteenth year of Ezechia agreed upon; third of Hosea was the first of Ezechia; so it and therefore we may not alter the first. As third of rigea was the first of Executes, to its forthat faying, vivinch is usual in like cases, to though Fathers fourteenth year. Like enough it is, that Ahaz flept with his Fathers, & Ezechia 17, that the third year of Hosea, the same being his son reigned in his stead, it doth no more when Ezechia began, and so the fifteenth year ther, than the like saying doth inferr the like of Jehoram; vyhereof, as concerning the By supposing that Hosea began his King beginning of the Son to reign whilest his

Of this godly King Ezechias, vve find, that how to dif-joyn the first of Hezechia from the his very beginning testified his devotion fifteenth of Ahaz, placing him yet one year and zeale. For whether it were so, that his later, of vvhich year, Ahaz may perhaps have unfortunate and ungracious father (who had lived not many days. But feeing that the out-voorn his reputation) gave vvay to his fourteenthand fifteenth years of Ezechia may Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not not be removed out of their places, it is vain in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather think ) the first year and first moneth of his In the fourteenth year of Ezechia, Sena- reign, wherein Ezechias opened the doors cherib, invaded Juda and the Countries ad- of the Temple, were to be understood as 2 Chro 294 joyning, lost his Army by a miraculous the beginning of his fole government; vvee ftroak from Heaven, fled home, and was plainly find it to have been his first work, tlain. The year following it was that God that he opened the doors of the house of the added fixteen years to the life of Ezechia, Lord, which Achaz had thut up, cleanfed vyhen he had already reigned fourteen of his the City and Kingdom of the Idols, restored : chro.30. nine and twenty: and the fame year was the Priefts to their offices and effates, comthat miracle feen of the Suns going back ; manded the Sacrifices to be offered which of which wonder (as I hear) one Bar- had bin for many years neglected, and brake

CHAP. XXV

people burnt incense before it and he called calculations of fundry good Mathematiit Nebushtan, which fignifieth a lumpe of cians. For by them it appears, that between brasse. He did also celebrate the patic-over Nabonassar and the birth of Christ, there with great magnificence, inviting thereunto passed seven hundred forty and six years; at the Ifraelites of the ten Tribes. Many there which distance of time the reign of Salmawere, even out of those Tribes, that came up nassar was. One great proofe hereof is this, to Terusalem, to this feast: But the generall which the same Bucholerus alledgeth out of multitude of Ifrael did laugh the Mellengers Erasmus Reinholdus, in the Prutenick Tables. of Exechia to fcorne.

folemnize the memoriall of their delive- Moon, which were in his time, doth menrance out of the Egyptian servitude fell into tion) was the same whom the Scriptures call a new fervitude; out of which they never Merodach, who fent Embassadours to Hezewere delivered. For in the fourth of Exechia kia King of Juda. So that if we reckon backhis reign, Salmanassar the Son of Tiglath the ward to the difference of time between Son of Belochus, hearing that Hosea King of Merodach and Salmanassar, we shall find it Israel had practifed with so King of Fgypt, a- the same which is between Mardocempadus gainst him, invaded Israel, besieged Samaria, and Nabonassar. Likewise Functius doth and in the third year (after the inhabitants shew, that whereas from the destruction of had endured all forts of miseries) forced it, Samaria, to the destruction of Jerusalem, in and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes, the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzer, we colinto Assiria and Media: among whom Tobias, lect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one and his Son of the same name, with Anna his hundred thirty and three years: the self-same Wife, were fent to Nineve; in whole Seats and diffrance of time is found in Ptolemy, be-Places the Assprians sent strangers of other tween Nabonassar and Nabopolassar. For Nations, and among them many of the anci- whereas Ptolemy feems to fuffer from this ent Enemies of the Ifraelites, as those of Cutha, accompt, making Nabonaslar more ancient by Ana, Hamah, and Sphernaim, besides Babylo- an hundred and forty years, than the denians: whose Places and Nations I have for- struction of Terusalem, wee are to undermerly described in the Treatise of the Holy stand that he took Samaria in the eighth year Land.

ans, which followed them, are the first of three, make the accompt of the Scriptures whom we find mention made both in Pro- fall even with that of Ptolemy, Ptolemies phane and Sacred books. These therefore computation is that from the first of Nabonalferve most aptly to joyne the times of the far, to the fifth of Nabopolassar, there passed old World, (whereof none but the Pro- one hundred twenty and feven years. Now ly) with the Ages following that were bet- seven, the thirteen ensuing of Nebuchadnezter known, and described in course of Histo- zers years, before the City and Temple ry. True it is, that of Cyrus and some other were destroyed, wee have the sum of one Persians, we find in the Bible the same names hundred and forty years. In so plain a by vehich other Authors have recorded case more proofes are needless, though mathem but of Phul and Salmanassar, with only are brought, of which this may serve ther Affrian, Chaldaan Kings, diversity of for all, that Plolemy placeth the first of name hath bred question of the persons. Nabopolassar, one hundred twenty and two Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speak years after the first of Nabonassar, which of Salmanassar, King of Assur, vvho reigned in agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To the time of Abaz and Ezechia, Kings of Juda, these notes are added the consent of all Ma-and of Hosea King of Israel, whom he carried thematicians: which in accompt of times I into captivity: and whereas Ptolomy makes hold more fure than the authority of any Himention of Nabonasjar, speaking precisely of story; and therefore I think it folly to make the time wherein he lived; it is very pertidoubt, whereas Historians and Mathematical nent to shew, that Salmanassar and Nabonassar observations do so throughly concurr. were one and the same man. The like reason Yet for as that argument of the learcalleth Nabopolassar.

Mardocempadus King of Babylon ( whom It was not long erethey that fcorned to Ptolemy, speaking of three Eclipses of the of his reign; fo that the feven foregoing These latter Assyrian Kings, and the Persi- years added to these one hundred thirty and phets have written otherwise then fabulous- if wee add to these one hundred twenty

also requireth, that it be shewed of Nebuchad-ned Scaliger doth rest unanswered, wherenezzer, that he was the same whom Ptolemy, by he proved Baladan the Father of Merodach, to have been this Nabonassar, I will not Of both these points Bucholerus hath well, spare to lose a word or two in giving the collected sufficient proofe from the exact Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the which Ptolomy recorded, after the time of Na- oclorus and Ptolomy are alligned to Belofus, bondfar, were in the reign of Mardocempa- Nabonafar, and Mardocempadus and the reft: dusthe lecond year of whose reign is according to Ptolomy, concurrent in part with the reigned there in those ages; and all Aftrotwenty feven of Nabonassar. For the second nomical observations, fitly concurring with of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, the years that are attributed to these, or being in the fecond year of Mardocempadus, numbred from them. was from the beginning of Nabonassar twenty feven years, seventeen dayes, and eleven hours: the accompt from Nabonaslar, beginning at high-noon the first day of the Feyptian Moneth That then answering to the twenty fixt of February; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the tighteenth day of that Moneth, when the Wenatherib in polletion of the Emof February; to that the difference of time demanded of him fuch Tribute as was abetween the two Kings Nabonassar and Mar- greed on, at such time as Tiglath, the Granddocempadus is noted by Ptolomy, according to father of Senacherib, and Father of Salmawith Nahonassar , I have taken the pains to write his own conditions. fearch as far as my leifure & diligence could mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in Babylen should help them, Executas had formerly

next observations of the heavenly Bodies, and Affirmain those very times which by Dino good Hiftory naming any others that

6. II.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judga from Senacherib.

first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth pire, in the sourcepth year of Executar, he the Ferrian years. But how doth this prove, naffar, invited by Ahaz, invaded Rezin King that wardocempadus or Meradach, was the of Damaseus, and delivered him from the dan-Son of Nabonassar? yea, how doth it prove, gerous War which Israel had undertaken athat he was his next Successiour, or any way gainst him. This Tribute and acknowledgof his Linage? It was enough to fatisfie me. ment when Ezechias denied, Senacherib, hain this argument, that Scaliger himself did af- ving (as it seems) a purpose to invade Egypt; terwards believe Mardocempadus to have fent one part of his Army to lye before Jebeen rather the Nephew than the Son of Ba- rusalem. Now though Ezechias (fearing this ladan, or Nabonaljar. For if he might be ci- powerful Prince ) had acknowledged his ther the Nephew, or the Son; he might per- fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, haps be neither the one, nor the other. But with thirty hundred talents of filver, and because our Country-man Lidyat hath re- thirty talents of gold, wherewith he present- 2 Kin. 18. prehended Scaliger for changing his opinion; ed Senacherib, now set down before Lachis in and that both Torniellus, who follows Scali- Judaa; yet under the colour of better affuger herein, and sethus Calvifus, who hath rance, and to force the King of Judga to dedrawn into form of Chronology, that learned liver hostages, the Allyrian invironed Jerusawork, De Emendatione Temporum, do hold up lem with a gross Army, and having his sword the same affection, confounding Baladan in his hand, thought it the fittest time to

Ezechias directed his three great Counreach, after any fentence that might prove fellers to parly with Rublaces over the Wall; the Kindred or Succession of these two: Yet and to receive his demands: who used three cannot I find in the Almagest (for the Scrip- principal arguments to perswade the people tures are either filent in this point, or adverse to yeild themselves to his Master Senacherib. to 8caliger; and other good authority, I know For though the Chancellour, Steward, and none, in this bufiness) any sentence more near | Secretary, sent by Ezechias, defired Rabfaces ly proving the succession of Merodach to to speak unto them in the syrian tongue, Nabonaffar than the place now last rehearfed: and not in the Jewish, yet he with a louder which makes no more, to shew that the one voice directed his speech to the multitude in of these was father to the other, than (that I their own language. And for the first, he may use a like example) the as near successi- | made them know, That if they continued obon of William the Conqueror, declares him, stinate and adhered to their King, that they to have been Son, or Grand-child to Edmard would in a short time be inforced to eat their the confessor. This considered we may fafely lown dung, and drink their own urine : Sego on with our account from Nabonajūr, ta- condly, he altrogether diabled the King of king him for Salmanajūr; and not fearing, Feppt, from whom the Judeans hoped for that the Readers will be driven from our fuccour; and compared him to a broken 11. Book when they find something in it, agree- staffe, on which who soever leaneth, pierceth ing with Annius, forasmuch as these Kings his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who

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Ecclaf. 28.

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broken and defaced, meaning chiefly (as it is numerable multitude of Rats had in one

his Army, which was departed as it feemeth fub Rabsacis imperio reliquerat peste divinifrom the fiege of Pelusium in Egypt, for fear tus immissa deletum, prima nocie post eaof Terhaca: and though the Scriptures are quam Urbem oppugnare caperat, abjumptis filent of that enterprise (which in these Books cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum oftoginta of the Kings, and of the Chronicles or Parali- quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, pomenon, speak but of the affairs of the Jews & de reliquis copiis sollicitus, maximis itiin effect) yet the ancient Berosus, and out of neribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam him Josephus and Saint Hierom, together with que Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per insidias Vulcan's Priest; and reporteth that the rea- which he had left under the command of fon of Senacherib's return from Pelusium in Rabsaces, destroyed by a pestilence sent

thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which night caten in funder the Bow-strings of his had been preserved ever since Moses time : Archers, and spoiled the rest of their Weaand vvithall he bade them remember the pons in that kind, which no doubt might gods of other Nations, vvhom, not withftand- greatly amaze him: but the approach of ing any power of theirs, his Master had con- Tarhaca, remembred by Josephus and Berosus. quered and thrown down; and for God him- was the more urgent. Saint Hierome upon the felf. in vyhom they trusted, he perswaded seven and thirtieth of Esay, out of the same them by no means to rely upon him, for he Berofus, as also in part out of Herodotus, vvould deceive them. But finding the peo- whom Josephus citeth somewhat otherwise Follows ple filent ( for fo the King had commanded than his words lye, reports senacherib's rethem) after a vyhile, vyhen he had under-trait in these words: Pugnasse autem Sena-inglis flood that the King of Arabia was marching cherib Regem Affriorum contra Agyptios , & on with a powerful Army, he himself lett obsedisse Pelusum, jamque extructis aggeribus the Alirian forces in charge to others, and urbi carienda, venife Taracham Regem Afought senacherib at Libna in Judea, either thiopum in auxilium, & una nocle juxta feruto inform him of their resolution in Jerusa- salem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercilem, or to confer with him concerning the tus Affarin peftilentia corruife, narrat Herodo-Army of Turhaca the Arabian. Soon upon tus : & plenissime Berofus Chaldaica scriptor this there came letters from Senacherib to Historie, quorum fides de propriis libris peten-Exechias, whom he partly advised, and part- da eft; That ocnacherib King of the Affivily threatned to submit himself, using the ans fought against the Agyptians, and bessefame blasphemous outrage against the all- ged Pelulium, and that when his Mounts were powerful God, as before. But Exechias built fo the taking of the City, Tarhacas King fending those Counsellers to the Prophet E- of the Ethiopians came to help them, and that fay, which had lately been fent to Rabfaces, in one meht near Jerusalem one hundred eighreceived from him comfort, and assurance, ty five thousand of the Assyrian Army perished received from nim comfort, and anticalities, in five tomparts of these things (saith Hierome) that this heathen Idolater should not prevail; against whom the King also belought; Herodotus reports: and more at large Beroads from Almighty God, repeating the most surviver of Chaldean story, mole credit in the state of insolent and blasphemous parts of Senache- to be taken from their own Books. Out of Hersika rib's letter, before the Altar of God in the Esp it is gathered, that this destruction of mention remple, confessing this part thereof to be the Assprian Army was in this manner: Thou thing the temple, confeiling tins part interest to be the algorian fainty was in this manner: About the true, That the King of Albur had destroyed shall be visited of the Lord of Hoasts with thun-their the Nations and their Lands, and bad set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the works of mans hands, even wood and short, but the works of mans hands, even wood and short, so the same serosus, and agreed and allowed the same serosus, and another the same serosus, and another the same serosus, and another the same serosus, and another the same serosus, and another the same serosus, and another the same serosus, and another the same serosus and same serosus and the same serosus and same serosu The reason that moved Senacherib to de- well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be Esp. 196. fire to posses himself in haste of Jerusalem, omitted; Senacheribus antem ab Ægyptis- 161 must, was, that he might thereinto have retraited co bello revertens, of endit ibi exercitum quem with Herodo. 1.2. Herodotus, remember it as followeth. Herodo- Seniorum è filiis suis, Adramelechi, & Se- Selenur two calleth Senacherib King of Arabia and lennari, vitam amist: occisus in ipso Tem-otherwise Affyria: which he might justly do, because plo quod dicitur Araici, quem pracipuo cultu sharen, Tiglath his Grand-father held a great part dignabitur; quibus ob patricidium à popula- him, as be thereof, which he wrested from Pekah King ribus pulsis, & in Armeniam fugientibus, A- was Fist of Israel: as Gilead over Jordan, and the reli saracoldas minor filius in Regnum successit; segur hi of Arabia Petra adjoyning: the same Hero Scnacherib (faith Josephus) returning from god dotus also maketh Sethon King of Fgppt, to be the Ægyptian War, found there his Army, 1 King 19 Egypt, which he also besieged, was, that an in- from God, the first night that he had begun to

all all the Town: one hundred fourfoore and five | a maffe of Figs, laid to the Botch or Sore. thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with This wonder when the Wife-men of Chaltheir Chieftains and Colorels. With which de- data had told to Merodach, King of Eabylon. firuction being terrified, and withall afraid the first of that house, he tent to Ezechias, to what might become of the rest of his Armie, he be informed of the cause: at which time Exemade ereat marches into his Kingdome, to his chias shewed him all the Treasure he had. Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where fort- both in the Court and in the Kingdome; for ly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his which he was reprehended by the Prophet Sons, Adramelch and Selenner or Sharezer, Ifaiah, who told him; The dayes are at hand, Eft 39. he loft his life in the Temple dedicated to Aral-that all that is in thine houle, and whathoever ces, or Nelroth; Whom he especially worshiped, thy Fathers have laid up in store to this day, These his Sons being for their paracide chased shall be carried into Eabel; nothing shall be away by the people, and flying into Armenia, left, faith the Lord. It may feeme strange, 150 4.1. Afaracoldas his younger son succeeded in the how Ezechia should have got any treasure Kinadome. Who in the beginning of his reign worth the shewing: for Senacherib had rob-Grand-father Salmanassar. What this Nefroth with advantage, and made Ezekia richer uptraditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing unexpected wealth was a strong temptation positively. It is certain, that Venus Vrania to boasting. After this time Ezchia had rest, was worthiped by the Affgrians; and fo was and spending without noise that addition Jupiter Eelus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus which God had made unto his life, he dyed Allarhaddon. Tobit tels us, that it was fiftie | Ecclesiafticus ) he devised to bring vvater to five dayes after Senacherib's returne, ere he Jerusalem. was murthered by his Sons, during which time he slew great numbers of the Ifraelites God: the one, that he rejoyced too much fword against his own breast.

him.

akin an chias fomewhat doubtfull of this exceeding strength, by the molestation of his brothers.

fent new troops out of Affyria to Samaria, to bed him of all, the year before. But the spoyl fortific the Colonic therein planted by his of the same senacherib his Camp repayed all was, it is uncertain: Hierome in his Hebrew on the fudden than ever he had been; which witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause having reigned nine and twenty years. One his Sons had to murther him; but the most only offensive War he made, which was likely it is, that he had formerly dif-inheri- against the Philistims, vvith good success. Ated those two, and conferred the Empire on mong his other acts ( shortly remembred in

In two respects they say that he offended in Nineve, till the most just God turned the at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemy: the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbear to shew them to strangers. But the reason wwhich moved Exechias ( speaking humanely ) to Of Ezechias his sicknesse and recoverie; and of entertain the Embassadours of Merodach in the Babylonian King that congratulated this friendly and familiar manner, was because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recovery of his Fter this marvellous deliverie, Ezechias health; as also in that Merodach had weakfickned, and was told by Isaiah that he ned the house of Senacherib, his fearfull must dye: but after he had besought God enemy. For Merodach, who was Comwith tears for his delivery, Isaiah, as he was mander and Lieutenant under Senacherib going from him, returned again, and had in Babylon, usurped that State himself, in the warrant from the Spirit of God to promise last year of that King, and held it by strong him recovery after three dayes, and a pro- hand against his son Aslarhaddon; who longation of life for fifteen years. But Eze- was not onely fimple, but impaired in grace, prayeth for a fign to confirme him: This advantage Merodach espied, and rememwhereupon, at the prayer of Isaiah, the sha- bring that their ancestor Phul Belochus had set dow of the Sunne cast it self the contrary his own Master Sardanapalus besides the cu-way, and went back ten degrees, upon the shion, thought it as lawfull for himself to Dyall of Achaz. The cause that moved Eze-chias to lament (sith Saint Hierome) was, ness did offer, as it had been for Belochus because he had as yet no son, and then in de-pair that the Messias should come out of the sinding himself beloved of the Babylonians, house of David, or at least of his Seed. His and sufficiently powerful, he did put the disease seemeth to be the postilence, by the matter to hazzard, and prevailed the affertimedicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, on of this history is made by the same argu-

ments that were in maintaining the common! opinion of Writers, touching Phul Belochus; which I will not here again rehearfe. So of this new race, which cut afunder the Line of Nimes, there were onely five Kings.

But forafmuch as the last year of Salmanassar was also the first of Senacherib his son, we reckon the time, wherein the house of Phul held the Allyrian Kingdom, to have been an hundred and one years, of which, the last five and twenty were spent with Ezechia, under Salmanassar, Senacherib, and Af-Sarhaddon.

#### 6. IV.

The Kings that were in Media during the reign of Ezechia: Of the difference found between fundry Authors in rehearling the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of Hezekia: of Candaules, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercules.

N the time of Ezekia, Medidus, and after him Cardiceas, reigned in Media. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in several Histories. hath caused them to seem more than indeed furnished than ours, with books of this arguthey were; or whether the fons reigning ment. Let it therefore suffice, that these two with the fathers, have caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time raries with Ezekia ) Medidus and Cardiceas, wherein they governed Media, to exceed the are found in Eufebius: for whether Cardiceas due proportion, or whether the Copies them- were Diodorus his Arbianes, I will not stay to felves of Cicfias and Annius his Metasthenes, search. The Kings of Media, according to Euhave been faulty, as neither of these two sebins, reigned in this order. Authors is over-highly commended of trustiness; so it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diverily reported of these Median Kings, that follow Arbaces: therefore it need not feem strange, that I reckon Medidus and Cardiceas as contemporaries with Ezechia. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those writers that vary from Eusebius, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here fet down the roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as I retain; but adde unto these, Cyaxares, the fundry Authors have delivered it.

their reigns thus:

	and the same of the same of the same		
Arbaces Mandanes Sofarmon Articarmin Arbianes		28 3 50 30 50 22	
Arteus	> reigned <	40	years.
Artines		22	, "
Astybarus, with his	1		
fon Apanda	i	20	
Apanda alone	1	30	
Darius with Cyrus	<b>.</b>	36	

Diodorus Siculus following Ctesias (as perhaps Annius made his Metasthenes follow Diodore. with some little variation, that he might not feem a borrower )placeth them thus ;

Arbaces Mandanes Sofarmus Articas Arbianes Arfæus Artines Artabanus	reigned	28 50 30 50 22 40 22 40	years.
--	---------	--	--------

Astybara the continuance of these two he Aftyages \ doth mention.

Mercator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with Eusebius. But foralmuch as it feems to me an impossible matter, to attain unto the truth of his forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon Ctesias and Metasthenes, I will lay the burden upon Eusebius, who lived in an age better Kings (whom I have reckoned as contempo-

Arbaces	(28)	
Sofarmus Medidus	30 40	
. 1	reigned 15	vears.
Deioces	1 2 1 34 1	<i>j</i>
Phraortes Cyaxares	1 24 1	
Astyages	ڔؗڰۄؙؗ	

These names, and this course of succession fon of Aftyages, according to Xenophon; and Annius his Metasthenes orders them and sometimes follow Herodoius, in setting down the length of a Kings reign, otherwise than Eusebins hathit: of which variations I will render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine years of Ezekia were concurrent, concurrent, in part, with the rule of the four | Dafcylus to behold her naked body, and plaany food: fo the Horle, constrained by hunger | Ezekia one year before the death of Romulus. devoured the unhappy Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and founder of that fomewhat after Ezekia.

CHAP. XXVI

the same age.

This Region was first called Maonia. Lydus ceeding the father. Candaules the fon of Myrfus was the last of his race, who doated I have not troubled my self to take notice of so much upon the beauty of his own wife, that the time of their several reigns: for little is he could not be content to enjoy her, but found of them beside the bare names, and the would needs enforce one Gyges the fon of folly of this last King Candaules.

first that were chosen Governours of Athens | ced the unwilling man secretly in her chamfor ten years, that is, of Charops, Assimedes, ber, where he might see her preparing to bed-Flidicus, and Hippones. Touching the first ward. This was not so closely carried, but of these I hear nothing, save that Rome was that the Queen perceived Grees at his going built in his first year; of which perhaps him- forth, and understanding the matter, took it felf did not hear. Of the second and third in such high disdain, that she forced him the Ifind only the names. The fourth made him- next day to requite the Kings folly with treafelf known by a strange example of justice, son. So Gyges being brought again into the or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his same chamber by the Queen, slew Candaules. own Daughter. For he finding that the had and was rewarded not only with his Wife, offended in unchastity, caused her to be lockt but with the Kingdom of Lydia. He reigned up with an Horse, giving to neither of them thirty eight years, beginning in the last of

After Gyges, his fon Ardys reigned nine and forty years; then Sadyattes twelve; Halyattes, City Romulus, did reign both before, and fifty seven, and finally Crasus the son of Halyattes, fourteen years: who loft the Kingdom,

In Lydia, Candaules the last King ruled in and was taken by Cyrus of Persia.

And here by the way we may note that as the Lydian Kings whom Creefus his Progethe fon of Atys reigning in it, gave the nitor dispossest, are deduced from Hercules, name of Lydia, if we believe fuch authority | fo of the fame Hercules there for any oas we find. This Kingdom was afterward, ther Kings, which governed feveral Counby the appointment of an Oracle, conferred | treys very long; as in Asia, the Mysians, in upon Argon, who came of Alcaus the fon of Greece, the Lacademonians, Mellenians, Rho-Hercules, by fardana, a bond-woman. The dians, Corinthians and Argives; and from the race of these Heraclida continued reigning Argives, the Macedonians, as likewise from fifty five years (in which two and twenty the Corinthians, the Syraculans: besides ma-Generations passed) the son continually suc- ny great and famous, though private families.

But of the Heraclide that reigned in Lydia,

of the History of the World.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, between the deliverance of Israel from thence, and the reign of Ezekiah in Juda when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in History, are like to have belonged only to Viceroys. An example proving this out of William of Tyre his History of the Holy War.

He emulation and quarrels ari- who first planted that Country, and of Osiris, fing in these times, between, the orus, and other ancient Kings that reigned mighty Kingdoms of Egypt and there, untill the Ifraelites were thence deli-Allyrians, do require our pains, vered, more hath been faid already than I in collecting the most memora- can stand to; though I hold it no shame to ble things in Egypt, and fetting down briefly fail in such conjectures. That which I have the state of that Countrey, which had con- delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the tinued long a flourishing Region, and was of Egyptian Dynasties, must here again help me, great power, when it contended with Affyria For it may truly be affirmed. That the great for the mastery. Of Cham the son of Noah, number of Kings, which are said to have reigned in Egypt, were none other than Vice- his Turks, under the command of Spraces. roves or Stewards, fuch as Joseph vvas, and against the soldan Dargan. So Dargan and fuch as evere the Soldans in latter ages. Sanar met, and fought: The victoric was Therefore I will not onely forbear to feek Dargans; but he enjoyed it not: For in few after those, whom Herodotus and Diodorus dayes after, he was tlain by treason, whereby have reckoned up from the mouths of Egyp- Sanar did recover his Dignitie: which to etian Priests, delivering them by number, stablish, he slew all the kindred and freinds without rehearing their names; but will of Dargan, that he could find in the great fave the labour of marshalling them in order. Citie of cairo. recorded.

other Countries. As for the rest whose names own game. with turning over many Authors.

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whose names onely are found; the years of To all these doings, the Calipb Elbadech their reigns, and other circumstances proving gave little regard; for he thought it little them to have been Kings indeed, being not concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the kingdome. But that I may not feem before hand to whilest he might have the profit of it, and lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after his pleasure. But new troubles presently a-I may build what I lift, it were not amisse, to rise, which (one would think) do neerly give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this touch the Caliph himselfe. Syracon with his point, as apparent reason, and truth of Histo- Turks, whom Sanar had gotten to come into rie doth afford, First therefore, we ought not Egypt, will not now be intreated there to to believe those numbers of Generations, leave him, and quietly go their way home, which the lying Preists have reckoned up, to They size upon the Town of Belbeir, which magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of that from Abraham our Saviour Christ was re- more companie from Davisseo, for the conmoved onely forty two defcents; which quest of all Egypt. The soldan perceives makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, their intent, and finds himself not strong enamely before the Persian Empire, there nough to expell them, much lesse to expell could not have passed away twice as many the Turkish Armie that was likely to second fuccessions in Egypt: especially considering, them: He therefore sends Messengers to King that many of these, whose continuance is ex- Almarick of Jerusalem, whom with large propressed, having reigned longer than forty mises he gets to bring him ayde, and so years. It follows that we should square the drives out the Turks: Of all this trouble number of the Egyptian Kings in some even the great Caliph hears nothing or not so much proportion, to those which did bear rule in as should make him look to the playing of his

we find feattered here and there; any man A greater mischief ariseth, concerning the that will take the paines to read the nine- Caliph Elhadech particularly in his own Title. teenth book of the Holy Warr, written by Syracon, Captain of the Turks that had been William Archbishop of Tyre, may easily per- in Egypt, goes to the Caliph of Baldach (who fwade himself, that it is not hard to find was opposite to him of Fgypt, each of them names enow, of such as might be thought to claiming as heir to Mahomet that false Prohave reigned in Feppt, being none other than phet, the Soveraigntie over all that were of Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here insert the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakness as breifly as I can, some things making to of the Egyptian, with his own abilitie of doing that purpole, for the pleafure and informa-fervice in those parts; offering his best means tion of fuch as will not trouble themselves for the extirpation of the Schismaticall Caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the When Elabdech the Caliph ruled in Egypt, Western parts, under the subjection of the Baone Dargan, a powerfull and a fubtile man, bylonian. This motion is readily and joyfulmade himself Soldan by force and cunning, ly entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are chasing away Sanar an Arabian, who was up in Arms, and Syracon, with a mighty pow-Soldan before and after him. This Dargan er, descendeth into Egypt. The noyse of this ministred matter of quarrel to Amalrick King great expedition so affrighteth King Almaof Jerusalem; and sustained, with little losse, rick, that with all his forces he hasteth into an invalion, which Amalrick made upon E- Egypt, well knowing how neerly it concerngipt. hereupon he grew so insolent and ed him and his kingdome of Jerusalem, to proud, that Sanar the former Soldan hoped keep the Saracens from joyning all under to make his partie good against him, if he one head. Sanar the Soldan perceiving the could get any forces wherewith to enter E- faithfull care of the Christians his friends, gypt. Briefly, Sanar fueth to Noradine, King welcomes them, and beftirs himselfe in giving of Damasco, for ayde, who sends an Armie of them all manner of content, as it behoved

him: for by their admirable valour, he fi- were brought into the calible's own ledg-But this victory was not fo foon gotten, as better guarded; where entring the Preit is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concerns our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the Caliph, as yet, feems to know nothing. May we not think him to have been King required, makes large offers to King Almarick, upon condition that he should abide of Tyre calls it a Tribute; the Sarazens, per-

perhaps from the East Indies, which then his greatness. was undiscovered. The further they went, tred, the more high state they found, and roy, in the mean season, using all Royal cause of marvaile; suffice it, that the good power; making War and Peace; enter-Archbishop, who wrote these things, was taining and repelling Armies of strangers;

nally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. ings, which were yet more stately and fence, the Soldan having twice proftrated himself, did the third time cast off his Sword that he wore about his neck, and throw himself on the ground before the Curtain, behind which the Calipb fate. in title onely, who meddled so little in the Presently the traverse wrought with Cold Government? The Soldan, finding that the and Pearls was opened, and the Caliph Christians (without whose help all was lost) himself discovered, fitting with great Macould not well ftay so long as his necessities jesty on a Throne of Gold, having few of his most inward servants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (William | kissed his Matters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein haps, called it a Pension) which the Kings the Land stood, and the offers that he made of Jerusalem should receive out of Egypt, for unto King Almerick, desiring the Caliph this behoveful affiltance. But the Christians himself to ratific them in presence of the understanding that the Soldan (how much Embassadors. The Caliph answered, That soever he took upon him) was subject to a he would throughly perform all which was higher Lord, would make no bargain of fuch promifed. But this contented not the Emimportance with any other than the Caliph baffadors: They would have him to give himself. Hereupon Hugh Earl of casarea, his hand upon the bargain; which the and a Knight of the Templers, are fent unto Egyptians that stood by thought an impu-Elhadech to ratifie the covenants. Now dent request. Yet his greatness condefshall we see the greatness of the Caliph and cenced at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to These Embassadours were conveighed by reach out his hand. When the Earl of cathe Soldan to Cairo, where arriving at the Jaria faw that the Caliph gave his hand nei-Palace, they found it guarded by great ther willingly nor bare, he told him round-Troops of Souldiers. The first entrance ly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seeks no was through dark Porches, that were kept holes to hide it felf; Princes that will hold by many armed bands of Ethiopians, which Covenant, must deal openly, nakedly, and with all diligence did reverence to the fincerely; Give us therefore your bare Soldan as he passed along. Through these hand, if you mean that we shall trust you, streights the Warders lead them into good- for we will make no bargain with your ly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, Glove. Much adoe there was about this: that they could not retain the gravity of for it seemed against the Majesty of such a Embassadours, but were inforced to ad- Prince to yield so far. But when it would mire the things which detained their eyes. none otherwise be, with a smiling chear For there they faw goodly Marble Pillars, (though to the great grief of his Servants), gilded Beams, all wrought over with em- he vouchsafed to let the Earl take him by bossed Works, curious Pavements, Fish-the bare hand; and so rehearing the coponds of Marble with clear Waters, and venants word by word, as the Earl spake many forts of strange Birds, unknown in them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the those parts of the World, as comming Embassadors with such rewards as testified

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may the greater was their magnificence; for discern the Image of the ancient Pharaoh, the Caliph his Eunuches conveyed them and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great into other Courts within these, as far ex- estate, sitting in his Palace, and not celling the former, as the former did fur- vexing himself with the great preparapass ordinary houses. It were tedious per- tions made against him, which terrifie haps to rehearse how the further they en- his neighbour Countries: we see his Vicenever held a vain Author. Finally they yea, making the Land of Egypt tributary

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to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to Toseph, when Pharaoh faid unto him, Thou Shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, of Acherres; whether he were Uchoreus that only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have fet thee over all the Land of

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ty, whereby they might the better trust their found scattering in others. Officers with so ample commission. But of From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, this matter, I will not stand longer to dif-unto the reign of Thuris (who is generally pute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Vice- tens ) there is little or no disagreement about roys governing Egypt, is fet down by Moses, the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set down the and that a lively example of the same is same which are found in Eusebius, and give to found in William of Tyre, who lived in the every one the same length of reign. same age, was in few years after Chancellor Acherres was the first of these, who succeed the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and had full ded unto Chencres, that perished in the Red discourse with Hugh Earl of Casaria touch- Sea. This King seems to Reyneccius to be the ing all these matters. Wherefore it remains, same whom Diodorus calls Ochoreus, the that we be not carried away with a vain o- founder of Memphis. But whereas mention pinion, to believe that all they were Kings, is found in Diodorus of a great King named whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians have Ofymandyas, from whom Vchorens is faid to honoured with that stile; but rest contented be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, cumstance, likely to have reigned in that the great Ofmandyas; or else that this Achershould make inquiry.

#### 6. II.

was the eighth from Ofymandyas. Of Ofvmandvas and kis Tomb.

I do not commend this form of Govern-IN this businesse I hold it vain to be too ment; neither can I approve the conjecture curious. For who can hope to attain of mine Author, where he thinks, that the E- to the perfect knowledge of the truth. gyptians, ever fince Joseph's time have felt the when as Diodorus varies from Herodotus. burden of that servitude which he brought Eusebius from both of them; and late Wriupon them, when he bought them and their ters that have fought to gather the truth Lands for Pharaoh. Herein I find his judge- out of these and others, find no one with ment good; that he affirms this manner of whom they can agree? In this case Annius the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and would doe good service, if a man could ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the anci-trust him. But it is enough to be beholding ent customs practised by the Pharaohs For we to him when others do either say nothing. find, that even the Ptolemies (excepting Pto- or that which may justly be suspected. lomeus Lagi, and his son Philadelphus, foun- will therefore hold my felf contented with der and citablisher of that race) were given, the pleasure that he hath done me, in all of them wholly, to please their own appe- saying somewhat of Ofiris, Isis, Orus, and tites, leaving the charge of the Kingdom those antiquities removed so far out of to Women, Eunuches, and other Ministers fight: as for the Kings following the deparof their defires. The pleasures which that ture of Ifrael out of Egypt, it shall suffice Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Eusebius have invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous not been filent, and that Reyneccius hath life, and the awful regard wherein the E- taken pains to range into some good order gyptians held their Princes gave them securi- the names that are extant in these, or else

with a Catalogue of such, as we find by cir- that Timans (as Reineccius conjectures was Countrey; after whom it follows that we res was Ochoreus: for the distance between them was more than eight generations. Mercator judgeth Ofmandyas to have been the husband of Ancheres, Orus the seconds daughter; thinking that Manethon (cited by Josephus)doth omit his name, and infert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for Ochoreus, it troubles not Mercator to find him the eighth from this man; for he takes Oedons, not to fig. nifie in this place of Diodore (as that Greek word else doth ) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name, belonging also to Vehoreus, well be that Memphis was built by some such Josephs who might have had two names, as many of King as was Gehour, Lieutenant unto the 16th of the 15th of the 16th of th the reft had. I will not vexe my braines in Caliph Eleain; who having to his Matters use his. I. the unprofitable use of this, and the like inex- conquered Egypt, and many other Countries, tricable doubts. All that Diodore hath found did build, not far from old Memblis, the of this Ofmandyas, was wrought upon his great Citie of Cairo (corruptly fo pronounmonument; the most thereof in figures, which (ced) naming it El Cahira, that is, an enforcing, I thinke the Egyptians did fabuloully expound. For whereas there was portrayed a were a Dalmatran flave. great Army, with the feige of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror, all this the Egyptians faid to 5. III. denote the conquest of Baltria made by that of Cherres, Arm. us, Ramesses, and Ameno-King : which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly peice of work,

phis. Of Myris, and the Lake that beart his name.

which Diodore to particularly describes, to Hen Archerres had reigned eight years, Cherres succeeded and held the kingdome fifteen years : then gspt, and to their Viceroyes; whilft yet they reigned Armeus five years, and after him Rawere not fo ambitious, as every one to have melles threescore and eight. Of Armens and his own particular monument, striving there- Ramesses is that Historie understood by Euleinto exceed all others. This appears by the bins, which is common among the Greeks, unmany statues therein placed, by the Wars, der the names of Danaus and Egyptus. For the judgement feate, the receiving of Tri- it is faid that Danaus, being expelled out of bute, the offering facrifice to God, the ac- Egypt byhis brother, fled into Greece, where count of revenues, and plenty of all cattell he obtained the Kingdome of Argos; that and food: all which were there curioufly he had fifty Daughters, whom upon feeming wrought, shewing the severall Offices of a reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his Governour. On the Tomb of Ofmandy as brothers fiftie ions, but commanded every was this inscription. I am Osymandyas King one of them to kill her husband the first of Kings; if any desire to know what I am, or night; that onely Hipermnestra, one of his where I lye, let him exceed some of my works. Daughters, did save her husband Lincens; Let them that hope to exceed his works, la- and suffered him to escape; finally, That bour to know what he was. But fince by those for this fact, all the bloudy fifters, when words, Or where I lye, it should seem that he they dyed, were enjoyed this foolish pulay not there interred, we may lawfully niffment in Hell, to fill a leaking veffel with suspect that it was Joseph, whose body was water.

preserved among the Hebrews, to be buried The reign of Danaus in Areas was indeed in the land of Canaan and this empty monu- in this age; but that Armens was Danaus, and ment might King Orus, who out lived him, e- Ramesses, Ægyptus, is more than Reineccius rect in honour of his high deferts, among the believes: he rather takes Armeus to have royall sepulchres. To which purpose the been Myris, or Meris, who caused the plenty of Cattel and all manner of viands, great lake to be made which bears his had good reference. The name of Ofyman- name. For my own part, as I can eadyar doth not hinder this conjecture; feeing fily beleive, that he which fled out of Joseph had one new name given him by Pha- Egypt into Greece, was a man of such raab, for expounding the dream, and might, qualitie as the Soldan Sunar, of whom we upon further occasions, have another to his spake before; so do I not find how in so short increase of honour. As for that stile, King of a reign, as five years, a work of that labour Kings, it was perhaps no more than Beglerberg, could be finished, which was required unto as the Turkish Bassase called that is, Great the Lake of Myris, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his Now although it be fosthat the reckoning wives being some part, it is manifest that he fals out right, between the times of Joseph & was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of Acherres (for Acherres was the eighth in or- Myris, and of all other Kings, whose age der, that reigned after the great orus, whose is uncertain, and of whose reigns we have Viceroy Toleph was) yet will I hereby feek, no affurance, I may truly fay, that their neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as great vvorks are not enough to prove touching Juleph, nor to infer any likelihood them of the house of Pharaoh, seeing that of Acherres his being Ochoreus. For it might greater deeds are more absolute, than

above the Great.

have been crected for a common place of bu-

riall to the ancient Kings and Queens of E-

CHAP.XXVI

were those of Jojeph who bought all the peo- in the Countries through which he passed ple of Egypt as bondmen, and all their land had it now been performed; as any man for bread; of Gehoar, who founded Cairo; will perceive, if he look upon my Chronolo-

the length of their reigns whom we find to jectures to have had the same signification. have followed one another in order of fuc- wherein the old Kings of Hetruria were calceflion: but in rehearing the great acts led Lartes, (the Hetrurians being issued our which were performed, I will not stand to of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt ) and to examine, whether they that did them were have fignified as much as Imperator, or Gene-Kings or no.

odore and Herodotus, three thousand fix hun- Æthiopians: for fure I am, that they troudred furlongs in compass, and fifty fadoms bled not the Country of Palastina, that lay deep. It ferved to receive the waters of Nilus, next unto them on the one hand; nor is it when the overflow, being too great, was likely that they travelled over the defart harmful to the Country: and to supply the fands, on the other hand, to seek matter of defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, conquest, in the poor Countries of Africa. when the river did not rise high enough. In But these Generals (if the Larthes were such) opening the fluces of this lake, for the letting were not many. Five only had that title; in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; and the last of these took it, perhaps, as hebut the lake it self defraied that cost; seeing reditary from the first; in such fort as the the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein Roman Emperours were proud, for a while, was every day one talent, which Myris gave to be called Antonini, till the most unsuitato his Wife to buy fweet Ointments and o- ble conditions of Heliogabalus, made his fucther Ornaments for her body. In the middest cessors forbear the name. of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of Myris and his Wife, and over fries (as appears by this particular) took name each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, from the Kings; that the Kings also did ador (according to Herodotus) fifty paces high; minister the government themselves, and having on the tops their statues, fitting in that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so Thrones. I find not the description of this much unto the Viceroys. But it is to be con-Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of sidered, that what is said of these Larthes, Historians: yet it is very great. The years of depends only upon conjecture, and that the Armens are by Manethon divided, by infert- authority of the Regents, or Viceroys, might ing one Armelis (whom Eusebius omits) that be great enough, though some few Kings should have reigned one year and odd took the conduct of Armies into their own moneths of the time : but I hold not this hands. For so we find in John Leo, that the John Leo, difference worthy of examination.

Kingdom forty years. Some give him only Soveraignty to himself) had under him a nineteen years; and Mercator thinks him to Viceroy, Itiled Eddaguadare, who had auhave been the King that was drowned in thority to place, or displace, any Magistrates, ken in the first Book.

#### 5. IV.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynasty of the

fofiris. But the state of the World was not drawn; whether from their Country as those been either eafily performed, or forgotten time; as many think, that the feventeenth

and of Sanar, who made the Country Tri-butary; were performed by none of them. this Zethur. With this King began the Dy-It shall therefore be enough to fet down nafty of the Larthes; which Reineceius conral. The Wars in which these Kings were The Lake of Myris, is, by the report of Di- Generals, I take to have been against the

Here it may be objected, that the Dyna-Soldan of Egypt (after fuch time as the Sol-8. After Ramesses, his fon Amenophis held the dan Saladine, murdering the Caliph, got the the Red Sea: whereof I have already spo- or Officers; and that this mans Family was almost as great as the Soldans own. Yet was there also the Amir Cabir, or Lord General of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, fpend of the Soldans treasure. So might the office of the Viceroys continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon Ethosis, or Zethus, reigned after his Father them, did somewhat abridge the greatness of Amenophis, fifty five years. To him are that fecond place. As for the names of the ascribed the famous acts of that antient se- Dynasties, it skills not whence they were such at these times, that so great an expedi- of the Thebans and Diapolitans; or from tion as the old Sesoftris made, could have some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that

Dynasty

Dynasty was called of the Shepheards, because Toseph governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; as this was faid to be of the Larthes or Gene- of the Egyptian Kings, whose names are found rals. The next, as Manetho (but Annius his Manetho ) hath it, was without any 1 arthes or Generals, yet was it not without Kings forafmuch as Vaphres, and Sefac, reigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the business which we left.

Rameses was King after Zethus, or Setholis, lour, was taken by these as hereditary.

Helen to her restitution.

other such matters, may feem to be under- sense is all one; which is this: Officers: for fuch only are like to have had their residence about Pharos, and the seacoast where Menelans arrived.

Of Proteus, who detained Helen, it is said that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himfelf into all shapes: whereby is fignified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets feigned him a Sea-God, and keeper of Neptune's Seal-fishes, for belike he was some was faid before.

next King, by Diodore, as also by Herodotus, ving name to the Iland: though in this last who calls him Ramsinitus, and tells a long point I hold Suidas to be deceived; as also tale fit to please children of his covetousness, Cedrenus is or (at least) seems to me, in giving and how his treasure-house was robbed by to this King such prosound antiquity of a cunning thief, that at last married his reign. Indeed the very name of that book, ci-Daughter. But of this a man may believe ted often by Cedrenus, which he calls Little what he lift. How long this King reigned I Genesis, is alone enough to breed suspicion of know not, nor think that either he or his fa- some imposture: but the Frierly stuffe that he ther did reign at all.

6. V.

scattering in Sundry Authors , their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to Cedrenus. Of Vaphres and

Any other names of Egyptian Kings are V found scattered here and there; as threescore and six years. He is mistaken tor Tonephersobis, of whom Suidas delivers only that second sesostris, of whom I have spoken the bare name and title; senemures, or sein the first book. I find nothing worth rehear- nepos, mentioned in Macrobius, who perhaps fal of this Rameses, or of Amenophis and An- was the same that by Suidas is called Senyes, nemenes, that followed him in order, the for- or Enenes, noted by occasion of a great Phymer of which reigned forty, the latter fix and fician that lived under him; Bunchyris, retwenty years. Wherefore it may very well corded by the same suidas for his great jube, that the name which Zethus had from va- stice; and Thulis, of whom Suidas tells great matters; as that his Empire extended to the Thuoris, the last of the Larthes, reigned on- Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Isle of ly seven years; yet is he thought to have Thule, which some take to be Iseland; and heen that Proteus, of whom Herodotus hath that he consulted with the Devil, or (which mention, faying, That he took Helena from is all one) with Seraphis, defiring to know, Paris, and after the fack of Troy, restored her who before him had been, or after him should to Menelaus. I need fay no more in refutati- be so mighty as himself. The answer or conon of this, than that the time of Thuoris his fession of the Devil was remarkable; which reign lasted not so long as from the Rape of I find Englished in the translation of Plessis his work of the trueness of Christian Religion. This Proteus or Cetes (as he is named by The Greek Verses are somewhat otherwise, fome) together with Thon, and others menti- and much more imperfect in those Copies oned by Greek Writers in this business, or in that have of Cedrenus and Snidas, but the

> First God, and next The Word, and then The Spirit. Which Three be One, and joyn in One all Whole force is endless. Get thee hence frail Wight. The man of Life unknown excelleth thee.

I should have thought that Suidas had under-Officer to the Admiral having charge borrowed all this of Cedrenus, had I not of the Fishing about the Isle of Pharos, as found somewhat more in Suidas than Cedrenus hath hereof; as the form of invocation Remphes the fon of Proteus is reckoned the which Thulis used, and that clause of his gialledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himself, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout, and of good judgment in matters that fell within his compass. I will here set down the list of CHAP. XXVI

old Egyptian Kings delivered by him, and the times of David and of Salomon. He came leave the centure to others.

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is Mizraim the lon of Cham. After him he Salomon's wife: though for her fake perhaps finds many of a new race, deriving their pe- it was, that in time following either he, or degree thus: Nimrod the fon of Chus was (as I rather take it ) sefac his fon did favour also called erion, and further took upon him the enemies of salomon, who kept so many the name of the Planet Saturn, had to Wife Wives and Concubines, besides this Egyptian Semiramis, who was of his own Linage, and Princess. In the life of Rehoboam all hath been by her three sons; Picus, surnamed Jupiter, written that I find of sefac, excepting the Belus, and Ninus. Piem chafing his Father out length of his reign, which must have been fix of Allyria into Italy, reigned in his stead thir- and twenty years, if he were that Smendis ty years, and then gave up that Kingdom to with whom Eulebius begins the one and Inno his fifter and wife and to Belus his fon: twentieth Dynafty. after which Belus, who reigned only two Now for a fmuch as it would ferve to no years, Ninus had the Kingdom, and married great purpose, that we knew the length of his own Mother Semiramis. But Picus went Sefac his reign, and of theirs that followed into Italy to visit his old Father Saturn; Sa. him, unless therewithall we knew the beginturn forthwith refigned the Kingdom unto ning of sefac, upon which the rest have dehim. Picus Inpiter reigned in Italy threescore pendance; this course I take. From the tourth and two years, had threescore and ten Wives year of Jehojakim King of Juda, in which or Concubines, and about as many children: Pharao Neco was flain, I reckon upwards the finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Isle of years of the same Neco, and of his Predeces-Crete. The Principal of Jupiter's sons were fors, unto the beginning of selac: by which Faunus, Perseus, and Apollo. Faunus was cal- accompt, the first year of sesac is found conled by the name of the Planet Mercury: he current with the twentieth of Salomon's reigned in Italy, after his Father, five and reign, and the twenty fixt of Sefac with the thirty years, and then (finding that all his fifth of Rehoboam, wherein sefac spoiled the brethren conspired against him)he went in- Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his to Fgypt, with abundance of Treasure, where, Sacriledge no longer than Joas the Israelite, after the death of Mifraim, he got the King- and Crassus the Roman did; who after him dom, and held it nine and thirty years. After spoiled the Temple of Jerusalem. Mercury Julean reigned in Egypt, tour years To fill up the time between Sefac and Neand a half. Then sol, the fon of Vulcan, co, I have rather taken those Kings that I find reigned twenty years and a half. There fol- in the Greek Historians, than them which are lowed in order sofis, Ofiris, Orus and Thules, in Eusebius his Catalogue. For of those that of whom we spake before: the length of are delivered by Eusebius, we find no Name their feveral reigns is not fet down. After nor Act recorded elsewhere, fave only of Thules , was the great Sefostris King twenty Bocchoris , who is remembred by Diodore, years. His fucceflor was Pharaoh, called Nare- Plutarch, and others, much being spoken of cho, that held the Crown fifty years, with him, that makes him appear to have been a which there passed from him the surname of King. Hereunto I may add, that the succession Pharaoh, to a very long posterity.

credit rest upon the Author.

Selac, the afflicter of Rehoboam, lead us again Jolias and Neco meet by his computation, yet vang. 1. 9. into fair way, but not far. The name of Va- this indeed mars ali, the reign of Josias being phres is not found in the Scriptures; but we misplaced. This errour grows from his omit-1 Kings of 16 are beholding to Clemens Alexandrinus and ting to compare the reigns of the Kings of 11. 10. 18 Eufebius for it. These give us not the length Juda with theirs of Israel: by which occasion

into Palestina with an Army, took Gezar from The first King of Egypt that he sets down, the Canaanites, and gave it to his daughter

is often interrupted in Eusebius by Æthiopi-These reports of Cedrenus I hold it e-ans, which got the Kingdom often, and held nough to set down as I find them: let their it long: whereas contrariwise it appears by the Prophet Esay, that the Counsellors of Others yet we find, that are faid to have Pharaoh did vaunt of the long and flourishreigned in Fespt, without any certain note, ing continuance of that house, insomuch that when, or how long: about whom I will not they faid of Pharaoh, I am the fon of the wife, Efg. 1911 labour, as fearing more to be reprehended I am the son of the ancient King. But that of vain curiofity, in the fearch made after which overthrows the reckoning of Enfebithese already rehearted, than of negligence, hs, is the good agreement of it with his miin omitting fuch as might have been added. Itaken times of the Kings of Juda. For though Vaphres, the father in law to Salomon, and it please him well to see how the reigns of of his reign; but we know that he lived in Goram King of Ifrael is made to reign three

years after Ahazia of Juda; Samaria is taken otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might by Salmanaffar before Hezechia was King: be, that they, who had not power to avoid and in a word, all, or most of the Kingshave the like slavery laid upon them by the yountheir beginnings placed in some other year ger brother or son, she dd have power or leiof their collaterals than the Scriptures have fure to take such revenge upon his Predecesdetermined.

#### 6. VI.

Rehoboam and Ezechia.

odore) Chembis, first in the rank of those that thers provisions. were Kings after Sesac. He reigned fifty years, Mycerinas the son of Cephrenes reigned and built the greatest of the three Pyra- after his Father fix years. He would have mides, which was accounted one of this built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by Worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his death, finished not what he had begun. The name from the shape, in that it resembleth people thought him a good King, for that he a flame of fire, growing from the bottom up- did fet open the Temples, which Cheops and wards narrower and narrower to the top. Cephrenes had kept shut. But an Oracle threat-This of Chemnis being four-square, had a ned him with a short life of six years only, Base of seven acres every way, and was a- because of this his devotion; For (said the hout fix acres high. It was of a very hard and Oracle) Egypt should have been afflitted an durable stone, which had lasted, when Dio- hundred and fifty years, which thy Predecessors dore faw it, about a thousand years, without knew, and performed for their parts; but thou them vet standing.

Parallin fucceeded. Herodotus hath Cheops (who might who knows whether Chemnis did not learn ramides, whereby they purchased great ha- happy than that of Mycerinas, who held to be the casting out of their bodies; other such overlights: For I know no Author

for. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against Cheops his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did profittute her, and that the getting of every of Chemnis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other man that accompanied her, one from did Kines recited by Herodotus and Diodorus build with them a fourth Pyramis, that flood Siculus, which reigned between the times of in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an infolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her fake, longer a while Ollowing therefore the Greek Histori- than they thought to have done, in raising a ans I place Chemnis, or (according to Di-Monument with the superfluity of her Fa-

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complaining of any injury that it had fuffer- haft released it, therefore shalt thou live but six ed by weather in fo long space. From the years. It is very strange, that the gods should reign of Chemmis, unto the age of Augustus be offended with a King for his piety; or Gelar, wherein Diodore lived, are indeed a that they should decree to make a Country thousand years; which doth give the better impious, when the people were desirous to likelihood unto this time wherein Chemnis ferve them; or that they having so decreed. is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, it should lye in the power of a King to alter late Writers do testifie, that they have seen destiny, and make the ordinance of the gods to fail in taking full effect. But these were After Chemnis, Diodore placeth Cephrenes Egyptian gods. The true god was doubtlefs his Brother; but doubtfully, and enclining more offended with the institution of such rather to the opinion, that his son Chabrens Idolatry, than with the interruption. And be (habreas) and Cephrenes after him. These somewhat at Jerusalem in the last year of his are faid to have been brethren; but the Father sefac, that made him perceive, and length of their reigns may argue the latter deliver to those that followed him, the vato have been fon to the former: for Cheops nity of his Egyptian superstition? Most force reigned fifty years; Cephrenes fifty fix. These it is, that his reign, and the reigns of Cheme were, as Chemmis had been, builders of Py- and Cephrenes were more long and record tred of their people, who already had over- lude the Oracle, revelled away both days laboured themselves in erecting the first, and nights, as if by keeping candles he had These Pyramides were ordained to be he had changed his nights into dayes, and to Tombs for those that raised them; but the doubled the time appointed: a service more malice of the Egyptians is faid to have cast pleasing to the Devil, than the restitution of out their bodies, and to have called their Idolatry durft then feem, when it could Monuments by the name of an Heardsman speed no better. I find in Reineccius Stry that kept his Beafts thereabouts. It may be, years assigned to this King; which I verily that the robbing them of their honour, and believe to have been some errour of the entituling a poor fellow to their works, was print, though I find it not corrected among

Clem Strom. L.I. Enfeb. de

that gives him so many years, and Reineceius further.or more(if the like abridgment shall himself takes notice of the Oracle, that be required of Pfammiticus his reign) into threatned Mycerinus with a flort life, as is the years of Rehoboam. before thewed.

by Diodore, who speaks no more of him than most, that he reigned fifty years. He was a this, that he was a ftrong man of body, and merciful Prince, not punishing all capital excelling his predecetiors in wit. He is spoken offences with death, but imposing bondage of by divers Authors, as one that loved ju- and bodily labour upon malefactors; by flice; and may be taken for that Banchyris whose toil he both got much wealth into his whom Suidas commends in that kind: Enfe- own hands, letting out their fervice to hire. bius reckons 44. years of his reign.

follows in the Catalogue of Diodore; but trey. Zonoras calls this King Sua; the Scricertain ages after him. Herodotus quite omit- ptures call him so. Hofea, the last King of ting Bocchorus, hath Afychis; who made a Ifrael, made a league with him against Salmasharplaw (asit wasthen held) against bad nassar, little to his good: for the Egyptian debtors, that their dead bodies should be in was more rich than warlike, and therefore his the creditors disposition, till the debt were friendship could not preserve the Israelite paid. This Alychis made a Pyramis of brick, from destruction. more costly and fair, in his own judgment, tween Bocchorus and him that followed that Phul himself did make the first entrance them. But all this could make but fix years; into Palastina. This caused so to animate the that the reigns of two Kings should have been to a broken staffe of Reed. Such indeed to a broken staffe of Reed. Such indeed to a broken staffe of Reed. these without subtracting from some other, one with a rod of iron. It appeareth by the would breed a manifest inconvenience : for- words of Rabsake, that the opinion was great asmuch as part of Sesac his reign, must have in Juda, of the Egyptian forces, for Chariots been in the fifth of Rehoboam, as also the last and Horse-men; but this power, whatsoever of Pharao Neco was the fourth of Jebojakim, it was, grew needful, within a little while, and the first of Nebuchadnezzar. For mine for the defence of Egypt it self, which so lest own part, I like it better to allow fix years unto sethon his Successor, having now fulfilonly to these two Kings, than to lose the led the fifty years of his reign. Herodotus witness of Herodotus, who, concurring here- and Diodorus have both one tale, from the rein with the Scriptures, doth speak of Senna- lation of Egyptian Priests, concerning the decheril's War, at which time Sethon was King parture of this King; faying, that he left the of Egypt. I will not therefore add years Country, and willingly retired into Æthiounto thee obfcure names; for by adding pia, because it was often fignified unto him in unto these men three years, we shall thrust his dreams, by the god which was worshipthe beginning of Sethon out of place, and ped at Thebes, that his reign should be neimake it later than the death of Sennacherib. ther long nor prosperous, unless he slew all In regard of this agreement of Herodotus the Priests in Egypt; which rather than to with the Scriptures. I am the more willing to do, he refigned his Kingdom. Surely, thee hold with him in his Egyptian Kings. Other-Egyptian gods were of a strange quality, that wife it were a matter of no great envy to so ill rewarded their servants, and invited

Of Sabacus the Athiopian, who took the Bocchorus is placed next unto Mycerinus, Kingdom from Anyfis, it is agreed by the and performed many works of more use than After Bocchorus, one Sabacus an Æthiopian pomp, to the fingular benefit of the Coun-

It feems, that the encroaching power of than any of those that the former Kings the Affrian grew terrible to Egipt about had raised. Besides this Asyckis, Herodotus these times; the victories of Tiglath Phulas placeth one Anylis, a blind man, before the far and Salmanaffar having eaten so far into Æthiopian. The reigns of these two are per- Syria, in the reign of this one King So or Sahaps those many ages which the Egyptians, bacus. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for to magnifie their antiquities, accounted be- his reign began in the fourth of Menahem) and so long doth Functius, so long doth Rei- half-subdued people against their Conqueneccius hold, that these two Kings between rors; but the help which he and his Succesthem both did govern. If any man would for gave them was fo faint that Sennacherib's lengthen this time, holding it unprobable Embaffador compared the Egyptian succour fo foon spent; he may do it by taking some had Hosea found it, and such Ezechia might years from Sethon or Psammiticus, and ad- have found it had he not been supported by ding them to either of these. To add unto the strong staffe of him that ruleth all Natileave both Assetis and Anssis out of the Kings to do them wrong. Well might the roll, which were easily done by placing sesae Egyptians (asthey likewise did) worship lower, , and extending his life yet fix years Dogs as gods, when their chief gods had the property

property of Dogs, which love their Masters | and his Subjects : For the good King fixing not indeed an zernopran (or in this since we the Prophet Efgy, who mentioneth the man. As for the Egyptians (faid the Prophet) = 1973 4. antiquity of Pharaobs house) but only so sur- they are vanity, and they shall help in vain their named for his education, and because issuing strength is to set still. from thence, he got the Kingdom from Any- According to the Prophets words it came fit, who was his opposite. The quiet and to pass. For in the treaty of Confederacy mild form of his government, his holding that was held at Zoan, all manner of contentthe Kingdom fo long without an Army, and ment and assurance was given to the Jews by many other circumstances argue no less. But Sethon, or his Agents, who filled them with whether finally he betook a private life, or such reports, of Horses and Chariots, that at once, being now very old, it is time that One of Ifrael, nor feek unto the Lord. But he we leave him, and speak of sethon his next yet is wifest. Successor, who is omitted by Diedore, but re- After a while came Sennacherib with his membred by Herodotus, by a fure token of Army, and wakened them out of these his having been King.

with him against Sennacherib.

Egyptian more Friends: and among the new were taken by Sennackerib, except Libn: Laconquered half Subjects of Assur, many that chis, and Jerusalem it self, which were in force were Egyptian in heart, though Afgrian in distress, till the sword of God and not of outward fhew.

ple; who knowing how much it concerned where he was flain. Pharao, to protect them against his own Concerning this expedition of Sennachegreat Enemy, preferred the friendship of so rib, Herodotus takes this notice of it: That it near and mighty a Neighbour, before the fer- was purposed against Fgypt, where the men of vice of a terrible, yet far removed King. But War, being offended with Sethon their King,

the better for beating them. Yet to what his especial confidence in God, held that end the Priests should have feigned this tale, course of policy, which he thought most I cannot tell; and therefore I think that it likely to turn to the benefit of his Country; might be some device of the fearful old man, the multitude of Judea looking into the fair who feeing his Realm in danger of an inva- hopes which this Egyptian league promifed, fion, fought an honest excuse for his depar- were puffed up with vain conceits, thinking ture out of it, and vvithdrawing himfelf into that all was fafe, and that now they should Æthiopia, vvhere he had been bred in his not need to fear any more of those injuries wouth What if I should say, that the Æthiopia which they had suffered by the Assyrianis 1.1930. into which he went, was none other than and so became forgetful of God. taking coun-Arabia, vvhereof Tirhaka the King (perhaps fel,but not of him. The Prophet Flay complainarthe instigation of this man) raised an Army ed much of this presumption; giving the againt Sennacherib, volten he meant to in-people of Juda to underfind, That the E-vade Egypt voithin two or three years after? gyptians were men, and not Cod, and their Egyptians but I will not trouble my felf with much Horses stells, and not spirit; that God himself 3.and 8. enquiry. This I hold, that So, or Sabacus vvas thould defend Ifrael upon repentance, and not indeed an Athiopian ( for in his time li- that Affur should fall by the fivord , but not of Elsy 30.7.

whether he fore-went his life and Kingdom they did not look (as Esay faith) unto the holy Esay 31.1,2

dreams; for Sethon their good Neighbour, as near as he was, did feem far off being unready, when his help was most needful. It may feem that he purposed rather to make Palaof Sethon who reigned with Ezechia, and sided stina, than Egypt, the stage whereon this great Warshould be acted, and was not without hope, that the Affyrians and Jews, weakning "He first year of sethen's reign falls into one another should yeild unto him a fair adthe twelfth of Ezechia, which was the vantage over both. Yet he fought with mofift of Sennacherib. It was a troublefome age, ny; for he fent Horses and Camels laden and full of danger; the two great King- with treasure, to hire the Arabians, whom doms of Afgria and Egypt, being then ingaged in a War, the issue whereof was to de- Arabians did not profit indeed; for (besides termine whether of them should rule or that it seems by the same place of Esay, that ferve. The Assyrian had the better men of the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the War; the Egyptian better provision of ne- enemies hands before any help appeared ceffaries: the Affyrian more Subjects; the from Tirhaca ) all the strong Cities of Juda Man, defeated the Affyrian, who did go, for Of this last fort were Ezechia and his peo- fear, to his Tower, that is, he fled to Nineve, E/4731. 9.

herein was great difference between Ezechia who had taken away their allowance, re-

CHAP.XXVI

their Country; that sethon being tulean's creeted) might give occasion to such a fa-Priest bemoaned himself to his god, who by ble; the Divel helping to change the truth dream promifed to fend him helpers; that into a lie, that God might be robbed of his hereupon Sethon, with fuch as would follow honour. Yet that vve may not belie the him, (which were crafts men, shop-keepers, Devil, I hold it very likely, that Sethon finand the like)marched towards Pelufum; and ding himself in danger, did call upon his that a great multitude of field-mice entring gods, that is, upon Fulcan, Serapis, or any to the Camp of Senacherib by night, did so whom he had most devotion. But so had gnaw the bows, quivers, and itraps of his other of his predecellors done in the like mens armour, that they were fain the next need: yet which of them had obtained fueday to fly away in all hafte, finding them-cour by the like miracle? Surely the Jens felves disarmed. In memory hereof laith He- (even such of them as were most given to lrodotus)the statue of this King is set up in the dolatry) would have been ashamed of the Temple of Vulcan, holding a Mouse in his confidence which they reposed in the Charihand, with this inscription, Let him that holds ots of Egypt, because they were many, and in the me ferve God. Such was the relation of the Horsemen, because they were very strong; had it Egyptian Priests, wherein how far they swar- been told them, that Sethon, instead of sendved from the truth, being desirous to magni- ing those Hors-men and Chariots, was befie their own King, it may easily be percei-feeching Vulcan to fend him and them good ved. It feems that this Image of Sethon was luck; or elfe (for these also were Egyptian fallen down, and the tale forgotten in Diode- gods )addreffing their prayers to some Onyrus his time, or elle perhaps, the Priests did on or Cat. Howsoever it was, doubtless the forbear to tell it him ( which caused him to Prophecy of Esty took effect, which said, they had been mingled with the truth.

King of the Affyrians and Arabians, ( so He- of God. rodotus calleth him : the Syrians, or peradventure some borderersupon syria, being been set down by Eusebius under the name of meant by the name of Arabians) lived in this Tarachus the Æthiopian; and therefore the age, made War upon Egypt, and was miracu-twenty years which are given to Tarachus, loully driven home. As for that exploit of they allow to the reign of sethon. The chave the Mice, and the great pleasure that Vulcan well observed that Tarachus the Æibiopian did unto his Prieft, happy it was (if sethon is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King were a Priest ) that he took his god now in of Egypt, but as a friend to that Country, or fo good a mood: For within three or four at least an enemy to Sennacherib, in the war years before this, all the Priests in Egypt last spoken of; the Ethiopians (as they are should have been sais, if the merciful King englished) over which he reigned, being inhad not spared their lives, as it were half a deed Chushites or Arabians. Hereuponthey gainst the gods will. Therefore this last good suppose a right, that Eusebius hath millaken turn was not enough to serve as an example, one King for another. But whereas they that might stir up the Exprians to piety, see think that this Tarachus or Tirbaka is placed iffue of his terrible expedition, or the de- Therefore he or his years have no reference fruction of his Army, by means which came to Sethon. no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, flewed upon this ungodly reigned; Fundius peremptorily citing no King, was indeed a very good motive to Author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him piety. But the Embleme, together with the down thirty three years 5 many omit him Temple of Fulcan (being perhaps the chief quite; and they that name him are not care-

fuled to bear arms in defence of him and Temple in that Town vyhere this Image was omit it) for that the nation of the Jews was shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot then well known to the world, whereof eve- profit them, nor kelp, nor do them good, but fiall ry child could have told how much fallhood be a shame & asso a repreach. Such is common ly the issue of humane vvisdom, when rest-We find this hiftory agreeable to the ing secure upon provision that it self hath Scriptures, thus far forth; That Senacherib made, it will no longer feem to fland in need

Some there are who take Sethon to have ing that their devotion, which had lasted so in the room of sethon, and therefore give to long before, did bring all the Priests into Sethon the twenty years of Tarachus, I hold danger of such a bad reward. Rather Ithink, them to have erred on the other hand. For that this Image did represent Senacherib this Ethiopian (as he is called ) began his himself, and that the Mouse in his hand, ligni- reign over Egypt, by Engebius his accompt, aftied Hieroglyphically (as was the Egyptian ter the death of Sennacherib and of Esechia, manner of expressing things) the shameful in the first year of Manasses King of Juda.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long Scihon

find the thirty three years that are fet down that I return.

ful to examine his continuance. In this case, I by Functius, to agree very nearly, if not prefollow that rule which I propounded unto cifely, with the time of Sethon's reign; theremy felf at the first, for measuring the reigns fore I conform my own reckoning to his, of these Egyptian Kings. The years which though I could be content to have it one palled from the fifth of Rehobbam, unto the year less. The reason of this computation I fourth of Jebojakim, I so divide among the shall render more at large, when I arrive at Egyptians, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in much dependance, and whereinto the course whom he is found, the reft is to be conferred of this Hiftory will shortly bring me, the Eupon him whose length of reign is uncertain; gptian affairs growing now to be interlaced that is, upon this sethon. By this accompt 1 with the matters of fuda, to which it is meet



of the History of the World.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasses, and his Contemporaries.

9. I.

The wickedness of Manasses. His imprisonment, repentance, and death.

all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in poiled of all honour and hope; yet to his which the Devil was by the Heathen wor-hearty repentance and continual prayer, the shipped.Besides, he himself esteemed the Sun, God of infinite mercy had respect, and mothe Moon, and the Stars, with all the Hoaft ved the Assprians heart to deliver him: of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: It is also likely that Merodach, because he and of all his acts the most abominable was, loved his father Ezechias; was the easilier that he burnt his sons for a Sacrifice to the perswaded to restore Manasse to his liberty Devil Moloch or Melchor, in the Valley of and estate. After which, and when he was Hinnon, or Benhinnon: wherein was kindled again established, remembring the miseries the fire of Sacrifice to the Devils.

phet Esay (who was also of the Kings race, the Assirans: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may believe as Gipter pa. the King) he caused the Prophet near unto it shall please their fancies. 276. Ter. the Fountain of Silve, to be fawn in funder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and montures indeed are filent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by Epiphanius, Isidore, Eusebius, and others, too many to rehearfe, and too That the wickedness of King Manafest good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord

Anase the Son of Ezechias, brought upon them the Captains of the Hoast of forgetting the piety of his Fa- the Kings of Ashur, which took Manasse, and , chree. ther, and the prosperity which put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, 33, 11. followed him, fet up, repair-and carried him to Babel: Where, after he ed, adorned and furnished

which followed his wickedness, and Gods He also gave himself to all kind of Witch-great mercies toward him, he changed form, craft and Sorcery, accompanied and main-detefted his former foolift and devillift Idotained those that had familiar Spirits, and all latry, and cast down the Idols of his own eforts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent bloud, as Jerusalem was replenished crificed thereon. He repaired a great part of therewith, from corner to corner. For all Jerufalem: and dyed after the long reign of his vices and abominations, when he was re- fifty five years. Glycas and Suidas report, prehended by that aged and reverent Pro- that Manafe was held in a cage of fron by

6. II.

strous than hath been heard of. The Scrip- of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethor. The reign of Pfammiticus..

> was the cause of the evil which fell up-Ppp2

must needs believe; for it is affirmed in the dalus took the pattern of that which he made

of their Dominion; which was a Labyrinth, their end. fo admirable, that (as Herodotus, vvho be- they were to make their drink-offerings, holding it, affirms) no vvords could give it the Priest, forgetting himself, brought forth of the vvork it self, I will not here set down miticus, who standing last, had not a Cup,

on his Kingdome and person, any Christian Troy, and from this Labyrinth (faith he) Da-Scriptures. Yet was the state of things in for Minos in Crete. Who this Marus, or those parts of the World such, at that time, Menides was, I cannot tell. Repreceive takes as would have invited any Prince (and did him to have bin Annemenes, which reigned perhaps invite Merodach, who fulfilled Gods immediately before Thuoris. But this agrees pleasure, upon respect born to his own ends, not with Diodore, for Dædalus & Minos were defirous to enlarge his Empire) to make at- both dead long before Annemenes was King. tempt upon Juda. For the kingdom of E- Belike Reyneccius, desiring to accommodate gypt, which was become the pillar whereon the fabulous relations of Manethon, Cheremon the state of Juda leaned, about these times and others, that are found in Josephus, touwas miserably distracted with civill dissenti- ching Amenophis and his children to the story on, and after two years ill amended by a of Amasis and Actisanes the Æthiopian mendivision of the government between twelve tioned by Diodore; held it consequent, after Princes. After some good agreement be- he had conjectured Manethon's Amonophis Toliane tween these, eleven of them fell out with to be Diodorus his Amasis; that Sethon should And the twelfth of their collegues, and were all be Adifanes, and that Annemenes should finally subdued by him, who made himself be Marus. If in this case I might intrude a absolute King of all. This Inter-regnum, or conjecture, the times which we now handle meer Anarchie that was in Egypt, with the are those about which Reyneccius hath erred division of the Kingdome following it, is in making search Amasis was Anylis, Adiplaced by Diodore who omitteth Sethon, Janes was Sabacus; and Marus was one of these between the reign of Sabacus and Plammi- twelve Princes to whom Herodotus gives ticus: but Herodotus doth fet the Aristocratie, the honour of building this famous Labyor twelve Governours immediatly before rinth. For Actisanes the Ethiopian deposed Psammiticus, who was one of them, and af- Amasis; Sabacus the Æthiopian deposed Anylis; Attifanes governed well, and was mild The occasion of this diffention seems to in punishing offenders; so likewise was Sahave bin the uncertainty of title to that bacus; Marus the next King after Adifanes Kingdom (for that the crown of Egypt passed built this Labyrinth; and the next (faving by succession of bloud, I have often shewed) Sethon, whom Diodore omits, as having not which ended for a while, by the partition of heard of him ) that ruled after Sabacus, all among twelve, though things were not performed the same work, according to He-fettled untill one had obtained the Sove-rodotus, who was more likely to hear the inty. truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it These twelve Rulers governed sisteen was performed. The variety of names, and years in good seeming agreement, which to difference of times wherein Diodore believed preserve, they made strait covenant and alli- the Priests, might be a part of the Egyptian vaances one with another, being jealous of their nity, which was familiar with them in multiestate, because an Oracle had foretold, that plying their Kings, and boasting of their antione of them should depose all the rest, no- quities. Here I might add, that the twelve ting him by this token, that he should make great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances a drink-offering in Vulcan's Temple, out of a remembred by Herodotus, in speaking of this Copper goblet. Whilest this unity lasted, building, do help to prove that it was the they joyned together in raising a Monument | work of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to

built near unto the Lake of Meris; a work At a solemn feast in Vulcan's Temple, when commendation answerable to the statelinesse | no more than eleven Cups, Hereupon, Pfamthat unperfect description vvhich Herodotus took off his brazen Helmet; and therewith makes of it, but think enough to fay that he supplyed the want, This caused all the rest prefers it far before the Pyramides, one of to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him which (as he faith) excelled the Temple as a Traytor, yet, when they found that it was of Diana at Ephefus, or any of the fairest done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, vvorks in Greece. Diodorus reports this Laby- they forbear to kill him, but being jealous of rinth to have bin the work of Marus or Me- their estate, they banished him into the marish nides, a King which lived five generations Countries by the Sea fide. This Oracle, and before Proteus, that is before the Warr of the event is held by Diodore as a fable which Planmiticus hired Souldiers out of Caria and dition that he made in Syria. Upon this dif-Jona, by whose aid he vanquisht his Compa-grace it is faid, that his Souldiers, to the nions, and made himself sole King.

CHAP. XXVII.

Governours, must be thought to have lived Children.

year of one reign with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no But I will not insist upon all that is written Psammiticus; who surely did not fall out made it hold out so well. with his Companions, fight with them, and make himself Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in Egypt who entertained What reference these Egyptian matters might any strait amity with the Greeke; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of Caria, Ionia, and Arabia, to whom he gave large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his Egyptian Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Army, whileft

Ibelieve to have bin none other: In the rest, his Mercenaries held the right wing (which Herodolus and Diodore agree, saying that was the more honourable place) in an expenumber of two hundred thousand, forfook The years of his reign, according to Hero-their natural Country of Egypt, and went dotus, were fifty four; according to Eufe- into Æthiopia, to dwell there; neither could hins, forty four; Mercator, to reconcile these they be revoked by kind Messages, nor two.gives forty four years to his fingle reign, by the King himself, who over-took them and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes on the way; but when he told them of hefore spoken of. Indeed, he that was admit- their Countrey, their Wives and Chilred, being a man grown ( for he cannot in dren, they answered, that their weapons reason be supposed to have been then a should get them a Countrey, and that nature young fellow) into the number of the twelve had enabled them to get other Wives and

unto extream age, if he ruled partly with It is also reported of him, That he caused others, partly alone, threefcore and nine two Infants to be brought up in fuch fort. years. I therefore yield rather to Eusebius; but as they might not hear any word spoken; by will not adventure to cut five years from the which means, he hoped to find out what Ariflacraty: though peradventure Plammi- Nation or Language was most ancient; foraf-ticus was not at first one of the twelve, but much as it seemed likely, that nature would succeeded (either by election, or as next of teach the children to speak that Language blood ) into the place of some Prince that which men spake at the first. The issue heredyed, and was ten years companion in that of was, that the children cryed, Beccus, Beccus, which word being found to fignifie Bread Another scruple there is, though not great, in the Phrygian tongue, served greatly to which troubles this reckoning. The years magnify the Phrygian antiquity Goropius. Beof the Egyptians, as we find them set down, canus makes no small matter of this, for the are more by one, than serve to fill up the honour of his Low-Dutch; in which the word time between the fift of Rehoboam and the Becker fignifies (as Baker in English) a maker fourth of Jehojakim. This may not be. Where- of bread. He that will turn over any part fore either we must abate one year from Se- of Goropius his works, may find enough of thon's reign, that was of uncertain length, this kind, to perswade a willing man, that Aor else (which I had rather do, because dam and all the Patriarks used none other Functives may have followed better authority tongue than the Low-Dutch, before the confuthan I know, or than himself alledgeth, in sion of languages at Babel, the name it self of giving to Sethon a time so nearly agreeing Babel being also Dutch, and given by occawith the truth ) we must confound the last sion of this confusion; for that there they be-

man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any of Psammiticus. The most regardable of his great part of them, which are set down in acts was the fiege of Azotus in Palestina, about Chronologicall tables, reigned precifely so which he spent nine and twenty years. Never many years as are ascribed unto them, have we heard (saith Herodotus) that any Ciwithout any fractions: it is enough to think ty endured to long a fiege as this; yet Pfamthat the surplusage of one mans times supply- miticus carryed it at the last. This Town of ed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I con- Azotus had been won by Tartan a Captain of found the last year of those fifteen, wherein sennacherib, and was now, as it seemeth, rethe twelve Princes ruled, with the first of lieved, but in vain, by the Babylonian, which

Manasies. In what part of his reign Manasies was taken prisoner.

7 Ere it certainly known, in what year V of his reign Manasses was taken pri-

way the fairer into Egypt.

foner, and how long it was before he obtain where need requires, he doth treely ned liberty, I think we thould find these differt from him) than to have used his ac-Egyptian troubles to have been no small oc- customed diligence in examining the matter, cason both of his captivity and enlarge- before he gave his judgment. Two argument : God fo disposing of humane actions, ments he brings to maintain the opinion of that even they, who intended onely their Eellarmine: the one, that Ammon the fon of own busines, suffilled onely his high plea- Manasses, is said by Josephus to have folfure. For either the civil Wars of Fight lowed the works of his fathers youth, the that followed upon the death of Sethon, or other, that had Manufper grown old in his the renting of the Kingdom, as it were, into fins, it is like that he should have continued, twelve pieces, or the War between Tfalm- as he did, in his amendment unto the end miticus and his Collegues, or the expedi- of his life. Touching the former of these tion of Ifalmmiticus into Spria, and the arguments, I see no reason why the sins of fiege of Azotus, might minister unto the Ea- Manssies might not be distinguished from blomin, sither fuch cause of hope to enlarge his repentance in his old age, by calling them his Dominion in the South parts, or fuch works of his youth, which appeared when he necetity of fending an Army into those was twelve years old; though it were granparts, to defend his own, as would greatly ted that he continued in them (according tempt him to make fure work with the King to that of Rabbi Kimki) untill he was but filof Juda. The same occasion sufficed also to teen years from death. Touching the second; procure the delivery of Manafies, after he howfoever it be a fearfull thing, to east was taken. For he was taken as Josephus hath off unto the last those good motions unto it) by fubrilty, not by open force, neither repentance, which we know not whether did they that apprehended him, win his ever God will offer unto us again, yet were Country but onely walt it so that the Jews, it a terrible hearing, That the sins which having learned wit by the ill success of their are not forsaken before the age of two and folly, in redeeming Amazia, were like to be fifty years, shall be punished with small immore circumspect, in making their bargain penitencie. But against these two collections upon such another accident: and the Babylo of Torniellus, I will lay two places of Scripnian (to whom the Egyptian matters presented ture, whence it may be inferred, as not unmore weighty argument of hope and fear, likely, That Manafes continued longer in his than the little Kingdom of Juda could af wickednesse than Bellarmine hath intimated, ford)had no reason to spend his sorces in purfuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty In the second book of Kings, the evill which as a greater, whereby he should compell his Manasses did, is remembred at large, and mightiest enemies to come to some good a his repentance utterly omitted; so that his greement; when by quiting his prefent advantage over the Jems, he might make his great part of his life? the ftorie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Now concerning the year of Manafies his Chapter: Concerning the reft of the Alts of reign, wherein he was taken prisoner; or Manasses, and all that he did, and his sin that, grant concerning his captivity it felf, how long it the finned are they not written in the book of inlasted, the Scriptures are silent, and Josephus the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda? the other
gives no information. Yet I find cited by Torplace is in the four and twentieth Chapter niellus three opinions: the one of Eellar- of the same Book, where, in rehearing the mine, who thinks that Manasses was taken in calamities with which that Nation was punthe fifteenth year of his reign; the other ished in the time of Jebojakim, the great of the Author of the greater Hebrew Chrono- Grand-child of this Manaffes, it is faid; Surelogy, who affirms, that it was in his twen-ly by the commandement of the Lord came this 18 to 1 to 1 worth warms the shirt of the Lord came this 1. ty is venth year; the third of Rabbi Kimki upon Juda, that he might put them on of his upon Exechiel, who faith, that he was for fight, for the fins of Manalles, according to all ty years an Idolater, and lived fifteen that he did, and for the innocent blond that he y ars after his repentance. The first of shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent their conjectures is upheld by Torniellis, who bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. rejects the fecond, as more unprobable, Who to confiders well these places, may and condemns the third as most false. Yet find small cause to pronounce it most false,

the reasons alledged by Torniellus in de- That the repentance and amendment of Ma-

fence of the first, and resustation of the o- nasses was no earlier than fifteen years before

pinion, are such, as may rather prove him to his death; or most probable, That when

EAVOUR the Cardinal as far as he may, ( for he was twenty feven years old, he repented,

and becomming a new man, lived in the and becomming a new man, free in the first and fecond Messenian Wars, of the first and fecond Messenian Wars, and the man the cannot be discovered. It suffices to which were in the reigns of Ezechia and truth cannot be discovered. It sufficeth to fay, that two years of civill diffentions in Egift fourteen or fifteen years following, wherein that Kingdome was weakened by partition of the Soveraigntie: the war of partition of the covering the first and four these times of Manasses, the most remarkable and twenty years of the nine and twenty, were the Messenian Wars; which happenwherein the fiege of Azotus continued, be- ed in this age, and being the greatest action ing all within the time of Manassis, did leave performed in Greece, between the Trojan no one part of his reign (after the first fife and Persian Wars, deserve not to be passed teen years) free from the danger of being over with silence. opprefied by the Eabylonian, whose men of The first Atessenian War began and ended war had continual occasions of vifiting his in the daies of Ezechia; the second in the Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, reign of Manasses: but to avoyd the trouble is this; that the fifteenth of Manaffer was of interrupting our Hiltoric, I have thought the last year of sethen in Eeppt, and the one it best to rehearse them both in this place. and thirtieth of Merodach his reign, or (ac-Other introduction is needleffe, than to fay, counting from the death of Afarbaddon) the that the posteritie of Hercules, driving the twentieth: The seven and twentieth of Ma- iffue of Pelops and the Acheans out of their naffer was the tenth of the twelve Princes, seats, divided their lands between themwas the year of his impriforment, or whe- fought one anothers ruine with bloody wars; ther any other, I forbear to shew mine whereof these Messenian were the greatest. opinion, left I should thereby seem to draw The pretended grounds of the Messenian computation.

more in convenient place,

Manasles, Kings of Juda.

of the History of the World.

and the three and fortieth of Meredach: his selves, and crected the kingdomes of Lacedafortieth, was the twenty third of Pfammi- mon, Argos, Messene, and Corintb; all which aticus and the fifth of Nabulassar, the son of greeing well together a vivile, did after-Merodach, in Babylon: but which of these wards forget the bond of kindred, and

all matters over-violently to mine own war are fcarce worth remembrance, they were fo flight. Ambition was the true cause This was the first great masterie that the of it: wherewith the Lacedamonians were so Eabylonians had of the kingdome of Juda. transported, that any thing served them as a For though Achaz promifed Tribute to Sal-colour to accomplish their greedy defires manassar, yet Ezechias never payed it. True Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that itis, that he hoped to stay Senacherib's en- one Polychares a Meffenian had slain many terprise against him, by presenting him with Lacedemonians, for which the Magistrates of three hundred talents of filver, and thirty Sparta defiring to have him yeilded inof gold, befides the plate which covered the to their hands, could not obtain it. The My-But Manasser being pressed with great for that he was grown frantick, through injunccessitie, could refuse no tolerable conditions received from Eucophus a Lacedemonitions, that the Babylonian would impole uponhim; among which it feems, that this was flure to the Cattel of Polychares, and was one, (which was indeed a point of fervi-therefore to receive part of the increase: but tude) that he might not hold peace with the not contented with the gain appointed, he Egyptians, whileft they were enemics to Baby- fold the Cartel, and flaves that keep them, to lon. This appears not only by his fortifing. Merchants: which done, he came with a withmen of war all the strong Cities of Juda fair tale to his friend, saying, that they were after his return (which was rather againft stollen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of Ffammiticus, whose party he had forsken his mouth, one of the slaves that had escaped than against the Babylonian, with whom he from the Merchants came in with a true had thenceforth no more controversie) but report of all. The Lacedemonian being thus likewife by that opposition, which Jostus deprehended, confessed all, and promised made afterwards to Pharao Neco, in favour large amends; which to receive he carried of Nabulasar, which had been against all the son of Polychares home with him, but reason and policie, if it had not been his having himat home, he villanoully slew him. dutie by covenant. Of this I will speak Wherefore the Lacedemonians having refused, after long sute made by the wretched CHAP. XXVII.

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Father, to do him right against this Theise ten years from sparta, their wives sent them and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of word, that their City would grow unpeoquarrel out of those things which he did pled, by reason that no children had been in that madness, whereinto they themselves born them in all that time: Whereupon they had cast him. So said the Messenians, and fur- sent back all their ablest young men, promisther offered to put the matter to compre- cuoufly to accompany the young women. mile, or frand unto the judgement of the who got so many of them with child, as they Amphilisoner, who were as the general Council of Greece, or to any other fair course, were called Parthenians. Diodorus refers the few escaped.

they chose Aristodemus.

with a Town upon it, able to endure more vvere grown up in the room of those Mefthan the enemies were likely to do. But, as fenians whom the former War had confu-Strab. L.c. fome Authors tell us, the Lacedemonians med, began to consider their own strength vvere so obstinate in this War, because of and multitude, thinking themselves equal to

But the Lacedamonians, who had a great de- begetting of these Parthenians to a former platte. fire to occupie the fair Country of Messene, time. But in process of this Messenian War. that lay close by them, were not content when the Devil in an Oracle had advised with such allegations. They thought it ethe Messenians to facrifice a Virgin of the rough to have some shew for their doings; stock of \* Agyptus; that so they might be viwhich the better to colour, they reckoned up ctorious against the Lacedamonians; the lot This many old injuries, and so without sending falling upon the Daughter of one Lycifcus, theree, any defiance, fecretly took an oath to hold Epibolus the Prieft, willing to fave her, faid, getting War with Messen eill they had mastered it: she was only a fostered child, and not born by the which done, they seized upon Amphia, a fronof the wife of Lycicus: which answer giving declarations of the wife of Lycicus: which answer giving declarations of the wife of Lycicus: which answer giving declarations of the wife of Lycicus: which answer giving declarations of the wife of Lycicus: which answer giving declarations of the wife of Lycicus. tier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very secretly fled away with her into Sparta. Then done. Aristodemus, which afterwards was King dia: ci Hereupon the Atessenians took Arms, and voluntarily offered his own Daughter: but under the day of the but under t were met by the Enemy. A furious battel a young Nobleman, being in love with the dealer was fought between them, which ended not Maid, when otherwise he could not prevail, Nobility until dark night, with uncertain victory. The faid openly that the was no Virgin, but that Melferin Atessenians did strongly encamp themselves; he had defloured her,& got her with child: was pro The Lacedemonians, unable to force their whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up pagents Camp, returned home. This War began in his innocent Daughters belly to disprove the second year of the ninth Olympiad, and the Lovers slander: at the grave of which ended in the first of the fourteenth Olym- Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other piad, having lasted twenty years. The two superstitions, into dispair of prevailing aenemy Nations tried the matter for a while, gainst the Lacedamonians, he slew himself, with their proper forces, the Lacedemonians to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he wasting the inland parts of Messene; and the loved most dearly. For after his death the Messenians, the Sca-coast of Laconia. But it Messenians lost their courage, and finding was not long ere friends, on both fides, were themselves distressed by many wants, especalled in to help. The Arcadians, Argives, and cially of victuals, they craved peace, which Sicyonians, took part with Meffene; the Spar- they obtained with most rigorous contans had befides many Subjects of their own, ditions. Half the yearly fruits of their aid from Corinth, and hired Souldiers out of Land they were bound to fend unto Spar-Crete. So a fecond, third, and fourth battel ta; and they, with their Wives, to make were fought, with as great obstinacy as the solemn lamentations at the death of every first; saving that in the fourth battel the Spartan King; they were also sworn to live Laced amoniums were enforced to turn their in true subjection to the Laced amoniums; backs; in the other fights, the victory was still and part of their Territory was taken from uncertain, though in one of them the Messe, them, which was given to the Asmei, and mians lost Euphaes their King, in whose stead such as had followed the Spartans in this

Many years were spent ere all this blood This peace being made upon so uneven was fled; for peftilent dileafes, and want of terms, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and money to entertain Souldiers, caused the thirty years it continued (the Messenians not war to linger. And for the same reasons, did finding how to help themselves) and then the Messerians for sake all their inland towns, brake out into a new and more furious War excepting Ithome, which was a Mountain than the former. The able young men, that their vow, that having absented themselves the Lacedamonians, and therefore seorned

was Aristomenes, a Noble Gentleman of the eleven years. For besides that Era it self was a frong piece, Ariflomenes with three houle of Agyptus; who perceiving the uniform was a ftrong piece, Ariflomenes with three desires of his Country-men, adventured to hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredibecome their Leader. He therefore found- ble exploits, that wearied them, and hindred ing the affections of the Argives and Arcadi- their attendance on the fiege. He wasted all ans, which he found throughly answerable to the fields of Messene, that were in the enehis purpose, began open war upon the State mies power, and brake into Laconia, taking of Lacedamon. This was in the fourth year of away Corn, Wine, Cattel, and all provithe three and twentieth Olympiad; when the sions, necessary for his own people, the Lacedemonians hasted to quench the fire be-Slaves and houshold stuffe he changed into fore it should grow too hot, with such forces money, suffering the owners to redeem them.

To remedy this mischief, the Lacedamobling their friends, meaning to deal with their nians made an Edict, that neither Messeenemies, ere any fuccour were lent them. ne, nor the adjoyning parts of their own Soa ftrong battel was fought between them, Countrey, should be tilled or husbanded; the burthen, and became their Generall. panies; which done, there yet appeared no Within one year another battel was fought, likelihood of taking Era.

the booty. rished, in the loss of one battell, whereof stench. But after a while he perceived by the honour (if it were honour ) or furely the some small glimmering of light ( which perprofit, fell upon the Lacedemonians, through haps came in at the top) a Fox that was gnaw-the treason of Aristocrates, King of Arcadia, ing upon a dead body. Hereupon he be-Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, would, he followed, holding it as his guide, that could not be fafe abroad, was convey- untill the way was too ftrait for him; and

to serve such Masters as had against all right, ed into a place of safety. Here the Lacedamooppressed their Fathers. The chief of these nians found a tedious work, that held them and a doubtfull; fave that the Messenians which bred a great tumult among private were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as men, that were almost undone by it. Yet they had thereby taught their late proud the Poet Tyrieus appealed this uprore with Lords to think them their equalls. Particu- pleafing Songs. But Ariflomenes grew fo bold, larly; the valour of Aristomenes appeared that he not onely ranged over all the fields, fuch in this fight, that his people would but adventured upon the Towns, surprised, have made him their King: but he, refu- and fackt Amycle, and finally caused the enefing the honour of that name, accepted of mies to encrease and strengthen their Com-

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whereunto each part came better provid- In performing these and other services, ed. The Lacedemonians brought with thrice Aristomenes was taken prisoner; yet them the Corintbians, and some other friends still he escaped. One escape of his deserves to help; the Messenians had the Argives, to be remembred, as a thing very strange Arcadians, and Sicyonians. This also was and marvellous. He had with too much coua long and bloudy fight; but Aristome- rage adventured to set upon both the Kings mes did so behave himself, that finally he of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded; made the Enemies run for their lives. Of and felled to the ground, was taken up fenfefuch importance was this victory, that less, and carried away priloner, with fifty of the Lacedamonians began to bethink themselves of making some good agreement, tural Cave into which the spartans used to But one Tyrtaus an Athenian Poet, whom by cast head-long such as were condemned to appointment of an Oracle they had gotten dye for the greatest offences. To this puto direct them, re-inforced their spirits with nishment were Arishmenes and his companihis Verses. After this, Aristomenes took by ons adjudged. All the rest of these poor men furprife a Town in Laconia, and vanquish-dyed with their falls; Aristomenes (howsoed in fight Anaxander King of Sparta, who ever it came to pass) took no harm. Yet did fet upon him in hope to have recovered was it harm enough to be imprisoned in a deep Dungeon, among dead carkaffes, where But all those victories of Aristomenes pe- he was like to perish through hunger and who being corrupted by the enemies with thought himfelf, that this beaft must needs money, fled away, and left the Messenians know some way to enter the place and get exposed to a cruel butchery. The loss was our. For which cause he made shift to lay fogreat, that together with Andania their hold upon it, and catching it by the fail with principal City, all the Towns of Messene, one hand, saved himself from biring with the flanding too far from the Sea, were abandon- other hand, by thrusting his coat into the ed for lack of men to defend them, and the mouth of it. So letting it creep whither it

through a hole at which came in a little light; | ry fellows with fresh Companions. Ariand there did Aristomenes delve so long with stomenes therefore, perceiving that his men his nails, that at last he clawed out his pallage. for vvant of relief vvere no longer able to When some fugitives of Messene brought hold out, ( as having been three days word to Sparta, that Aristomeres was return- and three nights vexed vvith all miseries, of ed home, their tale founded alike, as if they labour, vvatchings, fighting, hunger and had faid, that a dead man was received. But thirst, besides continual rain and cold ) when the Corinthian forces that came to help gathered together all the weaker fort. the Lacedamonians in the fiege of Era, were whom he compassed round with armed men. cut in pieces, their Captains slain, and their and so attempted to break out through the Camp taken; then was it easily beleived, that midst of the Enemies. Emperanus Ge-Aristomenes was alive indeed.

of getting it; and Aristomenes with small fair passage to these desperate mad-men. forces did them greater hurt than they knew So they issued forth, and arrived safe in Arhow to requite. But at the last, a slave that had cadia, where they were most lovingly enfled from sparta, betrayed the place. This tertained. fellow had entited to lewdness the vvife of Upon the first bruit of the taking of Era, cruel fight; one part being incited by meer cannot deceive God. hope ending a long work, the other enraged Of Aristomenes no more is remaining to be themselves with meat and sleep, and then re- man in Greece. Finally Aristomenes went with

then dismitted it. The Fox being loose, ran turning supplyed the place of their weaneral of the Lacedamonians was glad of Thus eleven years passed whilest the ene- this; and to further their departure, caused mies hovering abour Era, saw no likelihood his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a

a Messenian, and vvas entertained by her, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to vvhen her husband vvent forth to vvatch. the rescue : but Aristocrates their fall-heart-It happened in a rainy-winter-night, that the ed King, faid it was too late, for that all was husband came home unlooked for, vvhilft already loft. When Aristomenes had placed the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid his followers in fafety, he chose out five hunher Paramour, and made good countenance dred the lustiest of his men, with whom he to her husband, asking him by what good refolved to march in all fecret hast into fortune hee vvas returned so soon. He told sparta, hoping to find the Town secure, her, that the storm of foul vveather vvas and ill manned, the people being run forth such, as had made all his fellows leave their to the spoyl of Messene. In this enterprise, Stations, and that himself had done as the if he sped well, it was not doubted, that rest did; as for Aristomenes, he vvas vvound- the Lacedamonians would be glad to recover ed of late in fight, and could not look abroad their own, by restitution of that which neither was it to be feared, that the enemies they had taken from others; if all failed, an vould ftir in such a dark rainy night as honourable death was the worst that could this was. This flave that heard the fetidings, happen. There were three hundred Arrose up secretly out of his lurking hole, and cadians that offered to joyn with him; but got him to the Lacedemonian Camp with the Ariftocrates marred all, by fending speedy news. There he found Emperanus his advertisement thereof to Anaxander King of Master commanding in the Kings absence. Sparta. The Epistle which Anaxander sent To him he uttered all; and obtaining par- back to Ariflocrates was intercepted by some don for his running away, guided the Ar- that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. my into the town. Little or nothing was done Therein was found all his fallhood, which that night. For the Allarm was presently being published in open assembly, the Arcataken; and the extream darkness, together dians stoned him to death, and casting forth with the noise of wind and rain, hindred all his body unburied, erected a monument of directions. All the next day was spent in most, his treachery, with a note, That the Perjurer

by meer desperation. The great advantage said, than that committing his people, to the that the Spartans had in numbers, was recom- charge of his fon Gorgus and other sufficient penced partly by the affistance which women Governours, who should plant them in some and children (to whom the hatred of servi- new seat abroad, he resolved himself to make tude had taught contempt of death) gave to aboad in those parts, hoping to find the their husbands and fathers; partly by the nar- Lacedemonians work at home. His daughters rowness of the streets and other passages, he bestowed honourably in marriage. One which admitted not many to fight at once. of them Demagetus, who reigned in the lle But the Messenians were in continual toyl; of Rhodes, took to wife, being willed by an their Enemies fought in course, refreshing Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best have travelled unto Ardys the Son of Gyges attempted Miletus and Smyrna. In like maner King of Lydia, and to Phraortes King of Me- Ardys wan Priene, and affailed Miletus; but dia: but death prevented him at Rhodes, went away without it. In his reign, the Cimwhere he was honourably buried.

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(whose great Grandsather was a Messenian, part of Asia, which was not freed from them and event into Italy after the former war)be- before the time of Alyattes this mans Grandfenc. which name it keeps to this day.

first year of the twenty eighth Olympiad. Storm, to effect much. Long after which time, the rest of that Na- Phraortes was not King until the third year tion, who staying at home served the Lace- of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which demonians, found means to rebell; but was fix years after the Messenian war ended; were soon vanquished, and being driven to the same being the last years of Manasses his forfake Peloponnesus, they vvent into Acarna- reign over Juda. nia; vvhence likewile, after few ages, they Deioces the father of this Phraortes, vvas were expelled by the Lacedamonians, and King of Media, three & fifty of these five and feat.

and fourscore years, this banished Nation regiven to the people so much licence, as tained their name, their ancient customs, caused every one to desire the wholesome language, hatred of Sparta, and love of their severity of a more Lordly King. Herein forfaken Country; with a defire to return un- Deisces answered their desiresto the full. For to it. In the third year of the hundred and fe- he caused them to build for him a stately cond Olympiad; the great Epaminondas, having Palace; he took unto him a Guard; for detamed the pride of the Lacedamonians, revo-fence of his person; he seldom gave preked the Mesenians home, who came flocking sence; which Ho when he did, it was out of all quarters, where they dwelt abroad, with fuch aufterity, that no man durst prefrom thenceforth stood in fear.

ftory of Judith.

his daughter to Rhodes, when he purposed to in Asia, had taken Colophon by force, and merians, being expelled out of their own The Mellenians vvere invited by Anaxilas country by the Scythians, over-ran a great ing Lord of the Rhegians in Italy, to take his child, by whom they were driven out. They part against the Zancleans in Sicily, on the o- had not onely broken into Lodia, but wan ther fide of the Streights. They did fo; and the City of Sardes; though the Castle or Civinning the Town of Zancle, called it Mef-tadel thereof was defended against them and held fill for King Ardys; whose long This fecond Messenian yvar ended in the reign was unable, by reason of this great

then followed their ancient Country-men fifty years in which Manaffes reigned. This into Italy and Sicily; some of them went into Deioces was the first that ruled the Medes Africa, where they chose unto themselves a in a strict form, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For It is very strange, that during two hundred they, following the example of Arbaces, had into Peloponnesus. There did Epaminondas sume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and restore unto them their old possession, and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an help them in building a fair City; which by awfull regard, and highly upheld the Mathe name of the Province, was called Messene, jesty which his predecessours had almost and was held by them ever after, in despight letten fall, through neglect of due comportof the Lacedemonians, of whom they never ments. In execution of his Royal Office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to inform him of all that was done in the Kingdom. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Domini-Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, on by encroaching upon others, but studied while Manasses reigned. Whether Deioces how to govern well his own. The difference the Mede were that Arphaxad which is found between this King, and such as were mentioned in the Book of Judith. Of the Hi- before him, seems to have bred that opinion which Herodotus delivers, that Deloces was Herod to. the first who reigned in Media.

A Rdys King of Lydia, and Phraortes of This was he that built the great City of A the Medes, are spoken of by Pausanias, Echatane, which now is called Tauris; and as reigning shortly after the Meffenian war, therefore he should be that king Arphaxad. Ardys succeeding unto his father Gyges, mentioned in the story of Judith, as also Ben began his reign of nine and forty years, Merodach, by the same account, should be in the second of the five and twentieth Nabuchodonofor the Assyrian, by whom Ar-Olympiad. He followed the steps of his phaxad was slain, and Holosernes sent to father, wwho encreached upon the Ionians work wonders upon Phul and Ind, and I

know not what other Countries. For I rec- are to be found all tegether, neither before kon the last year of Deioces to have been the nor after the captivity of the Jems, and denineteenth of Ben Merodach; though others solation of the City. Wherefore the brief place it otherwife, fome earlier, in the time decision of this controversie is, That the book of Merodach Baladan, some later, in the reign of Judith is not Canonical. Yet hath Tormof Nabulassar, who is also called Nabucho-ellus done as much, in fitting all to the time of

In fitting this book of Judith to a certain For he supposeth, that under Xerxes there time, there hath been much labour spent were other Kings, among which Arphaxad with ill fuccess. The reigns of Cambyses, Da- might be one (who perhaps restored and rerins Hyftaspis, Xerxes, and Ochns, have been edified the City of Echatane, that had forfought into, but afford no great matter of merly been built by Deroces) and Nabuchodolikelyhood and now of late, the times foregoing the destruction of Jerufalem, have been adds, that from the twelfth year to the eight thought upon, and this age that we have in teenth of Nabuchodonofor, that is, five or lix hand, choicn by Bellarmine, as agreeing best years, the absence and ill fortune of Xerxes with the story; though others herein can- in his Grecian expedition ( which he supponot(I speak of such as fain would) agree with seth to have been so long) might give occahim. Whilst Cambyses reigned, the Tem-sion unto Arphaxad, of rebelling: and ple was not re-built, which in the ftory of that Nabuchodonofor, having vanquithed and Judith is found standing and dedicated. The slain Arphaxad, might then seek to make other two Persian Kings, Darins and Xerxes, himself Lord of all, by the Army which are acknowledged to have been very fa he sent forth unto Holosernes. So should the vourable to the Jews; therefore neither of Jews have done their duty, in adhering to them could be Nabuchodonosor, whose part Xerxes their Sovereign Lord, and resisting they refused to take, and who sent to de- one that rebelled against him; as also the stroy them. Yet the time of Xerxes hath some other circumstances rehearled before, be conveniences, aprly fitting this Hiftory; and well applyed to the argument. For in these above all, the opinion of a few ancient times, the affairs of Jury were agreeable Writers (without whose judgment the authority of this Book were of no value) having this supposed Nabuchodone for, might well eplaced this argument in the Persian Monar- nough be ignorant of the Jews, and as proud chy, inclines the matter to the reign of this as we shall need to think him: But the silence vain-glorious King. As for Ochus, very few, of all Histories, takes away belief from and they faintly, entitle him to the business, this conjecture: and the supposition it self is Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time very hard, that a Rebell, whose King was of this History, there must be a return from abroad, with an Army consisting of sevencaptivity lately foregoing; the Temple re-teen hundred thouland men, should prewere of the bordering people.

Xerxes, as was penible into desperate a cale. built; Joachim High Prieft; and a long peace sume so far, upon the stength of twelve of threescore and ten years, or thereabout, hundred thousand foot, and twelve thouensuing. All these were to be among the sand Archers on horse back, as to think that Jews. Likewise on the other side, we must he might do what he list, yea that there find a King that reigned in Nineve, eighteen was none other God than himself. It is years at the least; that vanquished and slew indeed easie to find enough that might be a King of the Medes; one whom the Jews faid against this device of Torniellus: yet refused to affist; one that fought generally to if there were any necessity of holding the be adored as God, and that therefore com- book of Judith to be Canonical, I would manded all temples, of such as were accoun-rather choose to lay aside all regard of proted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice- phane Histories, and build some desence uproy or Captain General knew not the Jewish on this ground; than, by following the opi-Nation, but was fain to learn what they nion of any other, to violate, as they all do, the text it felf. That Judith lived under none Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of Joachim, with a return from captivity, works I have not read, but find him cited by are found concurring, with either the time Torniellus hath proved by many arguments. are round concurring, with either the time tormeins plant proved by many arguments of Manufér before the defruction of Jerufa-That the lived not in the Reign of Malam, or of Nerxes afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long ally, thewing how the Cardinal is driven, as peace following, agree with the reign of Ner-time to break through a wall, in faying xer; the reft of circumftances requilite, the

time, that the Kings Arphaxad and Nabitime, that the Mage Apparatus and the lan inscription in Greek and Latine letters, children of meer fantafie, it is fo plain that which faid, that Numa Pompilius, the fon of it needs no proof at all. Wherefore we may truly fay, that they, which have content the one Coffin was nothing found; his both the content of the Romans, lay there. In truly lay, that they, which have contain the one common nothing found; his bolded about the time of this Hiftory, being dy being utterly confumed. In the other well furnished of matter, wherewith to con- were his Books, wrapped up in two bunfute each other, but wanting wherewith to dles of wax; of his own conflitutions fedefend themselves (like naked men in a sto-ven, and other seven of Philosophy. They ny field ) have chased Holofernes out of all were not onely uncorrupted, but in a manparsoftime, and left him and his great expenses from the Pretour of the Ci-Patison, Extra anni solisque vias, in an age ty desiring to have a sight of these Books,

were against the Religion then in use. Herehis Reign.

6. V I.

The first year of Manasses was the last without Romulus; after whose death, one year terate. the Romans wanted a King. Then was Numa reigned three and forty years in con-Numa Pompilius a Sabyne cholen, a peaceable tinual peace. After him Tullus Hostilius the man, and feeming very religious in his kind, third King was chosen, in the fix and fortieth were in his own judgement, no better than enemy, it might be decided, who should commeer delusions, that served only as rudiments mand, and who obey. to bring the favage multitude of theeves and chance, in digging a piece of ground that alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when

the destruction of the Temple foregoing her | belonged to one L. Petilius a Scribe. Two that never was, and in places that were never when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, Surely, to find out the borders of Japheth, and offered to take a folemn oath that they gainst Arabia; or the Countries of Phuland upon the Senate, without more adoe, com-Lud, that lay in Holofernes his way; I think manded them to be openly burnt. It feems it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as that Numa did mean to acquit himself unto the former question hath done Chrono- wifer ages, which he thought would follogers. But I will not busie my self here- low, as one that had not been so foolish as to with; having already so far digressed, in believe the Doctrine wherein he instructed flewing who lived not with Manasses, that his own barbarous times. But the poyfon I think it high time to return unto mine wherewith he had infected Rome, when he ownwork, and rehearle what others Ifind, fate in his Throne, had not left working, to have had their part, in the long time of when he ministred the Antidote out of his grave. Had these Books not come to light luntill the days of Tully and Cafar, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed: likely it is that they had not on-Of other Princes and actions that were in thefe ly escaped the fire, but wrought some good and peradvenure general ) effect. Being as it was, they ferved as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inve-

Hebrought the rude people, which Romalus of Manafes, and reigned two and thirty had employed only in Wars, to some good years, busied, for the most part, in War. He civility, and a more orderly fashion of life. quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him This he effected by filling their heads with in the field; but in regard of the danger, fuperstition; as perswading them, that he had which both parts had cause to fear, that might familiarity with a Nymph called Egeria, who grow unto them from the Thuscanes, caused taught him a many of Ceremonies which he them to bethink themselves of a course, delivered unto the Romans as things of great whereby without effusion of so much bloud, importance. But all these devices of Numa as might make them too weak for a common

There were in each Camp three Brethren, out-laws, gathered into one body by Romn- Twins, born at one birth ( Dionysus says lus, to some form of milder discipline, than that they were Cousin Germans) of equal their boysterous and wild natures were o- years and strength, who were appointed to therwise apt to entertain. This appeared by fight for their several Countries. The end the Books that were found in his grave, al- was, that the Horatii, Companions for the most fix hundred yearsafter his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himself was first lost their lives. The three Curatie condemned as vain. His grave was opened by that fought for Alba (as Livy tels it ) were all fon of their hurts, could not follow him with ance of this History. Whereas therefore he equal speed, to follow him at such distance placeth the building of Rome, in the first one from another, that returning upon them, year of the feventh Olympiad, and affirms, that he flew them, as it had been in fingle fight, the same was the first year of Charops goman after man, ere they could jeyn together vernment of Athens; I hope I shall not need and fet upon him at once. Dionysius reports excuse, for varying from Paulanias, who sets it fomewhat otherwise, telling very parti- the beginning of these Athenians somewhat cularly, what wounds were given and ta-fooner. ken, and faying, that first one of the Horatii In the reign of Manasses it was, that Midas. was flain, then one of the Curatii, then a whom the Poets feigned to have had Affes fecond Horatius, and lastly the two (uratii, ears, held the Kingdom of Phrygia. Many whom the third Horatius did cunningly fe- fables were devised of him; especially that ver the one from the other, as is shewed be- he obtained of Bacchus, as a great gift, that fore.

in the old Roman Hittory, both in regard of means in had like to have been starved the action it felf, wherein Rome was laid, as (his meat and drink being subject to the it were in a wager, against Alba; and in re- same transformation) had not Bacchus despect of the great increase which thereby the livered him from this miserable faculty, by Roman State obtained. For the City of Alba caufing him to vvash himself in the River did immediately become subject unto her Pactolus, the stream vvhereof hath ever own Colony, and was shortly after, upon since, forsooth, abounded in that precious fome treacherous dealing of their Gover-metall. Finally, it is faid he dyed by drinknour, utterly razed, the people being remoing Bulls blood; being invaded by the ved unto Rome where they were made Citi- Scythians. zens. The strong Nation of the Latines, where- In this age flourished that Antimachus, of Alba, as the mother City, had been chief, who (faith Plutarch in the life of Romulus) became ere long dependent upon Rome, observed the Moons Eclipse at the foundathough not subject unto it, and divers petty tion of Rome. States adjacent, were by little and little ta- The Milesians, or, (as Eusebins hath it) the fubiect of this Hiftory.

The seventh year of Hippomenes in Athens, lony in Egypt by force. was current with the first of Manaffes. Also | About this time Archias and his compa-line time. Of these I find only names, Leocrates, exceeding famous. Abjander, and Erizias. After Erizias yearly The City of Nicodemia, sometime \* Aftacus, Winn Rulers were elected.

time of rule was shortned, and from term of this time. likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards companies of Archively Missellus, the Corporation of Archively Missellus, the Corpo life reduced unto ten years, it being thought About these times also was Croton founded where when they knew that they were afterwards companion of Archias that built syracufe. others. I follow Dionysus of Halicarnassus, in fo doth Pausanias. applying their times unto those years of the About the same time the Parthenians begreat care in ordering the reckoning of and Panfanias find it built before, and by

two of their opposites were flain; but the times; but hath noted alwaies the years of new third Horatius, pretending fear, did run away, the Greeks, how they did answer unto thelicit and thereby drew the others, who by rea-things of Rome, throughout all the continu-

all things which he should touch might im-This is one of the most memorable things median ly be changed into Gold: by which

ken in : which additions, that were small, yet Athenians having obtained some power by many, I will forbear to rehearse (as being the Sea, founded Macieratis a City on the East works of fundry ages, and few of them re- of Egypt. Pfammiticus herein feems to have markable confidered apart by themselves) affitted them, who used all means of drawing until fuch time as the fourth Empire, that is the Greeks into Egypt, accounting them his now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main furest strength. For neither Miletus nor Athens were now of power sufficient to plant a Co-

the three last Governours for ten years, who nion Miscellus, and other Corinthians, foun-Eufel followed Hippomenes, were in the same Kings ded Syracuse in Sicily, a City in after times

was enlarged and beautified in this age by there is These Governours for ten years were also Zipartes native of Thrace. Sybilla of Samms, fines for of the race of Medon and Codrus, but their according to Pausanius, lived much about contains

to live private men under the command of Strabo makes it somewhat more ancient, and parts

Olympiads, wherein the Chronological Ta- ing of age, and banished Lacedamon, were paid to ble, following this work, doth set them. For conducted by Phalantus into Italy; where it he not only profesieth himself to have taken is said they founded Tarentum: but Justine

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them conquered and amplified: and about ther fide of Bofiborus. It were a long work to the same time, Manasse yet living, the City rehearse all that is said to have been done in Phaselis was founded in Pamphylia, Gela in the five and fifty years of Manasses: that sicily, Interanne in the Region of the Um- which already hath been told is enough; hrii, now Urbin in Italy. About which time the rest being not greatly worth rememalso Chalcedon in Asia, over against Byzan- brance, may well be omitted, reserving only tium (now Constantinople) was founded by Ben Merodach, and Nabulasjar, to the business the Megarenses, who therefore were upbrai-that will shortly require more mention of



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Of the times from the death of Manasses to the destruction of Jerusalem.

6. I. of Ammon and Josias.

ten years following the Septuagint.

caused all the Images, as well those which should inherit his grave in peace. were graven as molten to be stampt to powthe Sun to be burnt. Of Josias it was prophetained.

remarkable.

Mmon the fon of Manasie, a man | in written, the prosperity promised to those no less wicked than was his Fa- that observe them, and the forrow and exther before his conversion, resto- tirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, red the exercise of all sorts of I- and commanded Helkiah, and others, to ask dolatry: for which God hardned counsel of the Prophetess Huldah, or, Olda, the hearts of his own fervants against him, concerning the Book; who answered the who flew him after he had reigned two messengers in these words: Thus faith the c chro. 34. years. Philo, Eufebius, and Nicephorus give him Lord, Behold, I will bring evil upon the place. 21. and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the Toffas fucceeded unto Ammon, being but a curfes that are written in the Book which they child of 8. years old, he began to feek after | have read before the King of Juda, because they the God of David his Father; and in his have forsaken me, and burnt Incense to other 1 King. 11 skin. 1. twelfth year he purged Juda and Jerusalem gods. Only for the King himself, because he 15: 16:10.3 from the high places, and the groves, and the was a lover of God and his Laws, it was procarved and molten Images: and they brake mised that this evil should not fall on Juda down in his fight the Altars of Baalim : He and Fernsalem in his daies, but that he himself

Tolias affembled the Elders, caused the der, and strewed on their graves that had Book to be read unto them, made a coveerected them; and this he commanded to be nant with the Lord, and caused all that were done throughout all his Dominions. He found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to do the also slew those that sacrificed to the Sun and like, promising thereby to observe the Moon, and caused the Chariots and Horses of Laws and Commandements in the Book con-

side in the time of Jeroboam the first, when he erected the Golden Calf at Bethel, that a Altar, Idols, Monuments, and bones of the child should be born unto the house of Da- false Prophets at Bethel, argueth his Domivid, Josias by name, and upon thee (said the nion to have extended unto those Countries, Prophet, speaking to the Altar ) shall he that had been part of the Kingdom of the facrifice the Priests of the high places, that ten Tribes. Yet I do not think, that any victoburn incense upon thee : a prophecy very ry of Josias in war got possession of these places; but rather that Ezechias, after the flight In the eighteenth year of his reign, he re- and death of Senacherib, when Merodach opbuilt and repaired the Temple, at which posed himself against Asarhaddon, did use time Helkiah the Pricst found the Book of the advantage which the faction in the North Moses, called Deutronomy, or, of the Law, presented unto him, and laid hold upon so which he fent to the King: which when he much of the Kingdom of Ifrael, as he was had caused to be read before him, and consi- able to people. Otherwise also it is not imdered of the fevere commandements there- probable, that the Babylonian finding him-

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nemy.

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of Azotus, though the Town held out nine it felf could afford; and the danger wherein and twenty years) did give unto Manasses, Assyria stood, by the force of the Medes. together with his liberty; as much in Ifrael as which under the command of more absolute himself could not easily defend. This was a Princes, began to feel it self better, and to good way to break the amity that the Kings shew what it could do. These were great of Juda had so long held with those of E- helps, but of shorter endurance than was the gpt, by casting a bone between them, and war; as in place more convenient shall be withall by this benefit of enlarging their noted. At the prefent it feems, that either Territories with addition of more than they fome preparation of the Chaldeans to reconcould challenge, to redeem the friendship of quer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs the Jews, which had been loft by injuries to make refistance, did invite the King of done, in feeking to bereave them of their Egypt into the Countries bordering upon Except. When it is faid, that Manaffer did after phrates; whither Pharao Necho ascended with Lis deliverance from imprisonment, put Cap- a mighty Army.

Tains of War in all the strong Cities of Juda; These two great Monarchs, having their it may be that some such business is intima- Swords drawn, and contending for the Emted, as the taking possession and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For fed with himself to which of these hemight though it be manifest that he took much adhere, having his Territory set in the midpains, in making Jerusalem it self more de- way between both, so as the one could not fensible; yet I should rather believe, that he, invade the other, but that they must of nehaving already compounded with the Baby- ceffity tread upon the very face and body of lonian, did fortifie himself against the Egyp- his Country. Now though it were so that tians, whose side he had forsaken, than that Necho himself desired, by his Embassadours, flas in the King of Babel his quarrel, doth without all harmful purpose against Jostas; argue, that the composition which Manasses yet all sufficed not , but the King of Ifrael had made with that King or his Ancestor, would needs fight with him. was upon such friendly terms, as required not only a faithful observation, but a thank-what little good the friendship of Egypt full requital. For no perfwafions could fuffice to make Josias sit still, and hold himself in : as that of Hosea the last King of Israel, who quiet in good neutrality, when Pharao Ne- when he fell from the dependance of the cho King of Egypt passed along by him, to Assuran, and wholy trusted to Sabacus or war upon the Countries about the River of Sous King of Egypt, was utterly disappointed Euphrates.

when as Necho the fon of Plammiticus, came up and tare in pieces, as it could never after with a powerful Army towards the border be gathered together or replanted. The of Judea, determining to pass that way, be- calamities also that fell upon Juda in the ing the nearest toward Euphrates, either to thirteenth and fourteenth years of Exechia, strengthen the passages of that River about whilst that good King and his people relied Carchemish, or Cercusium, for the desence of upon Sethon; and more lately, the imprison-Syria (as long after this, Dioclesian is faid by ment of Manasses, were documents of suffi-Ammianus Marcellinus to have done,) or cient proof, to shew the ill affurance that was perhaps to invade Syria it felf. For it fee- in the help of the Egyptians, who (near neighmeth that the travail of Plammiticus had not bours though they were ) were alwaies unbeen idlely confumed about that one Town ready, when the necessities of their friends of Azotus, but had put the Egyptians in pof-required their affiltance. The remembrance section of no small part of syria, especially in hereof might be the reason why Neco did not those quarters that had formerly belonged seek to have the Jews renew their ancient unto the Adades Kings of Damasco.

his Fathers had been, in pursuing the war at the passime between him and the Assyrians. gainft Babel. In which war, two things may This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that greatly have availed the Egyptians, and adthe countenance of such an Army, as did, vanced their affairs and hopes: the extra- foon after this, out-face Nabulaffar upon his

felt unable to deal with Psammiticus in Sy- ordinary valour of the mercenary Greeks. ria (as wanting power to raise the fiege that were far better Souldiers than Egypt of

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he travelled in making such provisions only for his minds sake. The earnestness of Je-he directed himself against the Assyrians only, then the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the assyrians only the directed himself against the directed hi

of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his The last year of Josias his reign it was, life and estate, which the Asyrian so rooted league with him, but only craved that they Neither was the industry of Necho less than would be contented to fit still, and behold own borders, left unto the Jews, a lawful excule of fear, had they forborn to give it any check upon the way. Wheregive a min some I believe that this religious and of Pharao Neco that fought with Josias: vertuous Prince folias, was not firred up only by politick respects, to stop the way of Neco; but thought himselt bound in of New 5 Dock thought indicate bound in Faith and Honour, to do his best in defence of the Babylonian Grown; where-

from among them, and that in such fort, phus witnesseth. mentations.

6. H.

of Jehoahaz and Jehojakim Kings of Ifrael.

anto his Kingdome was obliged, either mong the Acts of Neco. He tells us of this by Covenant made at the enlargement King, that he went about to make a Chanof Manaffes, or by the gift of fuch part nel, whereby Ships might passout of Nilus as he held in the Kingdome of the ten into the Red Sea. It should have reached Tribes. As for the Princes and people above an hundred miles in length, and of Inda, they had now a good occasion been wide enough for two Galliesto row to flew, both unto the Babylonians, of in front. But in the middelt of the work, what importance their friendship was, and an Oracle storetold that the Barbarians to the Egyptians, what a valiant Nation they should have the benefit of it, which cauhad abandoned, and thereby made their e- fed Neco to defit when half was done. There were confumed in this toylfome Some think that this Action of Josias business twelve hundred thousand Feyptiwas contrary to the advice of Jeremy the ans; a loss great enough to make the Prophet; which I do not find in the King forfake his enterprize, without trou-Prophecie of Feremy, nor can find reason bling the Oracle for admonition. Howto believe. Others hold opinion that he foever it were, he was not a man to be forgat to ask the Counsel of God: and idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and lethis is very likely; feeing he might be- vied a great Army, wherewith he marched lieve that an enterprise grounded upon fi- against the King of Babel. In this Expedidelity and thankfulness due to the King tion, he used the service, as well of his Naof Babel, could not but be displeasing vy, as of his Land-forces; but no particular unto the Lord. But the wickedness of exploits of his therein are found recorded, the people (in whom the corruptions of fave only this victory against Josias, where former times had taken such root, as all Herodotus calls the place Magdolus, and the the care of Josias in reforming the Land, Jews Syrians; which is a small error, seeing could not pluck up ) was questionless far that Judea was a Province of Syria, and from hearkening how the matter would Magdolus or Magdala is taken to have been fland with Gods pleasure, and much far-ther from enquiring into his secret Will, wherein it was determined that their good cus took the City of Cadytis, which was per-King, whose life stood between them and haps Carchemish, by Euphrates, and made himtheir punishment, should now be taken self Lord, in a manner, of all Syria, as Jose Jud lib.

as his death should give an entrance to Particularly we find, that the Phanicians Herol, L.C. the miseries ensuing. So Jossa levying all one of the most powerful Nations in Syria, the strength he could make, near unto were his Subjects, and that by his command Megiddo, in the half Tribe of Manasses, they furrounded all Africa, letting fail from encountred Neco: and there he received the Gulf of Arabia, and to paffing along all the ftroke of death, which lingring about the coast, whereon they both landed, as need him till he came to Jerusalem, brought him required, and sowed Corn for their suffeto the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His nance in that long voyage, which lasted three los was greatly bewailed of all the peo-years. This was the first Navigation about ple and Princes of Juda, especially of Je- Africa, wherein that great Cape, now called 134.10 remy the Prophet, who inferted a forrow- of good hope, was discovered; which after ful remembrance thereof in his Book of La- was forgotten, until Vasco de Gama the Portingal found it out, following a contrary course to that which the Phanicians held; for they beginning in the East, ran the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and streights of Hercules (as the name was Rrr then )

then) called now the freights of Gibraltar, bear to make a conqueft of the Land, perhaving Africk, ftill on the right hand; but haps upon the same reason, which had made the Portingals, beginning their voyage not him fo carnest in seeking to hold reace with far from the same streights, leave Africk on it. For the Jews had fullered much in the Ethe Larboard, and bend their course unto gaptians quarrel, and being left by these their the East. That report of the Phanicians, striends in time of need, unto all extremities, which Herodotus durit not believe, how the were driven of needity to forfake that par-Sun in this journey was on their right hand, ty, and to joyn with the enemies; to whom that is, on the North fide of them, is a matter if they shewed themselves taithful, who of necessary truth; and the observation then could blame them? It was therefore enough made hereof, makes me the better to believe, to reclaim them; feeing they were such a that fuch a veyage was indeed performed. people as would not upon every occasion But leaving these discourses of Neco his mag- thist side, but endure more than Pharao, in the nificence, let us tell what he did, in matters pride of his victories, thought that any more importing his citate. The people of Ju- henceforth should lay upon them: so good da, while the Fgptians were buffe at Char- a Patron did he mean to be unto them. Nechemift, had made Tehonhaz their King, in the verthelefs, he laid upon them a Tribute, of room of his father Jossas. The Prophet Je- an hundred Talents of filver, and one Ta-January remy calls this new King Shallum, by the lent of gold; that so he might both reap at name of his younger brother; alluding per- the present some fruit of his pains taken, and haps to the fhort reign of Shallum King of leave unto them some document in the suthe ten Tribes: for Shallum of Ijrael reign- ture, of greater punishment than verbal aned but one moneth; Jekoakaz no more than ger, due to them, if they should rebel. So he three. He was not the eldeft fon of Josius: departed, carrying along with him into E-Wherefore it may feem that he was fet up as gypt the unfortunate King Johoahaz, who dithe best affected unto the King of Babel; ed in his Captivity. the rest of his house being more inclined to the Egyptian, as appears by the sequel. An I- the end of his Fathers last year; otherwise dolater he was, and thrived accordingly, it would hardly be found, that Jehojakim his For when as Neco had dispatched his business successor did reign ten whole years , wherein the North parts of Syria, then did he take as the Scriptures give him eleven, that are order for the attairs of Judea. This Councurrent and incomplete. If any man will try was now to far frem making any refi- rather cast the three moneths of this short stance, that the King himself came from Rib- leign, into the first year of the brother, than lab in the land of Hamath, where the matter into the fathers last, the same arguments that went fo ill on his fide, that Neco did cast him shall maintain his opinion, will also prove the into bonds, and carry him prisoner into Fg.pt, matter to be unworthy of disputation; and giving away his Kingdom to Eliakim his el- fo I leave it. der brother, to whom of right it did belong.

The City of Riblab, in after times called Anin faction he was altogether Egyptian, as (of whom the eldest is probably thought to bear to profess, that they could deny them have stormed at the preferment of his youn- nothing. Yet the beginning of Jehojakim ger brother ) gave him power to do even had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace what should please himself. Yet he did for- it, which made him insolent and cruel;

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The reign of Jehoahaz was included in

tiochia, was a place unhappy to the Kings having received his Crown at the hand of and Princes of juda, as may be observed in Pharao. The wickedness of these last Kings divers examples. Yet here Jehojakim, toge- being expressed in Scriptures none otherther with his new name, got his Kingdom; an wife, than by general words, with reference ill gain, since he could no better use it. But to all the evil that their Fathers had done, however Jebojakim thrived by the bargain, makes it apparent, that the poyfon where-Pharao sped well, making that Kingdom Tri- with Ahaz and Manaffes had infected the butary, without any stroke stricken; which Land, was not so expelled by the zealous three moneths before was too frout to give goodness of Josias, but that it till cleaved unhim peace, when he desired it. Certain it is, to the chief of the people, Tea unto the Priests stand that in his march outward, Neco had a grea- allosand therefore it was not strange, that the 16-14ter task lying upon his hands, than would Kings had their parts therein. The Royal permit him to wast his forces upon Judea: authority was much abased by the dangers but now the reputation of his good success wherein the Countrey stood, in this troubleat Megiddo, and Charchemish, together with some age: the Princes did in a manner what the diffention of the Princes Josias his fons they listed; neither would the Kings forwas delivered unto his Embassadour, and sent Chaldean race, preserved Babylon before it. back to the death; contrary to the cuftom Some think that this was the Aljyrian King,

the banks of Euphrates, that his voice was ginning of his fon. after this the glory of Egypt is to fall.

6. III.

miladventure and death, together with the cumstances alledged before. diffention between his children, presented, Nabulasar that reigned in Babylon after made himself King of Babylon, was eleven his Father Ben Merodach, had greater business years troubled with a powerful Enemy, A- in his own Kingdom, than would permit him long reign following, and his little inter- thip that they held in Afia, it is convenient

as we find by that example of his dealing medling in matters of Spria, make it plain, with Oris: the Prophet: though herein also that is had work enough at home, either in the Princes do appear to have been inftigated detending or effaithining that which he had tors. This holy man denounced Gods judgegotten. Jolephus gives him the honour of hators. This noty than denounced Goods Judges govern, Josephors gives an the honour of naments against the City and Temple, in like ving won Nineve it self, which we may be fort as other Prophets had formerly done, lieve; but surely he did not hold it long. and did in the same age. The King with all the For in the times soon following, that great men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of City was free, and vanquified Phraortes the this, determined to put him to death. Here- Median. Perhaps it yielded upon some capiupon the poor man fled into Egypt: but fuch tulation: and refuled afterwards to contiregard was had unto Jehojakin, that Oria nue subject, when the Kings, being of the

used, both in those dayes, and since, among all whose Captains took Manasses prisoner, but I civil Nations, of giving refuge unto stran-rather believe those that hold the contrary, gers, that are not held guilty of such inhu- for which I have given my reasons in due mancrimes, as for the general good of man-kind should be exempted from all privi-Merodach should have looked into those parts, as long as the Jews were his friends, It concerned Pharao to give all content- and the Egyptians, that maligned the Norment possible to Jehojakim: for the Affirian thern Empire, held themselves quiet at home, Lyon, that had not stirred in many years, be- which was until the time of Pfammiticus, agan about these times to roar so loud upon bout the end of this Kings Reign, or the be-

heard unto Nilus, threatning to make himself Ben Merodach the son and successiour of Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hi- this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; therto had withdrawn the house of Mero-yet is he named by good consent of Authors, dach from opposing the Egyptian in his con- and that speak little of his doings. The quest of Syria, require our consideration in length of his Reign is gathered by inference this place, before we proceed to commit to have been one and twenty years; for fo them together at Carchemish, where shortly much remaineth of the time that passed between the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephews Reigns ( which is a known fum) deducting the years of his Father, and of his fon Nabulasfar. This (as I take it) was he that of the Kings of Babylon and Media. Howit had Manafes Priloner, and released him. He came to pass that the Kings of Babel could spedill in Syria; where Psammiticus, by the not give attendance on their business in Sy-vertue of his Mercenary Greeks, did much ria; which caused them to lose that Province. prevail. This may have been some cause that he released Manajjes, and did put into his Erodach the son of Baladan, who ta- hands some part more of the Kingdom of M king the advantage that Sennacherib's Samaria: which is made probable by cir-

Sarhaddon the son of Sennacherib, reigning to look abroad: insomuch as it may be over the Assyrians in Nineve; from whom thought to have been a great negligence or whilest he could not any other way divert over-fight of Psammiticus and Necho, that his cares, he was fain to omit all business in they did not occupy some good part of his Spria, and (as hath been formerly shewed) to Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in make over unto Ezechia some part of the his time, that Phraortes King of the Medes Kingdom of the ten Tribes. From this mole- invaded Affpria, and befreged Nineve; from station, the death of Asarbaddon did not on- whence he was not repelled by any force of ly set him free, but gave unto him some part Nabulassar, but constrained to remove by the of Affria, if not (as is commonly, but less coming of the Scothians, who in these ages probably thought ) the whole Kingdom. did overflow those parts of the world, laying How greatly this was to the liking of the hold upon all that they could mafter by Allyrians, will not here stand to enquire : his strong hand. Of these Scythians, and the Loid-Rrr2

CHAP.XXVIII.

fore-hand, how the Medes; upon whom they lagree both with the condition of such busifirst fell, were busied in the same times with ness as that Scythian expedition brought into hopes of conquering Affyria.

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Thraortes, the fon of Deioces, King of dean and Affrian affairs ensuing.

Nineve. case, that of her self she was well enough.

Grand-child.

dition:whereof I find no particular circum-

rians for the death of his father, and besieged Reign of Nabuchodonosor. Nineve it felf, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe Eusebius, That he took the City, and fulfilled bis displeasure upon it, than Herodotus, That the Scythian Army came upon him whilest he lay before it. For where equal authorities are contradictory (as Eusebius, though far later than Herodotus, yet having feen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yield unto the best likelihoods.

that I speak in this place; shewing briefly a- igcrous fell upon his own Country doth well those parts, and with the State of the Chal-

the Medes, having by many victories enlar- The destruction of this great City is both ged his Dominions, conceived at length a foretold in the Book of Tobit, and there fet tair possibility of making himself Lord of down as happening about these times; of which Book whofoever was the Author, he That City(as Herodotus reports it) having vvas ancient enough to know the story of been a Soveraign Lady was not forfaken of those ages, and hath committed no such error all her dependants; yet remained in such in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophecy of This makes it plain, that howfoever Mero- Nahum, though it be not limited unto any datch had gotten policifion of this imperial certain term, yet it appears to have taken feat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Country, yet it found the means to set it self. Nabnehodonofor, according to the common oat liberty: as after this again it did, when pinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a it had been regained by Nabulassar his conquest of Egypt, foregoing this calamity, vyhereof vve vvill speak in due place. Some Sharp war, and the very novelty of fud- that ascribe more authority than the reforden violence, use to dismay any State or med Churches yield, to the book of Tobit, Country, not inured to the like: but custom are careful, as in a matter of necessity, to of danger hardeneth even those that are un- affirm, that about these times, Nineve was tawarlike. Nineve had been the Palace of ma- ken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the ny valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the survey where had suffered, and resisted, all the survey wherewith either Domestical tumults between the considered. Yet I hold it probable, that Nafons of Sennacherib, or forreign war of the bulasar the son of Ben Merodach did seize Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it upon it, and place a King or Viceroy therein, is the less wonderful, that Phraortes did about such time as the Country of Assiria fpeed so ill in his journey against it. He and was abandoned by Cyaxares, when the Seythe most of his Army perished in that expe-thian War overwhelmed Media. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his stances (perhaps they undervalued their for- hand; the swelling spirits of the Ninevites ces, and brought a less power than was need- were allayed, and their malice to Babylon so ful.)It is enough, that herein we may believe much affwaged, that it might be thought a great favour, if Nabulassar, appointing unto Cyaxares the fon of Phraortes, a braver them a peculiar King, took him and them in man of War than his Father, wan as much of protection: though afterwards to their con-Affa the less, as lay Eastward, from the River fusion, this unthankful People and their King of Halys; he fought revenge upon the Affy- rebelled again, as shall be showed in the

#### 6. IV.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Alia eight and twenty years.

#### | I. The time of his expedition.

To think that the Scythians came upon Cyaxares, whileft he lay before Nineve, were ment was given by the Affrians and to accuse him of greater improvidence than the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby ought to be suspected in one commended as were much disabled to perform any action a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was of worth upon the Egyptians in Syria; it is fain to leave the Town, when a War so dan- time that I speak of that great Scythian expedition, which grievously afficted not only ineral History; yet not easie, the consent of the Babylonians, but the Medes and Lydians, those that have written thereof, being nowith the Countries adjacent, in such wise, thing near to uniformity. that part of the trouble redounded evento I have noted before, that in the reign of the Egyptians themselves. Of the Seythian Ardys King of Lydia, the Cimmerians overpeople in general, Herodotus makes very ran that Kingdom, and were not expelled. large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter until Halyastes the Nephew of Ardys got the ill known, with many Fables; of this expe- upper hand of them. In these times therefore dition he tells many particulars, but ill agree- of Ardys, Sardiaties, and Halyattes, are we to ing with confent of time. Concerning his fa- find the eight and twenty years, wherein the bulous reports, it will be needless to recite Scythians reigned over Asia. Now for a fruich them; for they are far enough distant from as Psammiticus the Egyptian had some dealthe business in hand. The computation of ings with the Scythians, even in the height of times which by inference out of his relatilived with both Cyaxares and Halyattes. But ed the violence of their oppressors. Eusebius himself refers all that business of the Scythian irruption into Palæstina to Psammiticus the Father of Necho, whom he leaves dead before the Reign of Halyattes. Therefore I dare not rely upon Herodotus, in this What Nations they were that brake into Alia; matter, otherwise than to believe him, that fuch things were in these ages, though not in fuch order as he fets them down.

It remains, that I collect as well as I can,

ons,may feem very strange,needeth some an-than one or two of his last years unto this fwer in this place: lest otherwise I should their Dominion. But the beginning of Halyeither seem to make my self too bold with attes his Reign in Lydia, being three and an Author, in citing him after a manner diffe-twenty years compleat after the death of rent from his own tale; or else to be too Pfammiticus, leaves the space very scant, eiforgetful of my felf, in bringing to act upon ther for the great victories of the Scythians. the Stage, those persons, which I had already necessarily supposed before they could meet buried Eight and twenty years, he faith, that the Egiptian in Syria, or for those many losthe Scythians reigned in Asia, before Cyaxa- ses, which they must have received ere they res delivered the Country from them. Yet could be driven quite away. To increase this hereports a War between Cyaxares and Ha- difficulty, the victorious Reign of Nabucholiattes the Lydian, as foregoing the fiege of donosor in Babylon, is of no small moment. Nineve; the siege of Nineve being ere the For how may we think it possible, that he Southians came. And further he tells, how should have adventured the strength of the the Scythians, having vanquished the Medes, Kingdom against the Egyptians and Jews, did pass into Syria, and were encountred in had he stood in daily fear of losing his own, Palestina by Psammiticus King of Egypt, who to a more mighty Nation, that lay upon his by gifts and entreaty procured them to de-neck? To speak simply as it appears to me, part from him. These narrations of Herodotus the victories ascribed to Cyaxares and Halymay, every one of them, be true; though attes over these warlike people, were not not in such order of time, as he hath mar- obtained against the whole body of their shalled them. For Psammiticus was dead be- Army, but were the defeatures of some fore Cyaxares began to reign: and Cyaxares troops that insested their several Kingdoms; had spent half of his forty years, ere Halyat- other Princes, and among these Nabulassar tes was King of Lydia, so that he could not, having the like success, when the pleasures of after those Lydian Wars, reign eight and Asia had mollified the courages of these hartwenty years together with the Scythians. dy Northern Lads. Wherefore we may pro-It istrue, that Eufebius doth also call Psammis bably annex the eight and twenty years of the son of Pharao Neco, by the name of Pfam- the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last miticus; and this King Psammis may, by of Nabulassar's Reign, in compass whereof some strained conjecture, be thought to have their power was at the greatest. This is all been he that met with the Septhians: for he that I can fay of the time, wherein Asia suffer-

#### []. II.

with the cause of their Journey.

Ouching the expedition it felf, Herodotus tells us, that the Cimmerians being those memorials which I find of this expedi- driven out of their Country by the Scythition scattered in divers places: a work ne- ans, invaded and wasted some part of Asia; ceffary, for that the greatness of this action and that the Scythians, not contented with was such, as ought not to be omitted in ge- having won the land of the Cimmerians,

did follow them, I know not why, into far | This is certain, that both the Amazons and removed quarters of the World, so (as it the Cimmerii (who in after times were calwere by chance) falling upon Media and E- led Cimbri) did often break into Greece and gypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone Asia; which though it be not in express another way into Lydia. Hereby we may ga-terms written, that they did with joynt-forther that the Cimmerians were an odious and ces, yet feeing they invaded the felf-fame base people; the Scythians, as mischievous places, it may well be gathered, that they and foolish; or else Herodotus, and some o- were companions. One journey of the Amather of his Country men, great flanderers of zons into Greece, mentioned also by Eusebius. those, by whom their Nation had been bea- was by the streights of the Cimmerians, as we of divers Nations, that the malice of the acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report Greeks is infusficient to stain them with the them to have been Wives of the scythians, note of Cowards. These were the posterity and no less War-like than their Husbands; of Gomer, who peopled the greatest part of alledging the example of that Queen who our Western World; and whose re-flow is said to have slain the great Persian Cyrus. did overwhelm no small portion of Greece That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carand Asia, as well before and after, as in the age ry their Wives along with them to the wars; whereof we do now entreat. He that would and how desperate the courage was of those more largely inform himself of their origi- Women; the terrible descent of them into nal and actions may peruse Goropius Becanus Italy, when Marius the Roman overthrew his Amazonica, of many things in which them, gives proof sufficient. I will not here Book, that may be verified, which the learn-enter into a discourse of the Amazons 5 anoed Ortelius is said to have spoken of all Go- ther place will give me better leisure to ropius his works, that it is easie to laugh at speak of them: but seeing that they are nothem, but hard to consute them: There we ted by divers Historians to have belonged thorites as are not lightly to be regarded, to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the bettians, were all of one Linage and Nation; these three Nations were one, at least that howfoever diftinguished in name, by reason they were near alies. of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps | Now as concerning the expulsion of the dialect of speech. Homer indeed hath menti- Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appears to on of the Cimmerians; whose Country whe- have been none other than the sending of a ther he placeth in the West, as near unto the Colony of them forth into Asia, with an Ar-Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the my of Scythians to help them, in purchasing North, as being far from the Sun, and cover-ed with eternal darkness; certain it is that

The Sarmatians also were companions he would have them near neighbours to in this journey. For the City of Novogradin Hell: for he had the same quarrel to them Russia (which Country is the same that was Amazons, together invaded Afia.

ten, and Ionia, more than once, grievoully find in Diodore, who further tellethus, that Diedle ransackt. The great valour of the Cimmerithe Scythians therein gave them assistance can ramackt. The great valous of the ans or Cimbrians is fo well known, and their The fame Author, before his entry into those many Conquetts fo well testified in Histories discourses of the Amazons, which himself and find it proved, by such arguments and au- unto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and that the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarma- ter approve Goropius his conclusion, That

which Herodotus had, and therefore belike called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewould have made them seem a kind of Gob- wards, as shall anon be further shewed. So lins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as that all the North was up in Arms: and Herodotus writing his life affirms ) to infert therefore it is no marvel though many Couninto his Works the names of such as lived in tries felt the weight of this great inundation his own time, making such mention of them, on Such another voyage was that, which the as the good or ill done by them to himself same people made five hundred years and deserved. And for this reason it is proved by more after this, when they were encountred Eustathius, that the Cimmerians were so dif- by the Romans. For they issued from the graced by him, because they had wasted his parts about the Lake Meetis; they were Country. Perhaps that invation of Phrygia by then likewise affisted ( faith Plutarch in the the Amazons, whereof Homer puts a remembrance into Printing the discount of them) by the septimans the interpretation of the printing printing the discount of them. brance into Priamus his difcourfe with Helen, their neighbours; they had in their Army Mental was the very fame, which Eusebius noteth to above three hundred thousand fighting men, have happened somewhat before the age of besides a huge multitude of women and Homer, at what time the Gimmerian; with the children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all down before them; and

many, they divided their Company, for the to fray their march: for Iris and Halys they more easie patlage thither, and were confu- had already passed. med in three terrible battels by the *Roman* What battels were fought between these Confuls. Meer necessity enforced these poor Invaders and the Lydians, and with what va-Nations to trouble the World, in following riable faccess the one or other part wan and fuch hard adventures. For their Country be- loft, I find not written, nor am able to confeing more fruitful of men than of fustenance, cture. This I find, that in the time of Ardis, and that up on the North fide with intolle- the Commerisms got pellellion of streles the sale cold, which denied iffue that way to capital City of Lydia; only the Calile holdtheir over-fwelling multitudes; they were ing out against them. Further I observe, that compelled to discharge upon the South, and whereas Herodotus tells of the acis performby right or wrong to drive others out of ed by Gyges and Ardys Kings of Lydra, before policilion, as having title to all that they had this invalion, and by Halyattes and Crefus in power to get, because they wanted all, that the times following, all that zirdys did aweaker, but more civil, people had. Their gainst the Cimmerians, and all, save burning furdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all the Milefians Corn fields, that was done in hardness, gave them great advantage over twelve years by Sadyattes his fon (who perbours giving them free paffage, that they remembrance in those Wars, but were glad might the sooner be rid of them; others gi- enough that they did lose all. ving them, besides passage, victuals and Certainly the miseries of War are never guides to conduct them to more wealthy fo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, great prefents; fo as the farther they went labour to root out the cstablished possessions on the more pleasant Lands they found, and of another Land; making room for themthe more effeminate people.

#### ( III. of the Cimmerians War in Lydia.

The first Company of these, communing the analysis which the defendants have; for the most part of Cimmerians, held they need all which the defendants have; the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had their Lands and Cattel, their houses and ftill on the right hand ; leaving on the other their goods, even to the cradles of the suckside, and behind them, the great Mountains ing Infants. The merciles terms of this conof Caucasus. These having patied through the troversie, arm both sides with desperate reso-Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, lution : feeing the one part must either win. entred the Country of Pontus, and being ar- or perish by famine; the other defend their rived in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promonto- goods, or lofe their lives without redempti-Bird, LA 77, whereon Synope, a famous Haven Town on. Most of the Countries in Europe have of the Greeks, was after built. Here it feems felt examples thereof; and the mighty Emthat they bestowed the weakest and most pire of Rome was overthrown by such inva-unserviceable of their train, together with sions. But our sile of Lritain can best witness the heaviest part of their carriages, under the diversity of Conquests; having by the fome good guard: as drawing near to those happy victory of the Romans, gotten the Regions, in conquest whereof they were to knowledge of all Civil Arts, in exchange of try the utmost hazzard. For in like fort after- liberty, that was but flenderly instructed wards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake even therein before; whereas the issue of the now) dispose of their impediments, leaving Saxon and Danish Wars, was as were the cauthem in a place of strength, where Antwerp ses, quite contrary. For these did not seek now stands, when they drew near unto Gunl, after the Dominion onely, but the entire upon which they determined to adventure possession of the Country, which the Saxons themselves in the purchaser. From sinop, the obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicaway unto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was fair ting all of the British Race, and defacing all and open to the Cimmerians, without any memorial of the ancient inhabitants through

finally, thinking to have fetled themselves in ladg of Mountains, or any deep Rivers at all

fuch as were accustomed unto a more deli- haps had his hands so full of this business, cate life, and could not be without a thou- that he could turn them to nothing elfe) is fand superfluities. Wherefore most common-quite omatted: whereby it may seem, that ly they prevailed very far; their next neigh- neither of the two did any thing worthy of

places, others hiring them to depart with or great part of it, forfaking their own feats, felves, their wives and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgements; which had they been yielded at the first, all had been quiet, and no fword bloudied. But in these migrations, "He first Company of these, consisting the assailants bring so little with them, that

the greater part of the Land. But the Danes | Herodotus relates , I find it of little weight, Herodot (who are also of the Cimmerian bloud) and less probability. He tells of Scythians. (who are allo of the (immerian bloud) found fuch end of their enterprize, as it may that being chased out of their Country by faction, came unto Cyaxarer, who committed thians in the higher Asia, did arrive unto. So that by considering the process of the design that the cylinar tongue, and feat of Archery. one, we shall the better conceive the fortune Now it so fell out (faith he) that these seof the other. Many battels the Danes won, thians using much to hunt, and commonly yet none of fuch importance, as sufficed to bringing home somewhat with them, did nemake them absolute Conquerours: Many vertheless other-whiles miss of their game, the Saxons won upon the Danes, yet not so and came home as they went. Hereupon the great, as could drive them quite away, and King being froward and cholerick, bitterly back from hence, after they had gotten firm reviled them; and they, as impatient as he, footing. But in course of time, the long con- killed one of the Boys that was under their tinuance even of utter enmity, had bred fuch charge, whom, dresling like Venison, they acquaintance between them, as bowing the prefented unto him; which done, they fled natures of both these people, made the one unto Halyattes. This Herodotus delivers, as more pliant unto the other. So their difa- the ground of a War that lasted six years grecable qualities, both ill and good, being between the Medes and Lydians; the one reduced in one mild temper, no fmall number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where betray fuch men as were become his suppligreat flaughter had made large room; o- ants. To this I will say no more, than that I thers returning home, found their own fee no cause that might induce the Serthians Country wide enough to receive them, as to betake themselves to either of these having diffurthened it felf of many thou- Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought fands, that were sent to seek their graves a- so much displeasure. Particularly, they broad. And such (as I think) was the end had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the of the Cimmerian War in Lydia; whereunto treachery that he shewed in the massacring though some victory of Halpattes may have of their Country-men that were in his Kinghastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome dom, of whom it is now meet that we should length of time feems to have done most, in speak. compelling them to defire of reft. I know not why I should fear to add hereunto my further conjecture, which is, that the matter was so compounded between the Cimmerians and Halyattes, that the River of Halys The War of the Scythians in the higher fhould divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians,

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tween Halyattes and Cyaxares the Mede, hath | scure Nations, where now are the Countries very good reference. For Halyattes (as is of Servan and Georgia, and so they entred insaid) tought in desence of certain Scythians, to Media. The Medes encountred them in upon whom the Median fought revenge. Arms, but were beaten, and thereupon glad And it stands with reason, that the Lydians to come to any agreement with them. This and Cimmerians, being much weakened with was in the time of Phraortes, whilest Pfammimutual flaughters, should have joyned in a tiem reigned in Egypt. If it were in the fixt league of mutual desence for their common year of Nabulassar's Reign over Babylon (supfafety: though otherwise it had been dan-gerous to Halfattes, if he had permitted the otherwise we must allow to Ben Merodach Altedian to extend his Kingdom fo far West-what we take from him ) then do the eight ward, what soever the pretences might be, of and twenty years of their Dominion end, taking revenge upon such as had spoiled one year before the great Nabuchodonofor each of their Countries. As for that occasion was King; so giving him good leave to

#### §. IV.

and on the Eastern side of the River was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of Westerly, along the shores of the Euxine the Cimmerians, and other Scythian people; sea, so the Scythians and Sarmatians took the whose wives and daughters these warlike other way, and having the Castian sea on their left hand, passed between it and Cauca-And hercunto the quarrel ensuing be- Jus, through Albania, Colthene, and other obof the War between these two Kings, which provide securely for the invasion of Syria 5 vet n.ed, as Josephus out of Berofus relates they were pleased with the heat of a Climate

CHAP.XXVIII.

the History. Now the Medes desirous to save themselves had at his back a vast wilderness, over the 25 yvell as they might, from this terrible fcorching fands whereof, the Septhians more nation, which when they had no lust to a se- patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary cond trial of the sword, refused not to under- distempers, could ill have endured to purgo the burthen of a Tribute, but thought fue him through unknown ways, had they nothing dilhonourable, that would ferve to fought with him and prevailed, especially remove these troublesome guests into some the Kingdom of Egypt being ready to cuother lodging. On the other part, the sey-tertain him with relief, and them with thians finding still the Countries pleasanter news trouble at the end of their sveary jourand better, the further that they marched in- ney. Wherefore they were content to be into the South, did fuffer themselves to be per- treated & taking in good part his courteeus fwaded, that a little more travail would add offers, returned back to visit their acquaina great deal more to their content. For they tance in the high Countries. The Egyptian relyed so much upon their own valour, that King ( besides that hee preserved his own they feared no reliftance, and being the bra- Estate from a dangerous adventure, by hyrrelt men, they thought it reason that they ing this great Army to depart from him ) thould dwell in the best Region. That Phra- found all his Coast well repayed in the proortes perswaded them into Egypt, I do not cess of his wars in Syria, where the Nations think; Babylon was near enough; whither if beyond Euphrates had no power to molest he could fend these Locusts to graze, then him, being more than ever troubled themflould not his unfriendly Neighbours have felves with the return of their oppreffors. cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift For the Seythians, resolving novy to seek no Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he further, began to demand more than the trihad any dealings with them, I do not read. bute formerly imposed. And not conten-But it is well known that his Dominions lay ted to fleece the Naturals with grievous exin the middest between Media and Egypt; actions, they presumed to live at discretion upon the Country, taking what they listed them provender.

Southermost border of Palastina: whence he ken from them. never advanced to meet with the Scythians,

which expedition he began while his Father much the better, by how much the worfe fo far different from their own. Pfammitieus Tributary; wherefore we may very well from the owners; and many times (as it believe, that they watered their horses in his vvere to save the labour of taking often ) ta-Rivers, and that he also was content to give king all at once. This tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher Asia, that is, Pfammiticus hearing of their progress (like over the Country lying between the Caspithe jealous Husband of a fair Wife) took an and Red Seas: and between India and care that they might not look upon Egypt. Asia the less. Happy it was for the poor lest the fight thereof should more easily people, that in so large a space of ground, detain them there, than any force or per- there was room enough for these new comers fwasion that he could use would send them otherwise the calamity that fell, as it vvere going. Therefore he met them in Syria, pre- by chance, upon those private men, to whose fuming more on the great gifts which he wealth any Scythian did bear a fancy, would meant to bestow upon them, than on his Ar- have lighted in general upon all at one my that should keep them back: Fgypt was clap, leaving few alive, and none able to rich; and half the riches had not been ill spent relieve their fellowes. Yet it seems that the in faving all. Yet Pfammiticus took the most | heaviest burthen lay upon Media; for it was likely course, whereby to make his part good a fruitfull Countrey, not far from their against them by strong hand, in case they had own home, and lay under a Climate well abeen loobstinate as to refuse all indifferent greeing with the constitution of their bodies composition. For he lay close upon the edge there also it was that they had the fatal of the Wilderness in Gaza (as Itake it) the blow, by which their insolent Rule was ta-

Cyaxares King of the Medes, who in this nered. but gave them leave to feel as much of the extremity was no better than a Rent-gathe- 11. I. scalding Sun-beams, ill agreeing with their rer for the Scythians, perceiving that his temper, as all the length of Syria could beat Land lay unmanured and wafte, through the upon them. When they were come as far as negligence of his people, that vvere out of Ascalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he heart by daily oppressions, and that the allay them with goodly words, accompanied matter could not be remedied by open force with gifts, which were likely to work to refolved to prove what might be done by

ftratagem. The managing of the business is wives behind them; a good argument to thus delivered in brief; That he, and his prove that they meant to come again. The

this of new forces.

Medes, feasted the better part of the Scythi- Scythian women, to comfort themselves in ans, made them drunk, and flew them; reco- their husbands absence, became bed-fellows vering hereby the possession of all that they to their slaves. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Such another flaughter was committed Fathers-in-law, and therefore prepared to upon the Danes in England; but it was reven- fight with them at their return. If they were ged by their Countrymen, with greater cru- onely the children of flaves, which comelty than ever they had practised before. pounded an Army (as Herodotus would have That the Scythians which escaped this it, who tels us, that the Scythians were wont bloody feast made any stir in Media, I do not to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must find; neither do I read that either in revenge needs be that they were very boys, or elle hereof, or upon other pretence, the Medes that the Women did very little while conwere troubled by invasion from Scythia in tinue chast. Wherefore I rather believe that tale as it is told by the Ruffes themselves, This is the more strange, for that the Ar- who agreeing in the rest with the consent of my returning home out of Media, was very Histories, make that report of their Anceftrong & encountred with opposition (as He- stors returning homewards, which I will set rodotus reports it) no less than it had found down, as I find it in Master Doctor Fletcher & of conabroad. Wherefore it may be, that the de- his exact discourse of the Russ Common. vice of Cyaxares to free his Countrey, took mealth. They understood by the may, that their good effect, with less blood-shed than hath Chrolopey, or Bond-slaves, whom they lest at been supposed. For if he surprised all the home, had in their absence possessed their towns, chief of them, it was no hard matter to make lands, houses, wives, and all; At which news bea good composition. Many of them doubtless ing somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the in eight and twenty years had so well setled Villany of their servants, they made the more themselves, that they were desirous of rest, & speed home, and so not far from Novograd met might be permitted, without any danger, to them in warlike manner marching against remain in the Country ; many (of whom I them. Whereupon advising what was best to be shall speak anon ) having done what they done, they agreed also to set upon them with no could in the business, for which they came other shew of weapon but with their horse with forth, were willing to return home with (which at their manner is, every man rideth what they had gotten; such as were not withal) to put them in remembrance of their serpleased with either of these two courses, vile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate might go joyn with the Cimmerians in Lydia, their courage. And so marching on, and lashor feek their fortunes in other Provinces a- ing all together with their whips in their hands, mong their own Companions. Whereas all they gave the onfet; which feemed fo terrible the Families of the North are faid to have in the ears of their Villains, and strook such a been with Nebuchadnezzar, it may be under- sense into them of the smart of the whip, which flood, that a great part of the Scythians, they had felt before, that they fled altogether like upon hope of gain, or defire to keep what | Sheep before the Drivers, In memory of this they had already gained, were content to victory, the Novogradians ever fince have become subject unto Nabulassar ; mens love stamped their Coin (which they call a Dingoe of their wealth being most effectual, in tam- Novogradskoy, currant through all Russia) ing the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certain, that Nebuchadnezzer, loss in his hand. It may feem, that all the
as ever after, so in his first beginning of war, women of that Country have fared the worse did beat the Egyptians, who in ages forego-ing had been accustomed to deal with the For such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those Babylonians after another fashion: and this slaves, curiously wrought by her felf, is the new fuccess of that King may be imputed in first present that the Muscovian wife, even regard of human means, to fuch addition as in time of wooing, fends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subjection, being Of the Scythian Army returning out of Me- well affured to feel it often on her own loins. dia, divers authors report a Story, which But this was a Document unto the Scythians, confirms me in the opinion, that this Compa- or rather Samarians (for Novograd stands in ny went forth to affift their kindred and the Country that was called Sarmatia) to befriends, in acquiring a new feat, and establish- ware of absenting themselves any more so ing their plantation. For these had less their long from their wives; which after this, I find not that they did.

CHAP. XXVIII. of the Seythian expedition; not only because with death. Wherefore his Consistutions it is the most memorable act performed a- were soon abrogated, and power given to broad by that Nation, famous in Histories, & Solon by the Athenians, to make new in their retrible to many Countries; but for that it stead. But the Laws of Zaleucus were very appears to have been a great cause of the mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and abroad with more than one Bond-woman about Judea, which continues yet a while attending on her,unless it were when she was the center of our discourse.

ters of Juda, to avoyd all further occa- ample of justice, that when his own fon had fign of doing the like, I will here infert a committed adultery, and was therefore to note of fuch Kings, and men of mark, as were lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be between the death of Manasses, and the ruin pardoned, but gave one eye of his own to of Jerusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, fave the young man (who also lost one) from Medes and Lydians, I have spoken as much as utter blindness. I thought needful. In Rome, Tullus Hoftilius held the Kingdom until the one and twen- der, as hitherto I often have done, in purtieth year of Josias; at which time Ances suing of actions collateral to the History, Martin succeeding, reigned four and twenty for inserting them in their order of time. years, After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new- The Chaldeans will soon fall under the Percome stranger, but very rich, prevailed so stans; ere long, encounter with the Greek; far by his graciousness among the people, the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans, that he got the Kingdom to himfelf, dilap- with many Nations. Concerning all these, as pointing the fons of Ancus, over whom he they shall successively present themselves, in was Tutor. He began in the fourth year of their flourishing Estate, it will be enough Zedekia, and reigned eight and thirty years. to recapitulate the most memorable acci-In this time it was , namely, in the second dents, that befell them in their Minority. year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the La- But in the long space of more than thirteen cedamonians bethinking them how to be a- hundred years, which passed between venged of the Arcadians, who gave fuccour the calling of Abraham, and the destruction to the Messenians against them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City in the History of Ifrael had any dealing with her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that necessity. the wildom of the Greeks was not excellent in those days, when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Coun-

In these times also were Zalencus and Dra-Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens, The Laws of Draco were fo rigorous, whence we have fo far digressed. In co,famous lawgivers, the one among the

Thus much I thought good to fet down blood: for he rewarded every small offence drunk; or to go forth of the Town by night, unless it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dress her self up in immodest bravery, unless it were to inveigle a lover. By which of Princes living in divers Countries in these Pleasant ordinances he effected his desires for none would feem, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensa-Aving thus far digressed from the mat- tion. It is noted in this man as a singular ex-

I shall not therefore need so far to wanof Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their other Nations, than the very nearest bor-Garrisons were soon after beaten out. Cypse- derers. Yet read we of many Kingdoms, lus expelling the race of the Bacida, made that in thele many ages were erected and himself Lord of Corimb about these times, thrown down; as likewise many memoraand governed it in peace thirty years; lea- ble acts were performed in Greece and elseving for fuccessour his son Periander, one of where, though not following one another at the feven Sages, but a cruel Tyrant: who a- any near distance; all which must have been mong other vile acts, flew his own wife, and quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very afterwards, as in her honour, ftripped all unleasonable rehearfal, had they not been the Corintbian women stark naked, burning disposed in this method, whereof he that will their apparel, as an acceptable offering to not allow the conveniency, may pardon the

> The oppression of Judæa, and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldwans.

that he was faid to have written them with the third year of Jehojakim, Nabnchodonofer

the sccond, his Father yet living, entred Ju-dea with a great Army, who besseging and when the Boy was but eight years old. As for forcing Jernalem, made Jekojakim his vassal this rumour of Jehoahaz his return, the Proin delpight of Necho, that nad established phet Jeremy foretold, that it should prove Daniel, being as yet a child, with Ananias, he shall die in the place whither they had led Affact, and Azarias. Allohe took a part of him captive, and shall see this Land no more. the Church treasures; but stayed not to The Egyptians indeed, having spent all their fearch them throughly; for Necho hasted to Mercenary forces, and received that heavy the fuccour of Jehojakim, hoping to find Na- blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such buchodonofor in Judæa: wherein this great proportion of sharp steel, as of fair gold, Babylonian had no disposition to hazard which without other help, is of little effect. himself and his Army, it being a Country of The valour of Necho was not in Planmis Aan evil affection towards him, as also far off pres, who reigning after Psammis, did once from any succour or sure place of retrait. If adventure to shew his face in Syria; but after he had, as may be supposed, any great a big look, he was glad to retire, without strength of Scythian horse-men in his Army, it adventuring the hazard of a battel. Wherewas the more wifely done of him, to fall fore this decaying Nation fought only with back, out of the rough, mountainous, and o-brave words, telling fuch frivolous tales, as ver-hot Country, into places that were more men that mean to do nothing, use, of their even and temperate. But besides all these glorious acts fore passed, against Jose and reasons, the death of his father happening at Jehoahaz. In this case it was easie for Jehothe same time, gave him i at occasion to re- jakim to give them satisfaction, by letting turn home, and take possession of his own them understand the sincerity of his affecti-Kingdom, before he proceeded further in on towards them, which appeared in time the second care, of adding more unto it. following. But Nabuchodonosor went to work This he did at reasonable good essine: for more roundly. He sent a peremptory mestage to Egyptian was not ready to follow him so far, and to bid him battel, until the new upon any nice points, but acknowledge himyear came in; which was the fourth of Je- felf a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding tory bounding it on the North-side ) attend- would have him. So he continued in the oed the arrival of Necho. There, after a re- bedience of Nabuchodonosor three years. At folved contention for victory, Necho was this time Jeremy the Prophet cried out aflain, and his Army remaining forced to fave gainst the Jews, putting them in mind that it self; which full illit did, by a violent retrait. This victory Nabuchodonosor so well ted them to repentance, but because they

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him King, and took with him for pledges idle, faying : He shall not return thither, but I'm hojakim, the first of Nabuchodonosor, and the hereunto such fearful threats, as made the Jun. last of Necho. In this year the Babylonian ly- poor Judean lay aside all thoughts of Pha- "thin ing upon the Bank Euphrates ( his own terri- raob, and yield to do, as the more mighty 1) pursucd, as he recovered all syria, and what- had stopt their ears against him, and the rest foever the Egyptians held out of their pro- of the Prophets, he now pronounced their per Tentrory towards the North. The E- captivity at hand, and that they should engyptians being in this conflict beaten, and dure the yoke of bondage full seventy years. altogether for the present discouraged, Je- The same calamity he threatned to all the bojakim held himself quiet, as being friend neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moain heart unto the Egyptians, yet having bites, Ammonites, Idumeans, and the rest; made his peace with the Chaldean the year foretelling that they should all drink out of before; who contented with fuch profit as the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, he could then readily make, had forborn to whom they had forfaken; and after the felay any Tribute upon Juda. But this cool refervedness of Jebojakim, was, on both themselves should taste of the same Cup, and fides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King be utterly subverted by the Medes, and the Junus Pfammis, who succeeded unto Necho, began to think upon restoring Jehoahan, taken prifoner by his Father, and fetting him up as ment of the Prophet Jeremy feems to have a Domestical Enemy, against his ungrateful been in the fourth year of this Jehojakim, at brother. Against all such accidents, the Ju- which time Baruch the Scribe wrought all dean had prepared the usual remedy pra- his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he ctifed by his forefathers: for he had made fent to read them unto the People, and afterhis own fon Jechonia King with him long wards to the Princes, who offered them to

the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had first set Jeremy at liberty, and advised of an Illand, that was divided from the him and Baruch to hide themselves.

of the History of the World.

perceived the ill newes therein delivered, no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of made no more adoe, but did cut the Book goodly Ships, and skill to use them, excelled in peices and cast it into the fire. All which all other Nations; and every wind, from one Gremy caused to be new written with this part or other, brought needfull provisions addition; that the dead body of Jehojakim into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor should be cast out, exposed in the day to famine could greatly hurt the place; wherethe heat, and in the night to the frost, and there should be none of his seed to fit on the nounced against it by Esay, Jeremy, Ezechiel) Throne of David.

rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to determined to performe it. This high-mindthe Babylonian, yet well thought of by the ed King, impatient of refistance, undertook Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre opposed a vast peice of work, even to fill up the Sea it self against the Chaldean forces, and upon that parted the Island from the Continent. just confidence of her own strength, despi- The City of old Tyrus, that stood opposite fed all preparation that could be made a- to the new, upon the firm Land, and the gainst her. Now forasmuch as the terme of mountain of Lybanus neer adjoining that

Jeremy affirmeth in expresse words; and as a great Monarch, finding none that durft domes, that should rule the Earth, before give over till he was master of the Town. the comming of Christ. I will not stand to

the feventh of his Reign.

The City of Tyre covered all the ground main, by a deep and broad channell of the Gebojakim, after he heard a part of it, and Sea. The Chaldwans had no Fleet, and were of nevertheleffe the judgments of God(dehad threatned the destruction; & the obsti- Esay 22. Time thus running on, while Jehojakim nate resolution of Nabuchodonofor had fully and the focus of Tibusan or Tribusan seventy years was prescribed unto the de- was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of folation, as well of Tyre, as of Ferusalem, and other trees, might furnish him with materiother towns and countries; it is apparent, als. Thirteen years were spent in this labothat they which referre the expugnation of rious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which this City unto the nineteenth year of Nabu- needeth not feem strange: for Alexander chodonosor, have sure authority for their war- working upon that foundation which was rant. Whereupon likewise it followes of remaining of Nabuchodonosor's Peere, and benecessity, that the siege thereof began in the ing withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was seventh of his Reign, as having lasted thir- yet seven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of Here I will take leave to intrude a brief the Sea was able to carry away that wherenote, concerning the feveral beginnings that with Alexander laboured to cover a shelve; are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, with much more violence could it overturn, whereupon hath rifen much disputation. and as it were consume, the work of Nabu-The third year of Jehojakim, was the last of chodonofor, who laid his foundations in the Nabulassar, who being delivered from other bottom of the deep; striving as it were, to cares, took notice of such as had revolted fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, from him unto Pharao Necho, and fent this whereas the Macedonian did only stop the Noble Prince his fon, with an Army into throat of it. Every man knows, God could Spria, to reclaim them. In this expedition have furthered the accomplishment of his was Daniel carried away, who therefore own threats, against this place (though it had makes mention of the same year. The year not pleased him to use, either Miracle, or Ball next following, being the fourth of Jehoja- fuch of his more immediate weapons, as are kim, was the first of Nebuchadnezzar; which Earthquakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calm, and adding the favorafrom this we reckon all his time and actions ble concurrance of all second helps. But so that follow. In his three and twentieth year it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the he conquered Egipt; & then began ro reign pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem, against offend him. The second from this year it all resistance of nature and sortune. So in was, wherein he faw that vision, of the I- this excessive labour of the Chaldmans, Every mage confifting of fundry Metals, which did bead was made bald, and every shoulder was Ecek 19. prefigurate the succession of great King- made bare. Yet Nabuchodonosor would not

When he was entred upon this desperate dispute about this, which is the best conclulerive; whether it were so, that some losses fion that I find, of long disputations: but re- received, some mutiny in his Army, or (which Joseph turn unto the fiege of Tyre, which began in the feventh of his Reign.

courage to his evill willers; Jehojakim re- ideans that were carried away captive, the nounced his subjection, and began to hope other those that stayed and were destroyed for the contrary of that which quickly fell In the fourth of Zedechias, Jeremy wrote out. For Nabuckodonofor gave him no leifure in a book all the evill that should fall upon to doemuch hurt:but with part of his Army Babylon, which book or ferole he gave to marched directly into Judea, where the a- Sheraiah, when he went with the King Zedemazed King made fo little refiftance (the E- chias to Babylon, to vifit Nabuchodonofor, wilgptians having left him, as it were, in a ling him first to read it to the Captive Jenes; dream) that he entred Jerusalem, and layed and then to bind it to a stone, and cast it into hands on Jehojakim, whom he first bound Euphrates, pronouncing these words: Thus and determined to fend to Babylon, but Shall Bable be drowned, and shall not rife from changing counsell, he cauted him to be flain the evill that I will bring upon her. This in the place, and gave him the sepulchre of journey of Zedechias to Babel is probably an Affe, to be devoured by beafts and rave- thought to have been in a way of visitation, nous birds, according to the former Prophe- carrying some presents. But I further think. cies: leaving in his place Jehojakim or Jecho- that he had some sute there to make, which nias his fons whom after three moneths and his Lordly Mafter refused to grant, and fent ten dayes Nabuchedonofor removed and fent him away discontented. For at his return prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Mardochaus all the bordering Princes sent Messengers and Holedech, the high Priest. The mother of to him, inciting him (as it feems) to those un-Jechonias, together with his fervants Eunu- quiet courses, from which Jeremy dehorted ches, and all the ablest men, and best Artisi- both him and them. The prophet, by Gods cers of the land, were also then carried away appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of Captives. This Jechonias, following the which he were about his own neck, others counsell of Jeremy the Prophet, made no re-fistance; but submitted himself to the Kings, Ammon, Tyre and Zidon, by those Messens will: wherein he both pleased God, and which came to visit Zedechias: making them did that which was best for himself; know, that if they and the Kings of Juda though at the present it might seem other- abode in the obedience of Babylon, they wife, to fuch as confidered the evill that be- should then possesse and enjoy their own fell him, rather than the greater evill that he countries; if not, they should assuredly perthereby avoided. This onely particular act ish by the fword, by fire and pestilence. of his is recorded, which was good. But it feems that he was partaker at least of his Fa- which as yet remained in Jerusalem, should thers faults, if not an inftigator, which was also travell after the rest, and at length they the cause, that his submitting himself to Gods should be restored again. pleasure did not preserve his Estate: for so we read in generall words, that he did evill phet, took off the woodden Chain which in the fight of the Lord according to all that his Teremy wore in fign of the Captivity of the Father had done. In his stead Nabuchodono- Jews, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like for established Mathania his Uncle in the manner, after two years God would break Kingdom of Inda, and called him Zedechias, the strength of Babel, and the yoke which which is as much to say, as the justice of God. he laid on all Nations; restore Jechonias and For like as Neco King of Egypt had formerly all the Jener, with the Vessels and riches displaced Ieboahaz, after his Father Jostas was of the Temple, and give an end to all these slain, and set up Jehojakim, the son of another troubles. But Jeremy, instead of his woodden mother, so Nabuchodonosor slew Jehojakim, yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in sign who depended on the Egyptians, and carry- that Ananias had given a deceitfull and falle ing his fon Jechonias Prisoner to Babel, gave hope to the people, he foretold the death of the Kingdom to this Zedechias, that was this cold Prophet, which seized upon him whole Brother to that Jehoahaz, whom Neco in the second Moneth. After this, when Zetook with him into Egypt. From Zedechias dechias had wavered long enough between he required an oath for his faithfull obedi- Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his ence, which Zedechias gave him, and called reign, he practifed more feriously against the living God to witnesse in the same, that Nabuchodonosor, with his Neighbours the Ehe would remain affured to the Kings of domites, Animonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and

CHAP. XXVIII

He also foretold them, that those Vessels

The same year Ananias, the false Proothers that were promifed great aydes of In the first year of Zedechias, Jeremy saw the Egyptians: in confidence of whose resiand expounded the Vision of the ripe and stance, he determined to shake off the Babyrotten Grapes , the one fignifying those Ju- lonian yoke. Hereof when Nabuchodonofor

in the dead of Winter, toward Jerusalem, cam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They furand belieged it. Feremy perswaded Zedechi- rounded the City with woodden Towers, so as to render the City and himself: but being the besieged could neither fally out, nor to Babel, die his naturall death.

Egypt, as if they had already done enough, Wives, Children, Princes, and principal serleaving the poor people of Jerusalem to vants, out of the City, by a way under their destined miseries.

In the mean while the Jewes, who in their people to the merciless fwords of their enefirst extremity had manumised their Hebrew mies. Thus he, who, when Jeremy the Prophet Bond-men (as Gods law required at the perswaded him to render himself, despised liniting, year of Jubile ) and made them free, there- both the counsel of God, and the force of by the better to encourage them to fight; Nabuchodonosor, used now that remedy, did now upon the breaking up of the Chal- which Wolphius truly termeth, Trifte, turpe, & dan Army, repent them of their Charity: infeliz: Woful fhameful, and unfortunate.

For they built Forts against it round about, or with his Children and Princes, he was con-

had knowledge, he marched with his Army ( as P. Martyr hath it ) extruxerunt contra confident of the help from Egypt, and being perfwaded by his Counfellors and falle Property that it was impossible that the king-phets, that it was impossible that the king-phets in the country of the Walls with high Towers raised 6.11. dome of Juda should be extirpate, untill the upon Mounts; from which they did so beat dome of Julia mound be extripate, until the upon Mounts; from which they did to beat comming of \$ilo (according to the Prophetupon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forfake their factors of Julia my, and imprisoned him. For Jeremy had Stations. Now although it were forthat the told the King that the City should be taken besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like and burnt; that the King should not escape, unto these, yet the great King of Babel, who but be taken prisoner, and brought to the commanded all the Regions there-abouts, presence of Nabuchodonosor, that he should and had the Woods and Rivers to obey not perish by the sword, but being carried him, found means to overthrow all the Citi-(zens endeavours; and to beat down as fast Jerusulem being the following year sur- from without, as they raised from within; rounded by Nabuchodonofors Armie; the the body and foundation of his own works King of Egypt, Pharao Hophra, according to being guarded by the Walls of Jerufalem mit King of Egypt, Pharao Hophra, according to being guilt and theirs within, laid open to mit by ferency, (Herodotus calleth him Apries) interposed; and theirs within, laid open to entred the border of Juda with his Army to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Fasuccour Zedechias, of whose revolt he had mine and Pestilence (which commonly acbeen the principall Author. But Jeremy gave company men straightly besieged ) grew on the Jewes faithfull counsell, willing them fast upon them, whereby, when the number, not to have any trust in the succours of E-strength, and courage of the Jews failed, the sprifor he assured them that they should re-schalaeans made a breach, and forcing an gpp: ior ne anured them that they module them turn again, and in no fort relieve them turn again, and in no fort relieve them turn again, and in no fort relieve them them them to the them the them to the them t

and thinking all had been at an end, held By this secret subterrane vault, Zedechias them perforce to their former flavery. But making his stealth, recovered (by the help of the Chaldees being returned to the siege, the the dark night) the Plains or Defarts of Je-Prophet Jeremy, when the state of Jerusalem richo: but by reason of the train that folbegan now to grow to extremity, counfel-lowed him and his (every one leading with led Zedechias to render himself unto them; him those whom they held most dear unto assuring him of his own life, and the safety them) he was easily traced and pursued. How of the City, if he would so do. But his ob- great soever the company was that attenstinate heart conducted him to that wretch- ded on him, yet, as Josephus reports it, they, ed end, which his neglect of God, and his on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, infidelity and perjurie, had provided for no fooner beheld the Chaldeans approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shif-Three and twenty Moneths ( as some do ted themselves into the Desarts, as they reckon it) or, according to Josephus, eighteen, could. For vvhom God had for faken, no man the Babylonian Army laid before Jerusalem, followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; and held it exceeding straightly besieged, by vvhom Zedechias being made Prisoner,

ground; leaving his amazed and guideless

think) of Nephtalim, where Nahuchodonofor justice, was therefore reliftlets. The Prophet then lav, as a place indifferent between Je- Jeremy being left to his own choice, either to rusalem and Ire, with both which at once live in Chaldwa, or elsewhere, he made ele-

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fore Zedechias the many graces and benefits but gave comfort to all the other Jewes that conferred upon him, together with the no- were left under his charge, promifing them table falfhood and perjury, wherewith he favour and liberty, so long as they remained had requited them; he commanded his obedient subjects to Nabuchodonosor, by Children, Princes and Friends to be flain be- whom he was established Provincial Goverfore his face. This being done, to the end | nour of his own Nation. that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last that ever he should behold in the world, he caused his eyes to be torn out of his head, and so carried him in a flavish manner to him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.

Thus in the eleventh and last year of Ze-

day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the Jews; but Godoliah was incredulous. ground, when it had stood four hundred thirty and one years.

After this upon a fecond fearch, Nabuzara-2 Kis. uls. dan (not yet fatiated with blood) comman- could to the Ammonites) the refidue of the ded seventy and two others to be slaughted red, which had hidden themselves from the red, which had hidden themselves from the resolved to sly away into Egypi, and belought first fury, to wit, the chief, and the second Jeremy to ask counsel of God for them: who Priest, two Commanders of Zedechias his men readily made them answer, that if they reof War, five of his House-hold servants, and mained in Judea, God would provide for others to that number; carrying away to them, and shew them mercy; but if they Submit himself altogether to the Babylonian; the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

veved to Robla or Roblath, a City (as fonce) who being ordained by God to exercise his ction of Godoliah, to whom he was recom-Now after Nabuchodonosor had laid be- mended; who not only embraced Jeremy.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of Jerusalem, had kept himself out of the ftorm, with Baalis King of the Ammonites ) Babel, where he confumed the rest of his being followed by ten other chosen men. wretched life in perpetual imprisonment, while Godoliah feasted them in Maspha or Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of Mitsa, the C ity of hisresidence, traiteroully Exechiel was performed; Adducam eum in flew him, together with divers Chaldeans and Babyloniam & ipfam non videbit: I will bring Jews that accompanied him. This done he made an escape, and in his way encountering with eighty persons, repairing towards Gododechias, which was the eighteenth of Nabu- liah with presents, he slew the most of them, chodono for, the Chaldeans entred the City by and spared the rest, because they promised force, where sparing no sex nor age, they to discover unto him some Treasures hidden committed all to the fword that they there- in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of Zedechias, committed In the next year following, Nabuzaradan to the care of Godoliah by Nabuchodonosor. General of the Army, burnt the Kings Pa- This practice and intent of Ismael had been lace, and the rest of ferusalem: and after this formerly discovered unto Godoliah by Johafire had lasted from the seventh to the teuth nan, one of the Leaders of the few remaining

Judea being now left without a Governour (for Ismael durst not take it upon him, but retired himself, or rather fled as fast as he Babylon the ablest of the people throughout sought to fave themselves in Egypt, that they all Judga; and leaving the poorest labour-should then undoubtedly perish. Notwithing fouls, with some that followed the party standing this advice, the Jews held their deof Nabuchodonosor, to till the ground : over termination ; and despising the Oracle of whom he left Governour, Godoliah the Ne- God, and conftraining Jeremy and Barnch to phew of that Saphan, whom Josias had for- accompany them, they travelled into Egypt, merly employed in the reformation of Re- and inhabited by the permission of Pharao, ligion, who is, for his justice and equity, by neer unto Taphnes: where when Jeremy often Josephus highly commended. This man, a Jew reprehended them for their Idolatry, foreby Nation, left Zedechias, as it seemeth, in the telling both the destruction of themselves, beginning of the War: and by Jeremies de- and the Egyptians, also, he was by these his fire to live with him, it appeareth that he own hard-hearted and ungrateful Countryhad embraced the same advice which the men, stoned to death; and by the Egyptians, Prophet gave unto Zedechias; which was, to who greatly reverenced him, buried neer



THE

## FIRST PART THE

# STORY

OF THE

# R L

Intreating of the Times from the Destruction of ferusalem, to the Time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of the Time passing between the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the fall of the Affyrian Empire.

Of the Connexion of Sacred and Prophane History.



Olympiads, and in the Eastern Countries by of fabulous discourse derived unto us. I hold the accompt from Nabonassar, left surer it now convenient, briefly to shew, by what marks, and more appliable to actions con- means and circumstances the History of the current, than were the War of Troy, or any Hebrews, which of all other is the most another token of former date; begins at cient, may be conjoyned with the followlength in the ruine of Jerusalem, to disco- ing times, wherein that Image of fundry ver the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, metals discovered by God unto Nebuchadwith the story of succeeding Ages. Mani-nezzar, did reign over the earth, when Iffest it is, that the original and progress of rael was either none, or an unregarded Nathings could ill be fought in those that were tion.

HE course of time, which lignorant of the first Creation: as likewise in prophane Histories that the affairs of Kingdoms and Empires afmight rather be discern- terwards grown up, are not to be found ed through the greatest among those that have now no state nor popart of its way hitherto licy remaining of their own, Having therepassed, in some out-worn fore pursued the history of the World unto foot-steps, than in any that age, from whence the memory of sucbeaten path, having once in Greece by the ceeding accidents is with little interruption

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Finis Libri secundi.

Herein

upon those authorities which give, as it were unto the latest years of the World through by hear-fay, a certain year of some old Affy- any story, with least interruption; it is very rian King unto some action or event, where- expedient that we take some pains to inform of the time is found expressed in Scripture: our selves truly of the Seventy years during for together with the end of Ninus his line which it continued, even from Nebuchadin Sardanapalus, if not before, all fuch com- nezzar unto Cyrus. putations were blotted out; the fuccession of Belockus and his Islue that occupied the Kingdom afterwards, depending upon the uncertain relations of fuch as were neither A brief rehearfal of two Opinions touching the constant in assigning the years of his begining, nor of credit enough for others to relve upon. Let it therefore suffice that the confent and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worn Moparchs, doth preferve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howfoever it be true that we find the names of all, or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we only learn in what Age under Zedekias. This they prove out of dieach of them lived, but not in what year vers places in Ezckiel, especially out of the his reign began or ended, were it not that the reign of Nebuchadnezzar is more precifely applyed to the times of Jehojakim and Zedekias. Hence have we the first light whereby to discover the means of conne- five and twentieth year of our being in Capticting the facred and prophane Histories. For vity, in the beginning of the year, in the tenth "... under Nebuchadnezzar was the beginning of the Captivity of Judab, which ended when that the City was smitten. In which words feventy years were expired; and these se- he beginneth the Captivity in plain terms, venty years took end at the first of corus, eleven years before the City was destroyed. whole time being well known, affords us Beroaldus is of opinion, that it began in the means of looking back into the Ages past, first of Nabuchodonosor, and the fourth of and forwards into the race of men fucceed- | Joakim; which he endeavours to prove out ing. The first year of cyrus his reign in of the second of Chronicles, but more espe-Persia, by general consent, is joyned with cially out of Saint Matthew, and Daniel, the first year of the 55 Olympiad; where, that | whose words afford matter of disputation, he reigned three and twenty years before but ferve not to make good fo much as Behis Monarchy, and feven years afterwards, roaldus would enforce. That place of Saint it is apparent, and almost out of controver- Matthew, and the whole Book of Daniel Olympiad by Iphilus; we may casily arrive standing how the Sons of King Joses were unto those antiquities of Greece, which were called by divers names, as Epiphanius hath ved faith and industry.

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reckoned unto Alexander, and from him to the battell of Actium, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to fet down. But bred by Daniel, were written long after his feeing that the beginning and end of the Ba- death, and at, or near the time of Antiochus

Herein I do not hold it needfull to infift are chiefly directed, in passing from the first

#### ø. II.

beginning of the Captivity: with an answer to the cavils of Porphyrie, inveighing against St. Matthew and Daniel, upon whom the latter of thefe Opinions is found-

Any Commentators, and other Hiftorians and Chronologers find, that the Captivity then began, when Fechonia was carried prisoner into Babylon; eleven years before the final destruction of Ferusalem fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan, in these words ; In the Est. day of the month, in the fourteenth year after fie. Giving therefore four hundred and have ministred occasion of scoffing and eight years unto the distance between the railing at the Christian Religion to that fall of Troy, and the inflauration of the wretched man Porphyrie, who not undernot meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling shewed at large; thought that the Apostle the whilft in fundry parts of the World, had spoken he knew not what, in reckoning St. Augustine and others may be trusted in the Sons, or, according to some Translations, fetting down their times, which they had the Son, and Nephews of that good King, by Tradition from Authors of well-appro- begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon Daniel also the same Porphyrie doth From Cyrus forwards, how the times are spend the twelfth of his malicious Books hylonian Captivity, are marks whereby we Epiphanes. This fond supposition of his,

ciently answered. For, the Seventy Interpreters, who converted the Old Testament about an hundred years before Epiphanes, ment to confound Porphyrie, than that of in the fifth of John, Christ distributeth the gentt lived divers years before Antiochus Epipha- twelfth, verse the second. Saint Paul desant res. For Jaddus the High Priest shewed scribeth Antichrift, out of Daniel; and the wards Jerusalem to have destroyed it, this Daniels visions. Book of Daniel, wherein he beheld his own glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stayed his hand from the harm of that City and people; but his affurance and resolution was to confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all suture peril and resistance, he conquered Darius, and the Eastern Empire, in a shorter time than Nabuchodonofor had

done one City, to wit, Tyre in Phanicia.

It is true indeed, that the Jews themselves give less authority to Daniel, than to Moses and the Prophets; accompting his Book among those which they call Cetaphim, or Hagiographa, or holy Writings, which they lay Eldras, and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their return from Babylon. much as is found in the Hebrew) is Canonimel himself, and not by Esdras and the Seniors; we may affure our felves by testimo- tained, that it wants not much of being ny of Councils and Fathers. For in the common. Council of Laodicea, held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of Fovinian the Emperour, and after the Nicene Council three and forty years, this Book of Da-Daniel, Pfalms, Proverbs, Fob, Canticles, form my good promise towards you, and cause Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Hester, Efra, you to return to this place. Nehemiah; and the Chronicles. And that it But it stands indeed with little reason was Daniel, and not Esdras, that wrote this that we should seek the interpretation of a Book, Gods commandment unto him by his Prophecy out of circumstances, when the

Eulebius, Apollonius, and others, have fuffi- | Angel, to feal up the same to the time appointed, is an unanswerable testimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all strength of other proof, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no did also turn this Book of Daniel out of Apocryphal Scripture, in Matthew and Ma. 14 the brew into Greek, as a part of Scripture Mark alledgeth Daniel the Prophet, to wit, Mark 13. received. And, were there no other argu- the last verse of his ninth Chapter. Further, 14. Alexander Macedon, it were sufficient, who risen from the dead, as in Daniel the Dan 12. that great Conquerour, when he came to- Revelation is wholly an interpretation of

#### 6. III.

That the seventy years of Captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; not from the migration of Jechoniah.

Aving thus far digressed in maintaining that authority which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we return unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these seventy years. Neither will I stand to trouble my felf and others with laying open the grounds or weakness of that which Eufebius, and some few nameless Authors, have fometimes held in this point, But hift, that the Book of Daniel (I mean fo which is lately revived by Beroaldus ; but will forthwith enter into confideration of cal; fecondly, that it was written by Da- that opinion, which many, both ancient and late Writers, have so earnestly main-

Four Kings of Juda, were carryed away captives to Babylon: First, Manasses ; then Tehojakim, and with him among others, Daniel the Prophet : Thirdly, Jechonias, and niel was received, verified and confirmed with him Ezekiel: Lastly, Zedechias, at among the other Canonical Scriptures, as in which time the City and Temple were dethe Epitomy of the same Council it may be stroyed. To the first of these Captivities, feen; and so doth Meliton the most ancient the beginning of the seventy years is refer-Bishop of Sardis number it, witness Eusebi- red by none that I have read; to the seus in his Ecclefiastical History, the fourth cond, by few, and with weak proof; to the Book, and five and twentieth Chapter: so third, by very many, and with much confidoth the same Author in the Catalogue of dence. For besides those places of Ezekiel Canonical Books upon Origen: so doth Hi- already cited, there is a strong argument larius in his Preface upon the Pfalms, and gathered out of Feremy, which may feem to Epiphanius in his Book of Weights and make the matter plain. For the Prophet, Measures, &c. To these I may add St. Hie- in comforting the people that were carried rom, Gregory Nazianzene, and others. For, away with Jechonias, useth these words: the Hagiographa-Books, or holy Writings, Thus faith the Lord, After seventy years be ac- 161,19.10. the Fews and Rabbines reckon to be these, complished at Babel, I will visit you, and per-

CHAP. I.

Prophecy is fuch as doth sufficiently ex- been more exactly set down, than it was in pound it felf. Jeremy hath already, in the the place now last of all cited. If it be refourth year of Jehojakim, denounced the quifite that we bring more proof in so evijudgement of God against the Land, for the dent a case, the ninth Chapter of Daniel fins and impenitency of that oblimate peo-fins and impenitency of that oblimate peo-let, in these words: Behold, I will fend, and lition of Jeremiah his Prophecy, that Jerutake to me all the families of the North, faith falem was to lye waste seventy years. For the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of in the first year of Darius the Mede, which Babel, my fervant ; and will bring them was the last of the seventy, Daniel obtained against this Land, and against the Inhabitants of God the deliverance, that had been prothereof, and against all these Nations round mised, by prayer, which he made upon about ; and I will destroy them, and make them | consideration of the time that was expired : an aftonishment, and an hissing, and a conti- as he telleth in these words: In the first year Do. 5. nual desolation. Moreover, I will take from of his reign, I Daniel understood by Books them the voice of mirth, and the voice of glad- the number of the years whereof the Lord had ness; the voice of the Bridegroom, and the Spoken unto Jeremiah the Prophet, that he voice of the Bride; the noise of the mill-stones, would accomplish seventy years in the desoand the light of the candle; and this whole lation of Jerusalem. So that howsoever the Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, time of Daniel his own Captivity be reckonand these Nations swall serve the King of Babel ed from the taking of Jehojakim, and that feventy years. And when feventy years are the people carryed away with Jechonia, did expired, I will wift the King of Babel. Here accompt, as well they might, the years of we see prescribed unto the Captivity the their own Captivity.; yet with the general term of seventy years: which were to com- desolation of the Country, wherein were mence, neither when the Prophecy was ut- few or none of the Ifraelites left remaining tered; nor when Jehojakim, who then to inhabit, began in the nineteenth year of reigned, was taken by Nebuchadnezzar; nor Nabuchodonofor the great Captivity, which yet in the time of Jechonia: but with the by Gods appointment continued unto the utter desolation of the City, whereof Fere- end of seventy years. my did again give notice to those that were already in Babylon, at such time as he sent the authority of Fosephus and others affirmthem the comfort of deliverance before re- ing the same; for a fmuch as that which alhearfed. And so did the people under- ready hath been produced, is enough to sastand this Prophecy, in those times when tissie any man that hath not fully determinthey faw it accomplished; beginning the ed to hold the contrary. feventy years at the time of the defolation. as manifestly appears in the end of the Hiflory of Juda, where it is faid thus: They burnt the House of God, and brake down the sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned wall of Jerusalem, and burnt all the Palaces in Babylon during the seventy years. thereof with fire, and all the precious veffels thereof to destroy all: and they that were left by the fword, carried he away to Babel, and they were fervants to him, and to his sons, tivity, and how long each of them did wear until the Kingdom of the Persians had rule, to the Diademe, it is a matter of no great imfulfil the Word of the Lord by the mouth of leremiah, until the Land had her fill of her Sabin the first year of Cyrus King of Persia (when the Word of the Lord, spoken by the month of

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This I will not further feek to prove, by

#### ø. IV.

Hat Kings reigned in Babylon, during their favores. ring these seventy years of the Capportance to know 3 forasmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein baths: for all the dayes that she lay desolate, they lived, northe length of their reigns, The kept Sabbath, to fulfil seventy years. But any way helpful to the concordance of times, foregoing or fucceeding. The conquests, recounted by Xenophon, of Syria, Ara- Xemple (1) Jeremiah, was finished the Lord stirred up the bia (or rather some part of it) Hyrcania, firit of Cyrus. We seldom find one piece Bactria, and perhaps of some other Counof Scripture, so precisely and plainly ex- tries, may seem fruits of the victories obpounded by another as in this Prophecy, tained by Nebuchadnezzar the Great (or by to have afterwards been the subject of al- some of his Ancestors ) in the former part tercation. For one can hardly devise how of his life, before he betook himself to ease, either the Desolation could have been ex- and to the sumptuous building of his great pressed more sensibly, than it was by the Babel, for the house of his Kingdom, and Prophet, or the event of the Prophecy have for the honour of his Majesty, where it may

feem that he and his Heirs kept a great ner purpolely teaching the very fame. For frate, and did very little. The idle beha- God, by the mouth of the Prophet, shewviour of the Affrian Souldiers, in fuch skir- ing that he, being abiolute Lord of all, would mithes as afterwards they had with the dilpose of all according to his own will, and Medes, doth argue no less. For, whereas making it known that he had put some under Nebuchadnezzar, they were fo frout Countreys here named, into the hands of they attempted, and finished that hardy tions shall serve him, and his son, and his piece of work, of winning the strong City Sons Son, until the very time of his Land of Tyre, by joyning unto it the Continent, come also; then many Nations and great filling up the deep and broad channel of the Kings shall scrue themselves of him. These Sea, dividing it from the Main with a mole words, expressing the continuance of the or piece of Earth, and other matter; the Chaldean Empire, and number of the Kings, reparation whereof, when the Sea had will hardly be qualified with any diffinctiwashed it away, was the very greatest of on. But indeed I find no other necessity Alexanders works: in the times following, of qualification to be used herein, than such france, offered to charge them.

Now as their actions from the end of nod ... Nebuchadnezzars wars, till the ruin of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reign of their feveral Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vain been ta- been thus delivered in Scriptures, but only ken in that business. For when it is granted, set down by some Author of equal credit that the Captivity of Judah, ending with with the rest, might very well have found that Empire, lasted seventy years, we may as reasonably forbear to search into the particular continuance of two or three flothful of the ages of the Patriarchs, and their chilfum.

Yet forafmuch as many have travelled in this business, upon defire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the seventy years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of to take a little pains in collecting their opinot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselves, and in setting down the years of their several reigns. The first, and (as I take it) the furest, is theirs, who meerly follow borrowing any help from others. These none other, to be their warrant; but the dus, who held it by the election of the Prophecy of Jeremy precifely, and in a man- | Conspirators, and left it unto Cyrus after 17

and industrious, that (to omit other proofs) the King of Babel, faith thus: And all Nat Je 127 7. they became timorous, that they durst not as may grow out of mens defire, to reconcile approach nearer to the Enemy than their the Scriptures unto prophane Authors.

bows would carry, but were ready to turn And this defire were not unjust, if the contheir backs as foon as any, though inferiour fent of all Histories were on the one side, in numbers, adventuring within the di- and the letter of the Holy Text were fingle on the other side. But contrariwife, the Authors which are

cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, and the proofs of their different reports, are so slender and unsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not and deserved as good belief, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following Jos.l. 10. Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant Fosephus, derive that Empire, as by descent, from Father to Son, through five generadren living in the Egyptians servitude; rest- tions, beginning with Nabuchodonosor the ing satisfied in both, with the general assured Great, and giving to him 43 years; to Evilmerodach 18; to Niglifar the Son of Evilmerodach 40; to Labosardach the Son of Niglifar 9 months; and lastly, to Balthasar (whom Josephus intimates to be of the race of Nabuchodonofor, without naming his Father) 17 years. And this opinion (fave that the Affrians themselves; I will not refuse he forbears to reckon the years, and plainly calls Balthafar the Son of Labofardach) nions, and shewing what I think may best Saint Hierom doth follow, alleadging Berosus be held for likely, if the certain truth can- and Josephus as a Sectator of Berosus, for his Authors; though Berofus, as he is cited by Tosephus, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells us, that Evilmerodach the Son Jef. cont. of Nabuchodonosor did reign but two years. Ap. L. I. for his wickedness and lust, slain by his Sisters Husband Niziglissoror, who occupied the authority of the Scriptures, without the Kingdom after him four years, and left it to his own Son Labofardach; who being name only three Kings, Nebuchadnezzar, an ill-conditioned Boy, was at the end of Eulimerodach, and Balthafar; Neither have they only the filence of Daniel, who names him, and the Kingdom given to one NaboniCHAP I

years. This relation ill agrees with that of cially because it is very agreeable to the Josephur, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in the taking of Babylon, while Scriptures, in number either of years, or of the King was at his drunken feast. generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them cumstances that might give any light in this fome authority; fo that the names which obscurity, I found manifest proof, that the they have inferted, are taken as it were upon time allotted unto Balthafar by Annius his trust. There is a third opinion which makes Metasthenes, was far short of the truth : the three laft Kings Brethren, and Sons of Feilmerodach; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture : though I had rarepad. ib. last King of Babylon was immediate Succesfor to his Father. But whereas the Author of the Scholastical History, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took Jerusalem, and Evilmerodach, another long, that he was forgotten in the Court. it Nabuchodonofor: plain enough it is that he appears plainly, both by the many words hathout of any History facred or prophane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him, Eusebius, Sulpitius, Severus, and Theodoret, upon better ground Nabuchodonofor. This is built on the fifth Chapter of Daniel, wherein Balthafar (for of ry strange conceit; which rather than I Evilmerodach there is none that ever doubted ) is often called Nabuchodonosor his Son. And so common grew this explication, that of Annius his Impostures. St. Hierom called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of leremy before cited, proves and others, many new opinions are framed, that Balthafar was not the Son indeed, but the grand-child of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those Eastern languages, he was called the Son-

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Annius his Metasthenes hits very rightly the feventy years of Captivity, giving to Nabuchodonosor 45 years, to Evilmerodach 20 years, and to the three Sons of Evilmerodach, Nephews of Nabuchodonofor, fourteen years; that is, to Reg-Affar the eldest Son, three years; to Lab-Affar-Dach the fecond Son, fix years; and to Balthafar the third Son, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole fum of years, and in the number of generations, I have fometime subscribed; as not daring to reject this fort. They say, that the 18 years given an appearance of truth, upon no greater to him by Josephus in the tenth of his Antireason, than because the Author was of quities, should be read and numbred 28 Annius his edition. Yet could I not satisfie years; and the two years that Berosus hath my self herein; both for that none of the allowed to Evilmerodach, should be written Ancient, and few such of the Modern Writers as deserve to be regarded, have confented with this Metasthenes; and for that in ter there should have been added the figure making Baltbasar succeed unto his Brother of (3) to that of (2): this granted (to wit) in the Kingdom, and not unto his Father, he that Evilmerodach reigned 28 years, whereis wholly against Xenophon, whose History of five together with his Father, and 23 afof the elder Cyrus in his Affyrian war I can- ter his death, and the same number of 23 ad-

Seeking therefore diligently into all cirwhich is enough to render all suspected that he hath faid in distributing what part of the feventy years he pleafed among the reft. For Danking Nenoth, Co. ther believe Xenophon, who faith, that the in the third year of Balthafar, Daniel faw a 6 :: Vision, after which he was sick certain days; but when he rose up, he did the Kings business: from which business, that he did afterwards withdraw himfelf, and live retired fo which the old Queen used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his prefence, whether he were Daniel. Now to think that a man of Director have supposed, that Evilmerodach and Bal-such account and place as Daniel had held, th thas a were brethren and Sons of the great could in two years have been worn out of th and th that th are th and th that th is the supposed by the supposed th in the supposed th in the supposed th is the supposed th in the supposed th in the supposed th is the supposed th in the supposed th in the supposed th in the supposed th is the supposed th in the supposed thremembrance, were in my judgment a vewould entertain, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part

Out of these reports of Tosephus, Berofus, by conjectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the Captivity being 70 years, and these years extending unto the first of Cyrus, in which course of time Nebuchadnezzar, his Son and Grand-child, must have reigned; it hath feemed needfull to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reigns might fill up the whole continuance of the Captivity; with which the time allotted by Berofus and others, to Evilmerodach and Balthafar, joyned unto the years following the nineteen of Nebuchadnezzar, (wherein Jerusalem was laid desolate ) are nothing even.

Therefore Mercator and others following him, fashion the years of Evilmerodach in 23. In the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2) and in the latnot flightly value in many respects, and espe- ded to the 25 which Nabuchodonosor lived then 4 years of Niglisar, according to Bero- lent by God, whose commandment he had fus, nine months of Labassardach his Son, and obeyed in yielding himself to Nebuchadnez-17 years of Labonidus or Balthasar, make up zar. Indeed how long Jechonia did live, it the number of seventy years to the first of cannot be proved; but plain it is hereby, Grue. But whether by errour in figures, that all his remaining days he did eat bread or in words, the numbers be utterly mifta- before this King. Now that he lived not fo ken in all Copies extant; upon how weak a short a while after this as two years, it is foundation do they build, who having no more than likely; for he was but 55 years thing to help them, fave only the bare when he was fet at liberty, having been 27 names of two unknown Kings, found in Au- years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at thors manifestly corrupted, and such as, if the age of 18 years; after which time it they had been entirely extant, were not feems plain that he begat Salathiel, as well worthy to have the place of Jeremy called by the age of Zerobabel, who is faid to have into dispute, in regard of their authority?

ø. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.

Ther suppositions, little different in hibstance from this of Mercator, I purpolely forbear to rehearle, as falling under the same answer. That of Joseph Scaliger I may not forget, as deferving to be considered apart from the rest. He gives to Nebufrom the 19 of Nebuchadnezzar, in which Cyrus, he accounted only 59 years; beginfooner, from the transportation of Jechonia. of him to pass it over with filence. But hereof enough hath been faid already, lous.

zars reign, I shall hereafter upon better oc- man (for it highly commends his diligence casion deliver my opinion. The time which and judgement, that he was not so wedded he gives to Evilmerodach is very short, and to any Author, as affected with the love of more precifely agreeing with Berofus than truth) but to shew that he himself, having in with the Scriptures. For we find in Jeremy, some points dilliked those Writers, whom in that this Evilmerodach in the first of his general heapproveth, might with greater reign, shewing all favour to Jechonia, did, reason have wholly reformed them by the among other things, take order for him at Scriptures, wherein can be no errour. Two his table; and that he did continually eat things there are which chiefly did breed or bread before him all the days of his life. His confirm this opinion in Scaliger, that he 1031233, Portion was a continual portion given him whom Berofus calls Nabonidus, was the fame of the King of Babel, every day a certain, all whom Daniel had called Darius of the the days of his life until he died. The very Medes : First, the phrase of Scripture, found of these words ( which is more to be | which fignifies unto us, that Darius took the esteemed than the authority of Berofus, were Kingdom, not saying that he wann it by he perfectly extant ) imports a farr longer force of arms: Secondly, a fragment of Me-

after the destruction of Jerufalem, make 48. | der this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort been but a young man, and one of Darius his Pages, threefcore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonmene it

Of Belfazer, to whom Scaliger gives the next five years, naming him also Laborosoardoch, I thould wonder why he calls him Nebuchadnezzars daughter's fon, were it not that herein I find him very careful to help out Berofus by thifting in his Niriglifforoor, as husband to Nebuchadnezzars daughter, and Protector of his son four of these years; by which means there remains about one year to Belfazer alone, agreeing nearly with the chadnezzar 44 years, to Evilmerodach two, nine months affigned by Berosus to the son to Belfazer 5. and to Nabonidus 17. So that of Niglifar. But Jeremy hath told us, that it was to Nebuchadnezzar, and to his fon, and Fernsalem was destroyed, unto the time of to his sons son (not to his daughters son) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, ing (as many do) the Captivity 11 years if Scaliger could not help, it was well done

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others That which we are now to consider, is his (desirous to reconcile Berosus to the Scripdistribution of the time running between tures) have judged to be all one with Balthe 19 of Nebuchadnezzar, and the fall of thasar, is by Scaliger thought to be Darius of the Chaldaan Empire: wherein if he have the Medes. But herein Scaliger is no firm Beerred, then is all further inquisition frivo- rosan: for Berosus makes him of the same stock or race, a Babylonian. I speak not this Concerning the length of Nebuchadnez- to disgrace the travel of that most learned time than two years, wherein Jechonia, un- gafthenes found in Eusebius, wherein this Naword of the Original, or of the Greek tran- as Joseph scaliger, would overshoot himself. flation, which, expressing no force of arms, in letting down repugnancies. doth only fignific that Darius took or re- It now remaineth to examine the agreeceived the Kingdom; I fee no reason why we ment of this with the Scriptures, from which should thereupon inferr, that the next King there is no appeal. And herein it seems that entred by Election: feeing Daniel relateth Scaliger, well knowing his own fufficiency, not the means and circumfrances of Ealtha-farr death, but only the fwift accomplith-would frame Arguments against him. For ment of his own Prophecy. Neither could it if the Prophecy of Daniel were true, that indeed have properly been faid (if Daniel the Kingdom of Balthafar was divided, and had cared to use the most expressive terms) given to the Medes and Perstans; either we that Darius of the Medes, breaking into the must think that Darius of the Medes was City, did win the Kingdom; feeing this was not Nabonidus, or else we must bethink our performed by Cyrus in the absence of Darius, selves what Persian it might be that shared though by his forces, and to his use. Now the Kingdom with him. For it is not more concerning the fragment of Megasthenes, true certain, that Balthasar lost his life and Kingit is, that in Engebius his works Printed at dom, then that his Kingdom was divided East, in the year 1559. I find only thus much and given to the Medes and Persians. Neiof Megalthenes, cited out of Alpheens; That ther did the Medes and Perfians fall out and Naturchodonofor was more valiant then Her- fight for it, as, by supposing Nationidus to cules; that he subdued all Lybia, and the have been Darius, they should be thought rest of Asia, as far as to the Armenians; and to have done; but these two Nations did that, as the Chaldwans report, being return- compound the body of that Empire, and ed into his Kingdom, and rapt with a divine were accounted as Lords over all the subject fury, he cryed with a loud voice: O Baby- Provinces; insomuch that the Greek Histolonians, I foretell ye of a great calamity that rians did commonly call those wars which shall come upon you, which neither Bell, nor Darius, and after him Xerxes, made upon upon you: and that, this and the like when fembles that King, with whom Alexander I do hold it neither true nor probable.

less; and am as little moved with the auan As) by which he calleth Cyrus, makes me to suspect the fable, as cunningly forged out of Apollo his Oracle, wherein he termeth him noble on the Mothers fide than on the Faprincipal foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within in felf, I eafily al-

boniclus is called the Median. Touching the 160 judicious, industrious, and deeply learned

any of the gods thall avert : There will come Greece, The wars of the Medes. Yea, to a Persian, half an AB, that shall bring slavery clear this point, even Daniel himself re-Danking he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I fought, unto a Ramm with two horns, calbelieve little or nothing, faving that Nabu- ling him the King of the Medes and Persians. chodonofor knew before-hand, that his Em- | Wherefore the whole Nation of Chronolopire should be translated, as Daniel had fore- gers were not to have been condemned by told, from the golden head, to the filver Joseph scaliger, for maintaining upon such breast. But that he wan all Africa or Lybia, good grounds, that Darius of the Medes was partner with Cyrus, in his victories, and If Scaligers Copy of Eusebius were the not a Chaldean King by him subdued. Neimore perfect, out of which Megasthenes tells ther was Fosephus to be the less regarded, us, that Nabuchodonosor wan both Africk and tor affirming that Balthasar was destroyed Spain, I believe the fragment so much the by Darius of the Medes, and his Nephew Cyrus; though herein he varied from Berothority of it, where it calls a Median, the firs and others, whose authority elsewhere pride and confidence of the Affyrians; as he gladly citeth. For Fosephus had no reawhere it tells of Nebuchadnezzar his own va- fon to believe any mans faith or knowledge nishing away. Indeed that same title (of half of those times half so well as Daniels, whom I believe that he understood as far as was needful in this case. Lawful it was for him to alleadge all Authors that had any mention, a Mule, because his parentage was more though unperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the Jews, thers; as Mules are begotten by Affes upon to whose Histories thereby he procured re-Mures. And thus much in answer of the two putation in the Roman world, where they were strangers, and might seem fabulous. Even so do Eusebius and other Writers willingly embrace the testimonies of Heathen low it. But this proves nothing; for meer books making for the truth in some partifictions have not wanted these commenda- culars ; yet will they not therefore be tryed tions: neither can any man believe that one in general by the felf-same Ethnick PhilosoCHAP. I. thenbeen very great.

#### ø. VI.

What may be held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonofor his successors.

TT now remains that I freely acknowledge mine own weakness, who cannot find how the seventy years of Captivity are twenty years of the Seventy, that were alto be divided among them which reigned most wholly spent when his Son began to in Eabylon, though I find that the distribu- reign. tion made of them, in fuch wife as already is rehearfed, be ill agreeable to the holy mainder of the seventy years were divided Scriptures. Wherefore I may truly fay with between the Kings ruling in Babylon until Percius, that we ought liberally to pardon the first of Cyrus. A question more difficult (as those whose feet have failed them in the I said before) than greatly needful: the flippery waies of Chronology, wherein both whole fumm being certain, and the diffinlearning and diligence are subject to take a fail at one time or other, by ignorance, for getfulness, or heedles reckoning. Yet will I gerunners, or necessister oning, the wint justly suspect the beginning or end of the the judgement of Lyra and others (holding those only to have reigned over the Chaldation of fome part of them is only conjectural; ant, whose names are found in the Seri- seeing that none who gives any other terms ptures) appears more conformable to reason to their beginning or end, hath refused to and account of time, than any of the other follow both unlikely and desperate con-Sentences or Conjectures before rehearfed. jectures in dividing them. I will therefore Not that I will take upon me to defend Ly- be bold to do as others have done; knowing rahis Conjectures, when he supposeth by well before-hand, that whosoever shall dif-Nightar and Labofardach to be meant the cover my error, must do me the pleasure fame persons which are called in Scriptures (which Loudd rather wish in a case more Evilmerodach and Balthafar (for this can by material) of making me to understand the no good colour be maintained ) but only to truth. flew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, in whose eighteenth year Jerusalem was taken and fackt,

Most of Writers have given to him 43 shewing by what length of time the Scripures measure him, we shall shew the cer-

has chadnezzar, is joyned with the 11 of Zede- the general confent of all, or the most late writers, interpreting Berofur his Nabonidus, chiasas also that his eighth year, was the first

but leave them where they are of 11 years. This is generally agreed upon, against the truth; as Fosephus in this case so that it needs no further proofs: As for the against left Ferojus. And thus much I thought beginning of his successor Evilmerodach, it is meet 10 fay of Scaligers opinion in this was in the leven and thirtieth year of Jechopoint; holding nevertheless in due regard mia his Captivity; so that Nebuchadnezzanihis learning and judgement, which if in some after his eighth year (which was the first of things it had not failed, the miracle had Jechonia his bondage) reigned 35 whole years, and peradventure a good part of the fix and thirtieth, forasmuch as Jechonia was inlarged with fogreat a favour, not until the end of the year. Substracting therefore out of these four and forty, which Nebuchadnezzar's reign did well-near occupy, those eighteen years of his which passed away before the captivity of Juda, and ruin of the City, we have remaining fix and

It is now to be confidered, how the re-

Of the four and forty years remaining in account of Nebuchadnezzar's death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of Darius the Mede, and then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame but in his nineteenth laid utterly defolate. of presumption, in giving us seventeen years to Balthasar, we find left in our hands to beyears of reign, following therein Berofus. Itow upon Evilmerodach fix and twenty years. Of the year belonging unto Darius and some have made it up 45. To dispute the Mede, I have already spoken what I about the certainty were needles: for in thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this Captivity. That Balthafar did reign feventeen years, we have the authority of Josephus Manifest it is, that the 19 year of Nebu- before cited in express words: We have also 187 35, year of Jechonia his Captivity; the reign of who reigned fo long, and Ballhafar to have 23. Zettechia occupied all the mean space, being been one. But nothing moved me so much

to believe this Tradition, as first those evi-fill written, if some crooked hand, or other dent places in Daniel, shewing that in the mischance not unusual, had omitted the first third year of Balthajar he followed the stroke of the former letter, or added a dash Kings butinefs and yet was forgotten ere the to the latter, which might cause them to end of his reign, (a proof sufficient of no feem not two different figures, but the one few years, palling under this man, especial- a correction of the other, which how it Iv feeing it is no where found that Daniels could be supposed in & standing for 23. I employments took end either that year or do not well perceive. As for the Arithmethe next. ) Secondly, the confideration of tical figures now in ufe, they were long after Cirus his wars against the Affrians, which the time of Josephus brought in by the Arabeginning with the death of this mans Fa- bians, and therefore do not appertain unto ther, and being alwayes prosperous, could this business; unless we should guess that hardly have occupied any longer time; his works were corrupted in that unlearned though we make large allowance to his age, which following the Saracen-conquest, deeds in the lower Asia, which fell out in was little occupied in the studies of humathe mid-way: I have already shewed, that nity, but in a fort wholly given over to the there appears in the Scriptures likelihood doctrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to smough to make it credible, that the reign make Berofus our friend to let it be 3 If not. of Evilmerodach was not flort, and that men I will not purchase the favour of his authoof great judgement have found it most pro- rity, by for taking Jeremy and Daniel when bable, that he was a King three and twenty they feem to be his Opposites. years. More, I think, they would have allowed him, had not the defire of fatisfying Berofus caused them to rest content with this. And furely it were greatly to be wish- of the Victories which Nabuchodonosor obed, that Books of fuch antiquity, as those of Berofus, were extant without corruption ; a great light (no doubt) they would vield in many dark paffages of Antiquity. I will vet confess, that were his works never so excellent, and in all things elfe unquestionably lonian Kings, few have written, or little is true, I would not therefore condescend un- remaining in record. Which may peradto him in some one point, wherein the Scri- venture have been some cause that the time ptures were his open enemy: How much it felf was, and is yet, fought to be abridglets ought I obey a broken fragment of his, ed, as not having left sufficient matter to containing only feven or eight lines, and witness the length of it. But by such an arpart even of the title corrupted, as they be- gument we might as well deny to many lieve that follow him in the rest? The Scri- people even their Being. For every Nation it, we find not Expressed; yet would we time, than spent it. It is therefore no margladly know it of Berofus, or of any other |vel, if the posterity of Nabuchodonofor, findin the true Copy, and might be altered, as great and mighty City of Jerusalem, he en-

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tained between the destruction of Jerusalem. and conquest of Egypt.

Ith what actions this time of seventy years was entertained by the Babyptures have told us, that God gave the Em- (I know not whom I should except ) between Justice pire to Nebuchadnezzar, to his Son, and to the beginning and last end of it, hath in his Sons Son: How long each of them held fome flothful age rather dreamt away the rhat would teachus provided alwaies, that helping us in a particularity, he destroyed not thereby the general truth. More words are needles. It is enough to say with others, that Berosu, or Fospha who cited him, hath been wronged by the carelesses, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their sounds. of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Ancestors, which wearied away their daies Scribes to err in writing two for fix and in the restless travel of purchasing: Though twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps indeed the reign of Nabuchodonosor was io more easie. For, the omission of the second divided, that hisyouthful and stronger figure, was as likely the one way as the years having been exercised in victorious other; and the Character 5, fignifying 6, arms, no small part of his life was remaining hath a nearer refemblance of & that stands to be spent in establishing what was gotten, for 2, than hath 2 which isused for 3. So and gathering the fruit of his worthy lathat the numeral notes \$5, expressing 26, bours past. The nineteenth year of his were not fafe enough from being miltaken reign it was, when destroying utterly the

joyning Regions, which God had exposed invincible. noto his fword, and commanded to wear The destruction of these two great and his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Modbites, powerful Cities, having made the name of Ammonites, Tyrians, Sydonians, and Egypti- the Chaldwans dreadful in the cars of all the mis though some of these were already be- Nations thereabout, Nabuckodonosor used come his followers, and ferved under him, the advantage of that reputation which he when ferufalem was beaten down and burnt. had obtained by victories already gotten, But the Tyrians, whose City was founded on to the getting of more, and more profitable, an Illand, fafe enough from any danger of a with less pain. The Kingdom of Egypt was Land-army, and whose Fleet was so strong, the Mark at which he aimed; a Country so that they needed not to fear any enemy at abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it Sea, were neither daunted with the fall of might well have tempted any Prince, findtheir neighbour-Cities, nor with the obliting himself ftrong enough, to leck occasion nate resolution of this mighty Prince, im- of quarrel against it; and so far an enemy ploying all his power to their subversion.

that might be in the same quarrel against the Countries adjacent should be reduced the common enemy) it appears by the words unto such terms, that either they should 18:18:1. which Ezekiel condemneth as the common wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be voice of Tyrus; Aha, the gate of the people, is unable to work him any displeasure. And

mischief. 1935 Ffay, which appoint unto this desolation of followed the Chaldean Army, to feed upon Isrethe same term of seventy years, that was the carkasses that fell by the cruelty therethe same nineteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, in the same or a very like fortune. The partifield ) were put to the fword; but the like

riched himself with abundance of Ipoil, and head was made bald, and every shoulder was terrified all that would offer to relift him, made bare, yet had he no wages, nor his Army ; by that fearful example. From that time but was fain to rest contented with the Hoforward, he, until his three and twentieth nour of having destroyed that City, which year, laboured in the conquest of those ad- in all mens judgements had been held

to the Crown of Babylon, that, had it been That the City of Tyre was rather well poorer, yet either it must have been subdupicased, than any way discouraged with ed, or the conquest of Syria could ill have the fall of Jerusalem ( which had held the been established. Nevertheless it was needsame course that Tyrus did, and endured all ful, that before he entred into this business, broken, it is turned unto me; for feeing file is herein the Decree of God concurred, as in desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at length, all prosperous enterprises, with reason of even in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodono- State. For, the people of Moab, Ammon, for, that great work of his, whereof we have Edom, Damaseus, Kedar, Hazar, and other already spoken, began to appear above the adjoyning Regions, whom God for their fins waters, and threaten them with inevitable had condemned to fall under the Babylonian fwords, were such, as regarding only their But those Prophecies of Jeremy and of own gain, had some of them, like Ravens, prescribed unto the reign of the Chaldeans, of; others taking advantage of their neighdo plainly shew, that she followed Fernsalem, bours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to Nabuchodonofor: all of them thinking, that cularities, which doubtless were memorable when the Assrian had fatisfied his fury, he in the iffue of fo great and laborious a fiege, should be fain to forfake those desolate are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we parts, and leave the possession of those that find, That the Citizens perceiving the could lay hand upon it. Particularly the Town unable to hold out, embarked them- Edonites and Philiftims had shewed much felves, and fled into the Isle of Cyprus, malice to the Jews when their City was ta- 11. 6 15. Nevertheles, it seems that this evasion served when the principal men, who escaping the Chaldeans, I find not; if they did any,

with their goods, abandoned the poorer it is likely to have been with reference to , fort unto the enemies fury. For, not only such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the tented to rejoyce at the fall of Jerusalem, but Extl 25.3. presently they entred upon the Country of Jer. 49. 1, execution was done in the streets, into Gad, and took possession; as if not the Assertion which, with excellive labour, the Affgrian rians, but they had subdued Israel. Neither made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus can I perceive what other ground that pra-Nabuchodonosor caused his Army to serve a ctice had of Bullis King of the Ammonite., great service against Tyrus, wherein every when he sent Ishmael, a Prince of the blood

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of Juda, to murther Gedalia, whom the was left at his back, that might give impe-King of Babel had left Governour over dimentupon his proceeding, or take advanthose that remained in Ifrael, and to carry tage of any misfortune; then did he forthcaptive into the Ammonites Country the with take in hand the conquest of Egypt people that abode in Mizpah, than a defire himself, upon which those other Nations Toward, of embroiling Nabuchodonofor, with fo many had formerly been depending. Of this Exlabours at once, as flould make him retire pedition, and the victorious issue thereof. into his own Country, and abandon those the three great Prophets Egg, Fermy, and the victorious iffue thereof, the three great Prophets Egg, Fermy, and the victorious iffue thereof, the three great Prophets Egg, Fermy, and the victorious iffue thereof, and the victorious iffue thereof, the interest in the victorious interest in the victorious interest. wasted Lands to himself and others, for Ezekiel, have written so plainly, that I hold whom they lay conveniently. Such or the it altogether needless to look after more like policy the Moubites did exercise, authority, or to cite for proof half of that whose pride and wrath were made frustrate which may be alleadged out of these. Neby God; and their diffimulation condemn- vertheless, we find many and good Authors, ed, as not doing right.

1.: 16.14. night; according to the Prophecies of Fsay, rence with these times or assairs. So pre-Flay, threatning Moab with destruction af- they sought to have maintained. The rethird year following the ruine of Jernsalem; the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about attempt any thing against Nabuchodonosor; which he is said to have made upon Tyrus ty years, which God had prescribed unto death by his own Subjects; who did set up of the Land of Juda.

#### 6. VIII.

relate it othermife.

enemy to himself, nor friend to the Egyptian, by them chosen King. Finally, the whole

who following Herodotus and Diodorus &i-All these Nations had the art of ravening, culus, are well contented to strain these which is familiar to fuch as live or border Prophecies with unreasonable diligence upon deforts; and now the time afforded unto fuch a fense, as gives to Nabuchodonosor them occasion to shew the uttermost cun- little more than the honour of having done ning of their theevifh wits. But Nebuchad- Some spoil in Egypt, omitting the conquest of nezz.or did cut afunder all their devices by that Land by the Babylonian, and referring sharp and sudden war, overwhelming them the death of Apries or Hophra to a Chance with unexpected ruine, as it were in one long after following, which had no cohe-Ferens, and Ezekiel, who foretold, with posterous is the delight which many men little difference of words, the greatness and take in the means and second helps condufwiftness of the milery that should come cing to their purpose, that oftentimes they upon them. With which of them he first do preferr the Commentator before the began, I find not; it feems that Moab was Author; and, to uphold a fentence, giving the last which felt his hand : for so do many testimony to one clause, do carelesly overgood Authors interpret the Prophecy of throw the History it self, which thereby ter three years, as having reference to the ports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning the next year after it being spent in the these times, are already rehearsed in the Egyptian Expedition. This is manifest, that former Book : but that which they have all the principal Towns in these Regions spoken of Apries, was purposely reserved were burnt, and the people flain, or made unto this place. Herodotus doth affirm, that Hadle flaves, few excepted, who being preferved he was a very fortunate King, but wherein by flight, had not the courage to return to he telleth not; (unless we should undertheir habitations over-haftily, much less to stand that he was victorious in the War, but lived as miterable Out-laws, or at least and sydon) that he reigned five and twenty opprefied wretches, untill the end of feven- years; and was finally taken and put to the desolation of their Countries, as well as Amasis, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians he imputeth to a great loss which they received in an Expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Army was de-That Egypt was conquered, and the King stroyed. This calamity the people of Egypt therein reigning flain by Nabuchodonosor, thought to be well pleasing to their King, contrary to the opinion of most Authors: who had sent them on this dangerous Exwho, following Herodotus and Diodorus, pedition, with a purpose to have them confumed, that so he might with greater security reign over fuch as stayed at home. So Hen by a long course of victory, Na-bnchodonosor had brought into sub-as were slain, rebelled against Apries, who jection all the Nations of Syria, and the fent Amasis to appeale the tumult; but Amabordering Arabians, in such wise, that no sis became Captain of the rebels, and was

Land confented unto this new Election; all the people. Certainly, if that notable and the Itle of Cyprus, and finally perished. were enough (yet not more than enough) to inform us of Apries his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no cohe-Greek Historians followed) and greater 10 4,0nly into humane reasons. For Esay prophecied long before of the shameful Captivity coyned upon a vain-glorious purpose of hiof the Egyptians, whom the King of Asbur, men so unable to defend themselves.

whereby Apries was driven to trust unto his place of Jeremy, wherein he foretelleth how forein Mercenaries3the Ionians and Carians, the Fews in Egypt thould fee Pharaoh Hophra Total 20. of whom he kept continually in readiness delivered into the hand of his enemies, as Arth to thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought | Zedekia had been, were to be referred unto valiantly for him, but were at length van- the time of that rebellion, whereof Herodoquished by the great number of the Egypti- tus hath spoken, as the general opinion hath an forces, amounting unto two hundred and over-ruled it; then was it vainly done of fifty thousand, which were all by birth and the same Prophet (which, God forbid that education, men of War. Apries himself be- any Christian should think, seeing he did it ing taken prisoner, was gently entreated by by the appointment of God himse f to hide Amasis for a while, untill the Egyptians, ex- in the clay of a Brick-hill, those very stones, claiming upon him, as an extream enemy to upon which the Throne of Nabuchodonofor the Land, got him delivered into their should be set, and his Pavilion spread. Yea hands, and strangled him, yet they gave then was that Prophecy no other than falle, him honourable burial. Such is the report which expressed the end of Pharach thus: 7- 4/35 of Herodotus, with whom Diodorus Siculus Rehold, I will visit the common people of No. doth neerly agree; telling us, that Aprics did and Pharaoh and Egypt, with their gods, and vanquish the Cyprians and Phanicians in their Kings, even Pharaoh, and all that trust battel at Sea, took by force and demolithed in him: and I will deliver them into the han de sidon, wann the other Towns of Phanicia, of those that feek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, as is before rehearled, when he had reign- and into the hands of his ferrants. The ed two and twenty years. This authority clearness of this Prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of Amalis, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it; who are elsewhere so diligent in sitting all rence with these relations, hath greater to the Greek Historians. Wherefore lookforce to compell our belief, than have the ing upon Junius, who had in another place 200 4 fetraditions of Egyptian Priefts (which the taken the enemies of Pharaob Hopkra to be 236. Amalis and his followers, I found him here probabilities to perswade those that look acknowledging that the Egyptian Priests had notably deluded Herodotus with lyes, ding their own difgrace and bondage. And should carry away naked, young and old, furely, it may well be thought, that the hiin fuch wife, that the Fews, who fled then I ftory of Nebuchadnezzar was better known for deliverance from the Affirian, should be to the Jews, whom it concerned, than to ashamed of their own vain confidence in the Greeks, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I fee no cause why But Ezekiel and Jeremy, as their Prophe- we should not rather believe Josephus, recies were nearer to the time of execution, fo | porting that Nabuchodonofor in the three and they handled this argument more precifely. I twentieth year of his reign, and the fifth For Exekiel telleth plainly, that Egypt year of the destruction of fernfalem, did conshould be given to Nebuchadnezzar, as wages | quer Egspt, kill the King thereof, and apfor the service which he had done at Tyre : | point another in his stead, than Herodotus Also he recounteth particularly all the chief or Diodore; who being meer strangers to Cities in Egypt, faying, That these by name this business, had no great reason to labour of should be deftroyed, and go into Captivity; in searching out the truth, but might rest yea, that Pharaoh and all his Army should be contented with any thing that the Priests flain by the fword. Wherefore it must needs | would tell them. Now if setting aside all adbe a violent exposition of these Prophecies, | vantage of authority, we should only consiwhich by applying the issue of such threat- der the relations of Josephus, and of the nings to an infurrection and rebellion, con- Greek Historians, as either of them might cludes all, without any other alteration in be verified of it felf by apparent circumstan-Egypt, than change of the Kings person, ces, without resteding upon the Hebrew wherein Amass did succeed unto Apries, by Prophets, or Egyptian Priests, methinks the force indeed, but by the uniform consent of death of Apries can no way be approved, as

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having Lean wrought by confent of the fuch as did more enlarge his Dominion, temple but allored great matter of fuffici-than all the former Wars had done, it may easily a thought a man had opposed there-easily be gathered out of Ezekiel, who 1-ms of Heradatas and Diodore. For the reckoneth up in his 3r Chapter (besides great love and honour which the Fostians the whole Country of Fast) Phut and Lud, die bear unto their kings, is notorious by with other Nations, that may feem to have the unitoria reftimony of all others that reached out into Mauritania, as people subhave handled the matters of that Country, dued by this great Babylenian. The circumas well as by the report of Diodore himself. Itances of these Wars are in a manner utterflow then can we think it probable, that ly loft; but that the victory was cafe and Apriles having wonn great victories, did for fwift, any man thall find, who will take the one only lots fall into the hatred of all his pains to conferr the places, wherein the people for which may ferve to perfuade its, three great Prophets touch this Argument. that a King of Fasti would feek, or fe de- Thus much I think worthy of more partimean himself, that he might be thought to cular observation; that Pharaok, who (as is mean manch, that he angue of chought to char observation; that reactions the ketruction of his natural fubjects? As for that Army of thirty thouland four-fiers. Carions and Ionium, which the King of Fopt, woom Analist took prifoner; is fail with the first continued to the continued of the conti to have kept for his defence: Doth it not way clean unto his own doors, by confuming argue that he was a forreiner, and one that all his friends and adherents in Spria. For, armed himself against the Egyptians, wishing as the labour of this business did more harthem few and weak 3 rather then any of the den, than weary the Chaldwan Army 5 fo the Fl. arable, who accounted the force of the confidence and vain fecurity of the Egypti-Country, as affuredly their own, as the ans, relying upon the difficult paffages frength of their own bodies? It were more which the enemy was to make thorow the tedious than any way needful, to use all Ar- Arabian defarts, and the much advantage guments that might be alleadged in this which the great River of Nilus would afcafe. The very death of this supposed Apries, ford unto themselves, did little avail them which the clamours of the people obtained in provision for the War, and much astonish of Amasis, who sought to have kept him them as may justly be thought) in the time alive, doth intimate that he was some forein of execution : it being usually seen, that Governour, not a natural Prince; otherwise the hearts of men fail, when those helps the people would have defired to fave his fuil, in which they had reposed more conlife, and Amasis to take it quickly from him. fidence, than in their own virtue. Hitherto I will not labour any further to disprove the Kingdom of Fgypt had flourished under that opinion, whereunto I should not have the rule of the Pharaohs, about a thousand yielded, though it had stood upon great five hundred and fourfcore years; but from ftory following thall prefent them.

How Egypt was Subdued and keld by Nebuchadnezzar.

of Syria, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were whom he found in that Country. Now con-

appearance of truth, confidering that the this time forward it remained forty years voice of truth it felf cries out against it; but | without a King, under the subjection of the leave the circumstances, proving the Con- Babylonians; and then at length it began to quest of Egypt by Nabuchodonosor, to be ob- recover by little and little the former greatferved where due occasion in course of the ness, yet to, that it was never dreadful unto others; God having faid of that people, I will diminish them, that they shall no more Esta rule the Nations. For, whereas it hath been 13.14 faid of Pharach: Lam the Son of the Wife, I take am the Son of the Ancient Kings: And Experience whereas he had vaunted, The River is mine, and I have made it ; the Princes of T is a great los, that the general History Fgjpt now became fools, the River failed of the World hath suffered by the spoil them, the King himself was taken and slain, and waste which Time hath made of those and that ancient linage quite extinguished. Monuments that should have preserved the This came to pass in the first year after the memory of fuch famous actions as were ac- destruction of Jernsalem, and the three and complified by this mighty Prince Nabucho-twentieth of Nebuchadrezzar; at which fight donojor; wherein, whether his Virtue, or time (faith Josephus) He stew the King then fight Fortune were greater, it is now uncertain. reigning, placed another in his room, and car-That his Victories following the Conquest ried Captives thence to Babylon the Jews

already thewed, that it is warranted by all which were left by the Affrian for the the Prophecies which infinuate the fame. As guard of his Vice-roy, and cuftody of the mence, imagine that there were two ince-cilively bearing the none of Amafirothers, vifed matter that had no fladow of truth, only to keep the Greek from knowledge of their Nobuchanezzar, the one to by Amafiron aquestion of small importance, because the test of the reguarded, since we know the difference is only about a name, it being truth with them. once granted, that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life and Kingdom by the Affirians. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that Apries, of whom of the fundry accounts drawn from fundry atts the Greek Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of Nebuchadnezzar, feeing that he was the Grand-child of Pharaoh Necho, and made war (as they report) upon the Phenicians; who were, before the Egyptians, become subject unto the Crown of Babylon.

cerning the time which Fosephus gives unto and Carians, I hold them to be none other cerning the time of the business it felf, I have than the garrifons of mercenary fouldiers hewife the last destruction of Jerusalem, and new subdued Province: as likewise the company returning from Cyrene and Barce, bited the miterable ruins of that great Ci who, together with the friends of fuch at y, which was in the fame three and twen were flain in that Expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Hillorians, deposed hably thought by good Authors to have and flew Apries, I take them to have been heant the return from this Egyptian Expedition. But whereas Tofephus tells us, that their own Country. Sure it is, that this there was another King put in the room Prophecy of Ezekiel was verified; at the robast of spries by Nebuchadnezzar, we must un-lend of forty years will 1 gather the Egyptians 100 und deritand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and from the people where they were scattered, and not (as some have mistaken it ) think that I will bring again the Captivity of Egypt, and this was smafts. For to place the beginning will cause them to return into the Land of Paof Amasis his reign in the three and twen- thros, into the Land of their habitation, and tieth of Nebuchadnezzar, were as well re- they shall be there a small Kingdom. If the pugnant unto the prophecies before al- Egyptian Priests alluded hereunto in the tale leadged, as to all Chronology and Hiltory. which they made of Amalia obtaining the Somethere are, which to help this inconve- Kingdom, then are they to be helped with nience, imagine that there were two fue- this or the like interpretation; if they de-

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of Nebuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Ninive, by him; the time of which adion is uncertain.

Hese victories brought the greatness of the Affrian Empire to the full, and I might add, perhaps, that he whom Nebu- from them was reckoned the time of Nebuchadnezzar left as Governour of Egypt, was chadnezzar's reign in fundry places of Scrimore likely to have had some Chaldean or pture. To speak any more of the questions Aljrian, than Egyptian name, unless we arising about the supputation of Nebuchadthould think that he had been a Traitor to nezzar his times, might feem to be the overhis natural Prince, and so rewarded by the handling of one Argument: Yet thus much Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the I will note, that whereas Daniel was car-Country: about which it were but frivo- ried captive in the third year of Jehojakims lous to dispute. Thus much in brief we reign (which ran along with some part of ought to believe, that Nabuchodonoso made Nebuchadnezzar's first year) and was kept an absolute Conquest of Egypt; that he was in diet three years more, before he was not fo foolith as to give it away, any man brought into the Kings presence; It could may gues; that he appointed one to rule not bethe second of Nebuchadnezzar's Kingthe Country, it is confequent unto the for- dom, wherein he interpreted the forgotten D.P. I. 2. mer, and hath authority of Josephus; that dream of the great Image, fore-shewing the his Governour ( or some successor of his) success of Monarchies, but the second of his was afterwards taken and flain by Amasis, Empire. The same or the like may be said Hee probability enough to perswade my of divers places which refer fundry matters felf, and yet can well be content, that others unto their fet years; as that of Ezekiel beuse their liberty, and believe what they list. fore cited, where he fore-tells, that Egypt As for the Army which this Egyptian King should be given in reward for the service Apries is supposed to have kept of Ionians done before Tyrus, dating his Prophecy in

Daniel, placing the erection of the golden bylon, wherewith he pleated himself so well. Image in the eighteenth year : for these that he brake out into those glorious years held no dependance upon either the words: It not this great Babel that I have beginning of Nebuchadrezzar's Kingdom, or built, for the house of the Kingdom, by the table of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the might of my power, and for the honour of m Captivities, but had reference to some me- Majefy? Surely if those things be true that morable actions, omitted in Scripture, and areby Josephus rehearled of him out of Betherefore not casse to be found, nor worth rosus and Megasthenes, he might well delight the labour of uncertain fearch.

after such time as he returned from the Con- laid, That he fortified Babylon with a triple quest of Egypt, I do not read: excepting wall; that, besides other stately works, he that against Nineve, the destudion whereof raised those huge Arches wherewith were was fore-told by the Prophet Nahum. Ni-born up the high Orchards, hanging as it was lote-ton by the long before been taken by Mero-dach (as in due place hath been shewed) Mountains; which most sumptious Prame, and together with the rest of Assiria made that out-lasted all the remainder of the Assiria subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a Sprian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to peculiar King, who, rebelling against the have been reared, and finished in fifteen Chaldean, as Jebojakim and Zedechias, tridaies. butary Kings of Juda, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destru- we find little else recorded, than that ction of Nineve followed the Conquest of (which indeed is most profitable for us to Egypt, it appeareth by the comparison which consider) his over-valuing of his own great-Nahum the Prophet made between this Ci- ness abased him unto a condition inferiour ty, that was to fall, and the City of No in to the poorest of men. And not undeserved-Egypt, that was fallen already. But, how long ly fell these judgments of God upon him. after this came to pass, it is (methinks) im- For, whereas God had honoured him, not poffible to find out. For, whereas it is found only with many victories, and much happiin an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the ness in his own life, but with a discovery of first of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, the place of things to come after him, yea and had ap-Nahum last cited, it is enough to disprove it. proved the certainty of his dream, by the Whereas it is referred by some unto the first miraculous reducing of it into his memory, of his Monarchy, which began at the end of and interpretation thereof by Daniel the the Egyptian Wars; the whole Prophecy of Prophet; he nevertheless became so forget-Nahum, which went between the one and the ful of God, whose wonderful power he had other, argueth strongly, that there was a feen and acknowledged, that he causeda longer space of time intercurrent. So that golden Image to be set up and worshipped; to enquire into the very year of this destru- ordaining a cruel death as reward unto them ction, or other circumstances of the War, that should dare to disobey his Kingly will whether managed by Nabuchodonofor in per- and pleasure, which was utterly repugnant fon, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat to the Law of him that is the King of Kings. like unto the vain curiofity of Tiberius Ca- | Hereof St. Hierom hath well noted; Velox far, enquiring who was the Mother of Hecu- oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum fervum Dei ba; or to the like idle pains which he should quasi Deum adoraverat, nunc statuam sibi fieri take, who would feek to learn what woman jubeat, ut ipfe quast Deus in Statua adorarelikewise did fore-tell.

ø. XI.

Of the latter time of Nebuchadnezzar; bis buildings, madneß, and death.

the feven and twentyeth year; and that of these we may reckon his great works of Bahimself with the contemplation of such Of any War made by Nebuchadnezzar, goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is

But of all this and other his magnificence, that Huzzah Queen of Nineve was, whole tur: A halfy forgetfulness of the truth, that he woful Captivity the same Prophet Nahum who so lately had worshipped (Daniel) the servant of God, as if he had been God himself, Should now command a Statua to be crected unto himself, wherein himself might be worship ped as God. From this impiety it pleased God to reciaim him, by the strange and wonderful delivery of those bleffed Saints out of the fiery furnace; who being thrown F the time which this great Monarch into it bound, for refuling to commit Ido-Ipent in quiet, I think there are no latry, were affisted by an Angel; preserved Monuments extant, fave those which we from all harm of the fire; loosened from find among the Prophefies of Daniel. Among their bands; and finally called out with

merhonour, by the King: who amazed at them with a fullen and unfeeling disposition. the miracle, made a decree tending to the Yet as all humane affections, wherein due honour of God, which by erection of his reverence to God is wanting, are no better Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of than obscure clouds hindring the influence Nebuchadnezzar, was not fo rooted in him, of that bleffed Light, which clarifies the foul that it could bring forth fruit answerable to of man, and predisposeth it unto the brighthis hafty zeal. Therefore was he forewarn-ness of eternall felicity; so that insolent joy, ed by God in a dream of the terrible judge- which man in the pride of his vain imaginament hanging over his head, which Daniel tion conceiveth of his own worth, doth ment hanging over his head, which Daniel ton conceiveth of his own worth, doth expounding, advited him to break off his fin above all other passions blatfour minds, as it by righteossips, and his iniquity by mercy to were with lightning, and make us to reslect wards the poor, that there might be an healing of his errow. Hereby it seems that injustice and cruelty were the faults, for which titee and cruelty were the faults, for which he was threatned: but this threatning suffered whereby suffered to our very Being. Whereby the suffered heals ments gaudia. The fixed not unto his information. For, that so will joyes of the mind were not unaptly, by the Prince of Lair Danie has been able to the prince of Lair Danie has been and the prince of Lair D great a Monarch should be driven from the Prince of Latin Poets, bestowed in the among men (according to the tenor of the entrance of Hell, and placed farther inward dream and interpretation); yea, compelled than forrows, cares, and fears; not far from to dwell with the beafts of the field, and the Iron Cabbins of the Furies. And cermade to eat grass as the Oxen, was athing tainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance foincredible in mans judgement, that eafily near at hand, when these unreasonable it might be thought an idle dream; and flushes of proud and vain joy, do rage in a much more easily be forgotten at the years mind, that should have been humbled with end. One whole years leifure to repent, a just repentance, and acknowledgement of was given to this haughty Prince: which respite of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulness of Gods sen- whose punishment was singular and unextence. For at the end of twelve moneths, ampled. For he ran among beafts in the walking in the royal Palace of Babel, he was fields and woods, where for feven years he fo over-joyed and transported with a vain lived, not only as a salvage man, but as a ry same hour.

That Solomon, and many other Princes,

things wherewith God hath bleffed us; but he was the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and Date 4 37,

gracious words, and reftored to their for- a note of much unthankfulness to entertain;

This was verified upon Nebuchadnezzar, contemplation of his own seeming happi- salvage beast; for a beast he thought himnels, that, without all fear of Gods heavy felf, Jecundum Juam imaginationem, as Thomas 1.2.60 judgement pronounced against him, he ut- noteth, and therefore fed himself in the same Reg. Fer. tered those lofty words before rehearsed, in manner, and with the same food that beasts vaunting of the Majestical works which he do: Not that he was changed in figure exhad reared, as well befeeming his Majestical ternal, according to Mediana, infomuch as person. But his high speeches were not fully he appeared a Beast to other mens eyes, as Resiate ended, when a voice from Heaven, telling St. Hierom in the life of Hilarius (how true Damfelse. him that his Kingdom was departed from God knows ) speaks of a woman that aphim, rehearfed over unto him the sentence peared to all other mens fight a Cow, but to again, which was fulfilled upon him the ve- Hilarius only a woman; neither was he changed as Iphigenia the daughter of Agamemnon was said to be, into a Hind; nor and great ones, have taken delight in their made a Monster, as Dorotheus and Epipha-Dor. in Siown buildings, It cannot any way be doubt- nim dreamed: but, according to St Hierom's soff. Ep. 13 ed ; yet I do not remember that ever I have exposition of these words, At the same time " Dan. read of any, that were punished for re- was my understanding restored unto me, &c. joycing in works of this kind ( though it is Quando dicit (faith St. Hierom ) Censum sibi hard in joy, or any passion of the mind, to redditum, oftendit non formam fe amisife, sed keep a just measure ) excepting only this mentem; When he faith that his sense was restored unto him, he shewed that he had not lost The like may be faid of David: for other his bumane shape, but his understanding. Seven (and some very godly) Kings have mustred years expired, it pleased God to restore all their forces to the very last man; but few Nabuchodonosor, both to his understanding, or none have been known to have been and his estate, for which he acknowledged punished as David was. Surely Inot only and praised God all the rest of his life, conhold it lawful to rejoyce in those good fessing his power, and everlasting being; that

wrought

wrought without resistance what he pleased | Whether these Egyptian-troubles did ani. in both ; that his works were all truth, and mate the King of the Meaes, to deal with his wayes rightcous. Which gave argument Evilmerodach, as with a Prince greater in to many of the Fathers, and others, not to fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed doubt of his falvation; namely St. Augu- valour of his people, than in present forces fline, Theodoret, Lyra, Carthusiams, and or, whether (as I rather think) some foil reothers. And for that place of Ejay the ceived by the Affyrian invading Media, emtourteenth, out of which his perdition may boldned the Egyptians to rebel against him. be gathered, the aforenamed Authors ap- I will neither undertake, nor feek to define. ply the same to Balthafar; because Esay, both Kenophon tells, that the first service of young x... in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters , Cyrus in war, was under Aftyages King of the speaketh of the King, and the destruction Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous of Babylon joyntly.

> ø. XII. of Evilmerodach.

nezzar's posterity, the most that may be same reckoning it should follow, that the faid of him, is faid of Evilmerodach, which I war began more early between these Nawill not here again rehearfe.

ing in a war that confumed it to affice. He same place of Xenophon. And it may well be. that he died in the third year of the three- Syrian Monarchy. For the Babylonian, being tween the second year of the four and fifti- and all the people of the leffer Asia, with gifts Evilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the whelm his enemies with a strong Invasion, Egypt; of which seven and thirty years it with a lingring War. is credibly held, that Pfammiticus, the Son of This happened after the death of Aftyafet downinstead of four and thirty; or that the far more mighty Persian. Amasis did temporize a while with the As-

fluous excuse.

fight against the Affirian Prince, who did set upon him; at which time, Cyrus was fifteen or fixteen years old If therefore Cyrus lived Magi. in three score and three years (as he is faid to Magi. it have died well stricken in years) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no short Aving already fpoken what I could of life, then was this encounter in the third the fuccession and years of Nebuchadyear of Evilmerodach his reign. Yet by the tions, for as much as the manner of their He lost some part of that which his Fa- fight in former times, with other circumstanther had gotten; and left his Kingdom burn-ces infimuating as much, are found in the lott Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the that the death or destruction of Nabuchodonineteenth year of his reign, which was for | nofor gave courage unto those that had felt ty years after his Father had conquered it. him a troublesome neighbour, to stand up-But this agrees neither with the account of on prowder terms with the Affrians, than in Herodoins, who allows to Amasis four and his towrishing estate they durst have used. forty years of reign; nor with that of Dio- Howfoever the quarrel began, we find that dorus, who gives him five and fifty, faying, it ended not before the last ruin of the Afscore and third Olympiad, when cambyfes too proud to digest the losses which heredid conquer Egypt. There were indeed but ceived by the Medes, and their Allies the feven and thirty years, which passed be- Persians, drew unto his party the Lydians, eth Olympiad (which was the nineteenth of and strong perswasions, hoping so to overfisch of Cambyfes his reign, wherein he wann whomin vain he had fought to weary out

Amasis, reigned three: so that Amasis could ges, who left the world in the nineteenth be no longer King than four and thirty year of Evilmerodach, at which time Amalis vears. But seeing that these two Greek Hi- took possession of Egypt. So that the Affristorians have been abused by Egyptian an having his hands already full of business, Priests in the substance of that which was which more earnestly did affect him, seems spoken of Amasis, it is no marvel though thereby to have given the better means unthey were also deceived in the length of his to the Egyptians, of new erecting their Kingreign. This is the plain answer to this ob- dom, which by long distance of place, did jection. For to fay, either that the num- fundry times find occasion to rebel in afterbers were mif-written, and four and forty ages, and fet up a King within it felf, against

The issue of these great preparations made Grians, and not bear himself as absolute by Evilmerodach against the Medes, was King of Egypt, until the nineteenth of Evil such as opened the way until the fulfilling merodach (at which time, and not before, it of those Prophecies, which were many years hath been proved out of Ezekiel, that Egypt before uttered against Babel, by Esay and became again a Kingdom ) I hold it a super- Jeremy.

CHAP. I. who, trusting in their numbers, thought to the Government, whilft the King was thus diwho, truting in Meder and Perflans under stracted, we shall find it most likely, that his their thick showers of arrows and darts, Son and Heir did occupy the Royal Throne, were encountred with an Army of stout and with condition to restore it unto his Father, well-trained men, weightily armed for close when God should enable him to reposses it. fight, by whom they were beaten in open In this his rule Evilmeroduch being to supply ngnt, by wherein Estimerodach was lain. So, the utter want of understanding in his Fathat great frame of Empire which Nabuchother, as Protectors do the unripenels of it that great trained and upheld, being shaken in young, but reasonable Kings, Might easily and grievoufly crackt under his unfortunate either commit the infolences, or full into the and guesting to be fustained by his unwortroubles, incident to fuch an office. That he by Nephew; a man more likely to have had in him very fmall ability of Governoverthrown it, when it was greatest and ment, it appears by his ill maintaining the way of falling.

o. XIII.

A private conjecture of the Author; ferving to make good those things, which are cited out of Berofus, concerning the Successors of Evilmerodach, without wrong to the truth. The quality, and death of Balthafar.

Though I have already (as it feems to me) fufficently proved that Balthafar was the Son, and immediate Successor to Evilmerodach, yet confidering earnestly the get the rule into her own hands, and afterconjectures of those Writers, which, following Berofus, insert Niglissar, or Niriglissoror, and his Son Labassardach between them; as allo that which I find in Herodotus of Nito- not find ; but we find in Berofus ( as Josephus cris, a famous Queen of Babylon, who great- hath cited him ) that Nigliffar, who got the ly adorned and fortified that City; Thave Kingdom from Evilmerodach, was his Sifters thought it not superfluous here in this place Husband; which argues this to have been to fliew, by what means it was poffible, that the same woman. As for Labaffardach the fomeerrour might have crept into the Hi- Son of Nigliffar, if at the end of nine moneths ftory of those times, and thereby have reign he were for his lewd conditions slain brought us to a needless trouble of fearch by the Nobility, as the same Berofus reporting out the truth, as it were by candle-light, eth; it feems that God prepared hereby the in the uncertain fragments of lost Authors, way for Nebuchadnezzar's restitution (whose which we might have found by day-light, term of punishment was then expired ) by had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First raising such trouble, as should make him the brute beafts in the open field: Secondly, was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, reign, which was the last of his life. and his restitution hoped; the prediction of judge, what course was like to be taken by we find, that he had such conditions, as

For the Affrians and their Confederates, the great Ones of the Kingdom, for feeling ftrongest, than to repairit, when it was in Empire, when he held it in his own right. That his Sifter Nitocris (if Notocris were his Sifter ) was an woman of a high spirit; it of her, faying, That the was more cunning than Semiramis, as appeared in her magnificent and useful works about the River of against the Medes, who had gotten many

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appears by that which Herodotus reports Herodot.A.s. Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon Towns from the Affirians, and amongst them Nineve. Wherefore it were not unreafonable to think, that fuch a woman, feeing how the Empire went to decay through her Brothersmif-government, used practices to wards, as a Mother, to leave it unto her ungracious Son. Other time than this, wherein Nitocris could have reigned, we do therefore I observe, that the time which more desired, both of the Princes and the Bérofus divides betwixt Evilmerodach, and people. I will not here use many words to thertwo next Kings, agrees with the years confute that which Berofus hath further fet in which Nebuchadnezzar lived wild among down of Evilmerodach, telling us that he was flain by his Sisters Husband: For the that the suddenness of this accident, which plain words of the Scripture, naming the came in one hour, could not but work year wherein he gave liberty to Jeconia, do much perturbation in that State, wherein plainly testifie that he out-lived the three doubtless the honour of so noble a Prince or four and fortieth year of his Fathers

This may suffice to shew, that they who Daniel finding reputation in that clause are faid to have succeeded Evilmerodach in which promifed his recovery, as being ve- the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, rified in that which had been more incre- though not when he held it in his own right. dible. Now if we do in common reason Of Balthasar, who was his Son and Heir,

CHAP. I

God permitted to be in a King for the ruin him in on every fide, and when death arof the people. He was from his young years rested him by the hands of those whom he of a mischievous nature; having in his Fa- had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end thers time flain a Noble young man that of him was base and miserable; for he died should have married his Sifter, only for as a fool taken in unexcusable security, yet fpight and envy to see him kill two wild had not that happines, such as it is, of a death beafts in hunting, at which himself having tree from apprchension of fear, but wasterbealts in hunting, at which nimier having intertion apprecianion of icar, out waster thrown his Javelin had milded them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, faid, the weed his ruin not in many hours before, even whilft he was drinking in that wine, which had have a happy woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loved his Father (as a good and which the swords of his insulting enemies the blood. It is therefore in this place enough gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to to fay of him, That after a dishonourable revolt from him unto the enemy assoon as reign of seventy years, he perished like a he was King. Neither do I find that he per- beaft, and was flain as he deferved. The reft formed any thing worthy of record, but as a that concerneth him in question of his time. coward and a fool he loft all; fitting ftill, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of and not once daring to give battel to them his affairs, shall be handled among the affairs that daily took somewhat from him. Yet of Cyrus, to whose story, that of Balthasar is carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed but an appendix.

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CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatness of the Persians.

ø. I. "

That the Medes were the chief actors in the subversion of the Babylonian Empire.

extinguished in Balthafar, the Em- occasion in due place to intreat. then was governed by Cyaxares, or Darius had Kings foon after the Flood, Lattantius Medus : after whom Cyrus became Lord and and Diodorus have found record ; For La-Monarch, both of Assyria, and of Media it Hantius remembreth an antient King of the

ten Kings besides himself, and of Arbaces as Affyrians in the beginning of their Empire. many are found by Metafibenes. Thefe two Provincial Governours having cut down first, that freed his Nation from the Affri-Medus ) the last of the race of Arbaces, dy- and they are these: ing about two years after that the Line of Belochus was ended in Balthafar ; the Dominions as well of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to Cyrus of the house of Achamenes; the Princes of which blood reigning in Persia, had formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Family of the Achemenes, and Line

HE Line of Belochus being now of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter find

pire of Babylon, and of Affyria, was The Nation of the Medes descended from joyned first to that of Media, which Madai the third Son of Japhet. That they Medes called Hydaspes, and Diodore speaketh Of the race of Phul Belochus there were of Pharnus with his feven Sons, Slain by the

the last branch of Ninus in Sardanapalus, di- ans, I take the list and number from Eusebivided between them the Eastern Empire. us, adding Darius Medus: of whom I have Cyaxares (whom the Scriptures call Darius spoken in their proper places heretofore;

Arbaces	) (	28	years.
Sorsamus :			years.
Medidus	1		years.
Cardiceas		13	years.
Diocles Phraortes	reigned <		
			years.
Cyaxares Astyages			years.
Darius Medus		38	years.
Durins Means	J)	L	And

fore and two yearsold: And further, what Son or Successor to Astrages than Cyrus. fore and two yearsone: And unriner, what of the foreign that this manner of argument of the foreign and this manner of argument of the foreign and this manner of argument of the foreign and mastered by the Medes. And therefore the ing joyned together to compound it. reports of Justin and Herodotus are not to be lon to Cyrus alone.

6. II.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Perfians.

Daughter Amytis. But I find the relations of carried far off. Ctestas often cited and feldom followed, and wilful untruth.

of this age, produceth many probable rea- Only Daniel in the first, fifth, and fixth Chapfons that Astrages had no such Son as Cyana- ters of his Prophecy, makes it plain, that res, or Darius Medus; and to confirm this himself not only lived a great Officer under

And though the Greeks alcribe the Con- opinion the more he citeth Diodore, Justin. oueft of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the Scri- strabo, Plato, Arifotle, Ifocrates, and before nures teach us, that Darius was not only them Caftor, Thallus, and Phlegon; who do King of Media, and had the Persians his fol- not find any such Successor. Neither do Talowers. but that the Army victorious over tianus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Julius, Afri-Balthafar was his; as the Affrian and Ba- canus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Juftin Martyr. bylonian Empire also was, during his own Lactantius, Eusebius, St. Hierom, or St. Aulife. For we find in Daniel, that Darius of guftin, make report out of any faithful Authe Medes took the Kingdom being three-thorby them read, that hath given other

Medes: for his purpose is against Babel to de- himself must have been Darius of the firey it; and in the eight and twentieth Medes, which cannot agree with his place Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with in the course of time; or else to give him the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the some other successor, according to Josephus Frinces thereof, and all the Land of his Do- and Kenophon, the same whom Daniel calleth zo. 1.1. minion. These Scriptures Julius Africanus Darius. For it is manifett, and without discound doth well open, who taking authority from Diodore, Casior, Thallus, and others, delivering the control of that Med. 8. eth that Edbylon was taken before Cyrus be- Conquest; Cyrus during his life, being no Pxd. gantoreign; which also agreeth with stra- other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and bo, where he faith, That as the Medes were subject to his authority; the strength of Subjugated by the Persians, so before that, both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Perboth the Babylonians and Assyrians were sians, with other the Vasials of Darius be-

But it is very certain, that the honour of received, who attribute the taking of Baby- that great victory over Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himself for this action, but for the delivery of his Church, a greater work not only in the leves of God, than the subversion of any State or Monarchy how powerful foever.

And it may well be thought, that the JOw the Kingdom of the Medes fell in- Souldiers employed in that service did rato the hands of Cyrus, it is a doubt not ther afcribe the glory to him that was the fufficiently cleared by Historians; But ra- best man of war, than to the Median, who ther their different relations of his begin- was greatest in riches and power. All which nings have bred the former opinion of those also falling upon Cyrus by succession, and who give the Conquest of Babel to the Per- continuing in his posterity, did much augfans only. For some there are who deny ment the same of his vertue; which among that Aftrages had any other Successor than prophane Historians over-grew altogether Cyrus his Grand-child by Mandane. Where- the honour due to Cyaxares, both because he as Cress on the contrary side affirmeth, that was old, and did nothing in person; as also Cyrus was no way descended from Astrages because he soon after quitted the world, (whom he called Assigns or Apania) but on- and left all to Cyrus, who was possest of ly that having vanquished him in battel, and whatsoever belonged to Darius, before the confined him to Battria, he married his fame of any fuch King or Conqueror was

And for the Greek Historians, they took himself sometimes very justly reproved of all things from the relation of the Persians, who gave to Cyrus all the praise of a most Viginier, a diligent and learned historian excellent Prince, making none his equal.

been diftinguished from the reign of Darius, was also made prisoner. if they had begun together and reigned iountly: Neither can it be imagined that after, the Army lying before it being paid Darius held the Kingdom by Cyrus permif- by Darius, whom Xenophon called Cyaxares fion, confidering that Cyrus began after him. and led by Cyrus his Sifters Son, prevailed

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Xenophon's relation of the War with the by him levied, are numbered thirty thousand ces upon the Ailvrians and others.

which need no other confirmation, are gument, as it is true, that he described in yet made more open to our understanding, Cyrus the pattern of a most Heroical Prince, by that which Xenophon hath written of with much Poetical addition : fo it cannot these Wars: The cause whereof, according be denied, but that the bulk and gross of to his report, was this.

When the Affirian had enlarged his Em- storical truth. pire with victories, and was become Lord of Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any all Syria, and many other Countries; he be- the like Writers, that in every speech and gan to hope that if the Medes could be circumstance he hath precisely tyed himself brought under his subjection, there should to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of not then be left any Nation adjoyning able the occasion, but borrowed in each out of to make head against him. For, the King of his own invention, appropriating the same the Medes was able to bring into the field to the times and persons of whom he treated. threefcore thousand foot, and ten thousand Putting therefore apart the Moral and Po-

fuch a Neighbour, invited creefus King of Subject in such fort, that by beautifying the Lydia, a Prince very mighty both in men face thereof, he hath not in any fort corand treasure, and with him other Lords of rupted the body. Afia the less, to his affistance, alleadging, that those Eastern Nations were very powerful, and so firmly conjoyned by league, and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no The estate of the Medes and Persians in times not possible, for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthned with great Presents, he drew to him-self so many adherents, as he compounded Achamenes, the Son of Perses, being Goan Army of two hundred thou fand foot, and vernour of Perfia, did affociate himfelf with threescore thousand horse; of which, ten Arbaces, who commanded in Media, in that were led by Crafus, who had great cause each of them after the victory obtained, held

King Darine, but that he continued in that who following his advantage, possess him. estate to the first of cyrus; which being self of a great part of the lester Asia; at which the year of Daniel's death, could not have time it was, as I take it, that Creefus himfelf

> The attempt of Babylon following foon againit Balthafar, as in due time firall be fer

Those Persians which followed Cyrus, and Medes and Persians, made with joynt for- foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common fort were Archers, or fuch as used the Dart or Hefe Testimonies of the Scriptures, Sling : So far Xenophon. Of whomin this arhis Narration was founded upon meer Hi-

horse, to which the forces of Persabeing littick discourse, and examining but the Hijoyned, made an exceeding strong Army.

The Assiran considering the strength of that Xenophon hath handled his under-taken

. s. IV.

foregoing this great War.

thousand horse, and forty thousand foot rebellion against Sardanapalus, and that of enmity with the Medes, in regard of the for himself the Dominion of those Coun-War made by them against his Father Aly-tries, which he had formerly ruled for the attes: But this great Army was by Cyaxares Affgrians; as also that they conveyed over King of the Medes, and by Cyrus General of the same honour and power to their posterithe Perfian forces, utterly broken : Upon ty : which in Media was not absolutely Rewhich defeat the Allyrian King being alfo gal, but with some restraint limited, until slain, so many of the Allyrians revolted, as such time as Deioces took upon him the sull. Babylon it felf could not longer be affured authority and majesty of a King. From the without the fuccours of Mercenaries, waged death of Sardanapalus to the reign of Deiowith great summs of mony out of Assa the less, Egypt, and essewhere. Which new gadred and forty years, in the last sixty wherethered forces were also scattered by Cyrus, of, there reigned in Affria mighty Princes,

fant found it not for their advantage to undertake any offensive war against those victorious Kings, it being also probable, that the lesgue continued as yet between these Author, and, as I think, the deviser of the the negut continues of Belochus and Arbaces, who mischief intended against Cyrus by his had formerly shared the Empire.

tyyears, in which, if Herodotsus have written (perity, did thence derive himfelf, and vaunt ryyears, it which he would never have done, had truly, that Phraortes conquered Persia, and of it: which he would never have done, had how he and other Kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of Afia, it had been but an unadvised enterprize of the Affrians and Babylonians, to have wasted themselves against the Syrians, and Egyptians, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backs. But that the Medes had done nothing upon the South parts of Perfia; and that the Persians themselves were not Masters of sustana in Nabuchodonosor's time; it is manifest in Daniel, who was then Governor for the Babylonian in Sufa, or Sufan, the chief City thereof. It is true indeed, that the by the learned Reineccins. Medians, either under Cyaxares, or Astyages, or both, had quarrel with Halyattes the Father of Crafus, which, after some fix years of Persia. dispute, was compounded.

How the affairs of Persia stood in so many that the roughness of the mountainous King of Cappadocia, had Artistona and other Country which they then possest, with the Daughters. confederacy which they continued with the Medes, gave them more fecurity than fame : For if their Kings, being the posterity of Achamenes, had done any memorable acts, dis, flain by his Brother Cambyfes. the greatness which they afterward obtained, would not have fuffered any forgetfulof those Countries to be very confonant and from among themselves Darius the Son of agreeable to the relation of many other Hystaspes, King. good Authors; fo it appears, that the race therefore we may better give credit to Xe- habiting, Elamita; by Elianut, Elyma; by nophon, who affirmeth , That Cambyfes the Josephus, Elymi. Father of Cyrus was King of Persia; than to those that make him a mean man, and say, from any great undertaking by his Fathers were afterward called the Magi, or Wiseignobility.

Aftrages, that the Son of his Daughter should frans were anciently written Artes, and

namely, Salmanassar and his Successors; it was more likely, that upon such a Prowhole great atchievements in Syria and phecy his love to his Grand-child should essential inouid lewhere, witness, that the Meder and Perhave increased, and his care been the greatistic forms.

Yea, the same Herodotus, who is the first Grand-father, doth confess, That the line of Now from the beginning of Deices to the Achamenida was fo renowned, that the the first of Afrages, there past above nine great King Xerxes in the height of his prothey been ignoble, or had they been the vaffals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this fort Xerxes in the feventh of Herodotus deriveth himfelf;

I Achemenes. CTeisbeus. Ariaramnes. 2 Cambules. Arlamnes.

Of the Achamenida there were two races: of the first was Cyrus the great, whose issuemale failed in his two Sons, Cambyses and smerdis. This royal family is thus fet down

Achemenes, the Son of Perses, first King

Cyrus, the first of that name, had Cambrages, I do not find any memory. It seemeth | fes, and Atoffa, who, married to Pharnaces,

Cambyfes had

Cyrus the Great : Cyrus had Cambyfes, who succeeded him, and Smer-

Of the second; were those seven great nessthereof. But as we find all Kenophon's Princes of Persia, who having overthrown reports, both of thefe Wars, and the state the usurped Royalty of the Magi, chose

This Kingdom of Persta was first known of Achemenes held the Principality of Persia by the name of Elam, so called after Elam from Father to Son for many discents. And the Son of Sem, and the people therein in-

Suidas derives this Nation sometimes from Affar, sometimes from Magog, of whom that Affrages gave him his Daughter Man-they were called Magusai; which Magusai, dane in marriage, to the end that her Son according to Eusebins, are not to be taken Fa 16.28. (whose nativity he feared) might be disabled for the Nation in general, but for those that de Prop.

men. So do the Greeks, among many other For, what cause of grief could it be to their sayings of them, affirm, That the Perbecome Lord of the best part of Asia? No, that they called themselves Cephenes. But

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536 that they were Elamite, Moses and the Same which Antiochus, for the great riches that they were Elamine, indicated and thereof, twice attempted, in value, and to his first 12.1 Prophets, Efg., Jeremy, Exetted, Daniel, and thereof, twice attempted, in value, and to his great dithonour. And yet this City, now cal-End 32. St. Hierom upon Jeremy the five and twen- led Siras, was not the old Perfepolis; for tieth, upon Daniel the eighth, and also in Alexander, at the request of Thair the Har-2 Man 9. his Hebrew questions, approveth, faying: lot, burnt it. Elam à quo Elamita Principes Persides ; Elam, of whom were the Elamites Princes of Per- follow the current of Authorsinterpreting

fectord Book of the Alaceabees calleth Perferings, and joyned with him in the war against polis, is by the Author of the first called those strabian, who was afterward extin Elamais, but is now called siras, being the guished by the forces of Abraham.

The first King of Persta to us known, if we the fourteenth Chapter of Genefis, was Che-And that City which the Author of the dorlaomer, who lived with Amrafel or Ni.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

6. I.

Of Cyrus his Name, and first actions.

bo faith , That the same was taken five and fiftieth Olympiad. from a River which watereth Per- The former of which might have been datus for his proper Name : But the great Medes from the honour of having won Baby-Cyrus was the first of that Name. Herodo- lon it self, which in due place I have answertus, otherwise; and that Cyrus signifieth a ed. The latter seems to have reference to Father in the Persian-Tongue, and there- the second War which Cyrus made upon Lyfore so intituled by the people.

excellent virtues he was indeed called that time these Nations never offered to rea Father : But that the Name of Cyrus volt. Wherefore I like better in this partihad any such fignification, I think it be cular to believe with Herodotus, whom the

That Cyrus is as much to fay as the Sun, in bylon. the same Language. Howsoever it be, yet the Prophet Elay, almost two hundred years before Cyrus was born, gives him that Name, Thus faith the Lord unto Cyrus his Annoint- Of Croeius the King of Lydia, who made war ed, &c.

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which Cyrus obtained were many and great: among which the Conquest of Lydia, and other Provinces thereto subject, 10 of those Kings which governed Lydia in together with the taking of crefus himself, more ancient times: of which the first (to are not recounted by Eusebius, Orosius, and prophane Authors known ) was Lydus the others, but placed among his latter atchieve- Son of Asy: which Family extinguished ments: whose opinion for his difference of the Kingdom was by an Oracle conferred time is founded upon two reasons; namely, upon Argon, descended from Hercules, That of the Median there is no mention in whereof there were two and twenty Genethe last war against Crassus; and that the rations; Candaules being the last, who by obtaining of Sardis is referred to the eight shewing his fair wife naked to Grees his faand fiftieth Olympiad; and the glorious vi- vourite, he was by the same Gyges (thereto

S touching the Name of Cyrus Stra-1 Ctory which Cyrus had over Babylon, to the

fla; this great Prince having Agra- used (and was by the Greeks) to exclude the dia, when it rebelled; as which time helo Plut. is vit. It is true, that for his Justice and other established his former Conquest, as after most of Chronologers follow, and find the Plut arch hath a third opinion, affirming, enterprize of Sardis to preceed that of Ba-

Have in the lastBook spoke somewhat of Crass, of his race and predecessors, as al-

Oucen) the next day flain. Which done, fa, or of his own Lidia. Grees enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdom of Lydia, and left the same to Alys his Son, who was Father to Sadyattes, the Father of Halyattes (who thrust the Cimmerians out of Afia) and Halyattes begat Crafus. Which five Kings, of a third race, en-Ball 1, Joyed that Kingdom an hundred and feventained it fix years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

father to Cyrus, thought himself greatly honoured by obtaining Aryenes, Crafus Sifter, whom he married.

But Crefus fo far enlarged his Dominions inferior in territory to any King or Monarch were four in effect of equal strength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, and the Lydian: only Nabuchodonofor, after he had joyned Phanicia, Palestina, and Egypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his own life.

But Creefus, notwithstanding the men and treasure spent in the quarrel of the Babylonians, he yet mastered Æolis, Doris, and Ionia, Provinces possest by the Greeks in Asia the less, adjoyning to Lydia; gave Law to the Phrygians, Bithinians, Carians, Mysians, Paphlagonians, and other Nations. And that he also inforc'd the Ephesians to acknowledge him, not with standing they compassed their City with Diana's Girdle, He-

that then lived. out of Berojus (which also confirmeth) makes bylonians his allies did yearly celebrate a he performed in fourteen years.

marvellous rich gifts) what success he might beginning of glory to the other. hope for against Cyrus, if he undertook merchandize of both fide alike, and might and advancement of either Nations: and as

urged upon peril of his own life by the be inverted either way; to the ruin of Per-

ø. III.

Croefus his Expedition against Cyrus.

TEreupon Crafus being resolved to stop the course of cyrus fortunes, if he ty years. Halyattes the Father of Crassis was could, despised all the arguments used by an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a War against Cystates the to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inha-Median, a Prince very powerfull, and main- biting a barren and mountainous Region; a people not covered with the foft filk of Worms, but with the hard skins of Beafts; Allrages the Son of Cyaxares, and Grand- not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of Water, not of Wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and profperous; over whom, if he became victoriafter his Fathers death, as he was nothing ous, he could thereby enrich himself in nothing but fame, in which he already excelof that age: Of which, about that time there led: and if by them beaten, and subjected, fo great would his loss appear of all things which the world hath in account, as the fame could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this folid counsel, Crafus having prepared a powerful Army, he led the same toward Media, but in his passage he was arrested at Pterium, a City of great strength in Cappadocia; which while he fought by all means to furprize or to force, Cyrus came on, and found the Lydians encamped before it. That each was inferiour to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for, out of doubt, Crafus, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; fo was he not under any in territory and fame

But, as Cratippus of Mitylene answered report of a Signal Victory, which Crafus Pompey when he complained against the obtained against the Sacans, a Nation of gods, because they savoured a disturber and the Scythians, in memory whereof the Ba- usurper of the Common-weal against him who fought for the Roman liberty, That Feaft, which they called sacea: All which Kingdoms and Common-weals had their encrease and period from divine Ordinance: And being now confident in the continu- fo, at this time was the Winter of Crafus ance of his good fortune, and envious of cy- prosperity at hand, the leaves of his flourishrus fame, doubting also that his prosperous ing fortune ready to fall, and that of Cyrus undertakings might in the end grow peri- but in the flower and first spring. The Cod lous to himself, he consulted with the of all power, and not Admetis Herdman, Oracle of Apollo (whom he presented with Apollo, had given a date to the one, and a

When these two Armies were in view of him: from whom he received this riddle; each other, after the entertainment of di-Croesus passing over the River Halys, shall vers skirmishes, the Persians and Lydians bedislove a great Dominion. For the Devil being doubtful of the success, payed him with both Kings thrust on upon the falling off,

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day, to when the dark vail of night had courfes of their lives might well be accounthidden each Army from the others view, ed fortunate, but no man could differn him-Crefus doubting what success the rising Sun felf for happy indeed, till his end. would bring with it, quitted the field to Cirus, and with all speed possible retired, informed, remembring the changes of forand taking the next way into Lydia, recovered Sardis his first City and Regal Seat, his Ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire without any pursuit made by Cyrus to re- with all diligence, to fave Crefus, and to have tard him. Where being arrived, and nothing sufficing Grew approach, or any control of the war for that Winter, he dismissed the perswaded him? or what self-rea on had Souldiers, and fent the troops of his fundry conducted him to invade his territory, and Nations to their own Provinces, appointing to make him of a Friend an Enemy? To the time appointed.

ø. IV. The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

order to purfue them, yet not fo hastily, and fettat. at their heels, as to be discovered. But And herein is the real difference discernhaving good intelligence of Crasus his pro- ed between that behaviour which we call ceeding, he so measured his marches, as he beneficium latronis, and gratiam Principis: presented not himself before sarais, till A thief sometime sparing the life of him fuch time as Cræsus had disposed his Army which is in his power, but unjustly: A King to their wintring garrisons; which being that giveth breath, and a continuance of altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he being, to him that was the cause and author furrounded Sardis with his Army; Where- of his own evil. in Creefus having no other Companies than The report made by Xenophon, is, That his Citizens and Ordinary Guards, after Cyrus did friendly entertain Crafus at the fourteen dayes siege the same was entred by hrst sight, not mentioning that which Heroaffault, and all executed that refifted. Cra- dotus delivers, and is here already fet down, In commun first having now neither Arms to fight, nor that he should have been burnt alive. It may i clasi-wings to fly, sardis being on all parts strong- very well be, that Xenophon pourtraying (in wings to 113 and wings to 113 and the first of the heap cyrus) an heroical Prince, thought an intent pulping by encompatied, thrulf himself into the heap cyrus) an heroical Prince, thought an intent pulping by the first of the first of the first of the forgotten than reheafmum, Cur. had undergone the common fortune of com-ed, as too much mif-befeeming a generous Attention more persons vanquished, had not a son of nature. And it is very likely, that neerness mit: times, his, who had been dumb all his life (by ex- of alliance might with-hold Cyrus (had he tremity of passion and sear enabled) cryed been otherwise vicious) from so cruel a out to the Souldiers to spare Crasus. Who purpose against his Grandmothers brother. Solm 6.7 thereupon being taken and imprisoned, de- Howsoever it was, the moral part of the fpoiled of all things but the expectation of Story hath given much credit and reputatideath, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and on to the report of Herodotus (as to many let on the top of a great and high heap of the like it often doth) and made it pass for wood, to be confumed to affies thereon. To current, though the trust reposed in Crafus which when the fire was fet and kindled, afterwards may feem to argue, that Cyrus remembring the discourse which he had did not use him inhumanly at the first. with the Athenian Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, Solon, Solon, Solon: and Cyrus past with his Army over Araxes into

the Persans had somewhat the better of the him, That many men in the race and

Or which answer Cyrus being speedily tune, and his own mortality, he commanded a conduct him to his prefence : Which done. them to re-affemble at the end of five whom he thus answered; It was thy profmonths, acquainting his Commanders with perous, and my unprosperous destiny (the his interest for the renewing of the War at Grecian god flattering therewithall my ambition ) that were the inventers and conductors of Crafus War against Cyrus.

Cyrus being pierc't with Crafus answer, and bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his True in the following morning finding companion, shewing therein a true effect of , the Lydians departed, put his Army in mercy indeed, Que non causam, sed fortunam

For, as Herodotus himself telleth us, when being demanded what he meant by that in- scyttia, he left creefus to accompany and vocation, he first used silence; but urged advise his son Cambyfes, Governour of the again, he told them, That he had now found Empire in his absence. with whom he lived it true which solon had long fince told all the time of Cyrus, and did afterward folescaped his tyrannous hand. What his end fame and reputation that it held, as being was, I do not find.

But in this time the races of three of the took end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medi- unfoordable, fo plentifully victualled for and Crafus.

ø. V.

How Cyrus won Babylon.

A Conquest of Babylon, which gave unto ries: whereof though the Town was faid to Cress an Empire to large and mighty, that be stored sufficiently for more than twenty he was justly reputed the greatest Monarch years, yet might it well be deemed, that in then living upon earth. How long time luch a world of people as dwelt within those the preparations for this great action took gates, one great want or other would foon up, it is uncertain; only it feems, that ten appear, and vanquill the resolution of that whole years did pals between his taking unwarlike multitude. In expecting the fucthole two Cities of Sardis and Babylon; cels of this courle, the Besiegers were likely which nevertheless I do not think to have to endure much travel, and all in vain, if been wholly occupyed in provision for the they did not keep streight watch and strong Allgrian war, but rather to have been spent guards upon all quarters. in fettling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be circuit of those walls which they were to referred that which Ctesias hath in his frage | gird in, with numbers neither great enough, ments, of a war made by Cyrus upon the Scy- nor of men sufficiently assured unto their thians, though related as foregoing the vi- Commander: The confideration whereof ctory obtained against Crassus. He tellethus, ministred unto the Babylonians matter of their King prisoner: but being in a second tered about their Town to keep them in, battel overthrown by the wife of Amorges, who having been their ancient friends and Sparetha, and therein taken, the one King allies, were more likely to joyn with them. was delivered for the other.

part of those troubles which arose in the asit were yesterday, laid upon their necks lower affa.grew foon after the departure of the galling yoak of fervitude. Whilest the the victorious Army, before the Conquest besieged were pleasing themselves in this was fully established.

the less, many Nations, conquered formerly Cyrus, whom the Ordinance of God made by Creefus, and now by Cyrus, revolted from strong, constant, and inventive, devised, by him; against whom he employed Pattias, so many channels and trenches as were and then Harpagus, who first reduced the sufficient and capable of Euphrates, to Phocians under their former obedience, and draw the same from the walls of Babylon, then the rest of the Greeks inhabiting Asia thereby to make his approach the more the less, as the Ionians, Carians, Holians, facile and affured : which when by the and Lycians, who refolvedly (according to labour of many hands he had performed, felf, it is not to be doubted, that Cyrus em- or heads un-cut, between the main river ployed all his forces, having taken order be- which furrounded the City, and his own fore-hand, that nothing (hould be able to Trenches. divert him, or to ratte that fiege, and make should bend all his care and strength unto an exceeding sumptuous Feast, publick

low Cambyses into Egypt, where he hardly the taking of that City, which beside the head of an Empire thereon depending, was to strongly fenced with a treble wall of greatest Kings in that part of the World great height, and furrounded with waters ans, and Lydians; in Balthafar, Cyaxares, many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate but despised and derided all purposes and power of their beliegers.

The only hope of the Medes and Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a City fo well fortified and man'd, was, in cutting Fter this Lydian War, ensued the great off all supplies of victuals and other necessary

This was hard to do, in regard of the vast That Cyrus invaded Scythia, and being vi- good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, ctorious over that Nation, took Amorges Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quar-102.64.7.

if occasion were offered than to use much Likewise it may be thought that no small diligence on the behalf of Cyrus; who had, deceitful and vain gladness, that is the or-For after Cyrus was returned out of Asia dinary fore-runner of sudden calamity, the strength they had ) defended them- he stayed the time of his advantage for the felves. But in the attempt upon Babylon it execution: for he had left certain banks

Now Balthafar, finding neither any want frustrate the work upon which he did set all or weakness within, nor any possibility of his rest. And great reason there was, that he approach for his enemies without, prepared

Playes, and other Pattimes; and thereto in-[banquetting, she came in upon the bruit of vited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, the miracle, and to comfort the King in his besides his Wives, Curtizans, and others of distraction. And whereas Daniel was forthat trade. This he did either to let the be- gotten and neglected by others both of figers know, that his provisions were either younger years and times, this old Queen refufficient, not only for all needfull uses, but membred well what he had done in the even for jollity and excess; or because he dayes of Nabuchodonosor, Grandfather to this hoped that his enemies, under the burthen Balthafar, and kept in mind both his Reliofmany defirefles, were well near broken; or gion and divine gifts. in honour of Bell his most reverenced Idol; or that it was his Birth or Coronation-day; presence, who acknowledged those excellent or for many or all these respects. And he graces wherewith God had enriched him, was not contented with such magnificence he prayed him, together with promises of as no Prince else could equal, but (using Da- reward and honour, to read and interpret niel's words ) he lifted himself up against the those words miraculously written; to whom Lord of Heaven: for he and his Princes, Daniel made answer in a far different style Wives and Concubines, made carowling cups from that he used towards his Grandfather. of the veilels of Gole, in contempt of whom, for, the evil which he foretood Nabuchodonohe praited his own Puppets, made of Silver for, he wished that the same might be all his and Gold, of Brals, Iron, Wood, and Stone 5 enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of Quanta fust fiultitia in vasibus aureis biben- God, and vice, he hated ) he answered in tes, hences & lapideos deos laudare? How these words, Keep thy rewards to thy lelf, and great a feolifines was it (taith St. Hierom ) give thy gifts to another; yet will I read the drinking in golden Cups, to praife gods of Wood writing unto the King, and flow him the interand stone & While Balthafar was in this fort pretation. Which, before he had performed, triumphing, and his brains well filled with he gave him first the cause of Gods just vapors, h- beheld a hand, which by divine judgement against him, and the reason of power wre to on the wall opposite unto him, this terrible sentence, whereof the King and certain words which he understood not : all his Wife men were utterly ignorant. Diag. 6. loofed, and his knees mote one against the to his Father, whom all Nations cared and other. Which passion, when he had in some obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect part recovered, he cried out for his Chalde- of those benefits, as he deprived him of his knowledge, and understanding, &c. were Medes and Perstans. found in him, even in Daniel, &c. Now let The very evening Daniel be called, and he will aeclare the interpretation.

mother; Origen and Theodoret, for the Mo- fign he followed in this War, found the time ther of Balthajar; either of which may be and opportunity to invite him: and theretrue : for it appeareth, that flie was not any trore while the Kings head, and the heads of of the Kings Wives because absent from the his Nobility were no less filled with the vafeaft; and being patt the age of dancing and pors of Wine, than their hearts with the fear

When Daniel was brought to the Kings wherewith fo great a fear and amazement Whichbeing written at large in Daniel, hath na. (.) this effect, That forgetting Gods goodness 19.12 ans Aftrologians and Southfayers promiting eftate and understanding, so upon the acthem great rewards, and the third place of knowledgment of Gods infinite power he honour in the Kingdom to him that could restored him to both. This King, notwithread and expound the writing: but it ex- standing, lifted himself up against the same cceded their Art. In this diffurbance and God; and prefuming both to abuse those aftonishment, the Queen hearing what had Vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglectpast, and of the Kings amazement, after re- ing the Lord of all power, praised and worverence done, used this speech: There is a thipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brass, man in 11,3 Kingdom, in whom is the spirit of Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy Father, words, from the Oracle of a true God delilight, and understanding, and wilcom, like the vered, (to wit) Mene, Tekel, Upharsin, gave wildom of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King knowledge, that God hath numthe King Nabuchodonofor, thy Father, the bred the time of his Kingdom, and finished King (1 Jay ) thy Father made chief of the In- it; That he was weighed in the ballance of chanters, Aftrologians, Chaldwans, and south- Gods Justice, and found too light; and that Sayers, because a more excellent spirit, and his Empire was divided and given to the

The very evening or night of this day, wherein Balthasar feasted and perished, cjrus, either by his espials, according to Xeno-This Queen, Josephus takes for the Grand- phon; or inspired by God himself, whose en-

the prefent, by whose channel running, his which were written two hundred years be-Army made their entrance, finding none to fore any thing attempted. Army made then entired the Town lay buried (as the Poet faith) in fleep and wine: fuch as lon, were it not by divers grave Authors fet

Ballbafar, and betaken themselves to the after. Which is not impossible, if the relitiparty of Cyrus, did now conduct a selected mony of Diodorus siculus may be taken 5 company to the Kings Palace; which having who findes the compals therof at three eally forced, they rushed into the Chamber hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, where the King withhis Princes were ban- which makes five and forty miles: the walls quetting, flew both him and them without whereof had fo great a breadth, that fix any mercy, who struggled in vain to keep Chariots might pass in front thereon. And those lives which God had newly threatned of height, according to Ctessa and Clitracus, totake away. And now was the Prophecy three hundred threescore and five foot, garof Jeremy fulfilled, and that of Efay two nithed with an hundred and fifty Towers. hundred years before this subversion; who in strabo in the beginning of his sixteenth his feven and fortieth Chapter, and else- Book of Geography, gives it a greater cirwhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly cuit, adding five and twenty Furlongs more and lively, as if he had been prefent both at to the former compass, reckoning the same the terrible flaughter there committed, and at three hundred fourfcore and five Furhad seen the great and unseared change and longs, which make eight and forty mile and thine hand : thou didft flew them no mercy, Kingdoms. but thou didft las thy very beavy yoke upon the But when Cyrus had won her, he stript children also shall be broken in pieces before ken possession of their goods. their eyes, their houses spoiled, and their Wives

of Gods judgment, he caused all the banks that received the report from others truly and heads of his trenches to be opened and as it was, that could better leave the same to out down with that diligence, as by them he posterity after it happened, than Esay hath drew the great River of Euphrates dry for done in many places of his Prophecies,

came in the Persians way, were put to the down, might seem altogether fabulous: for. fword, unless they faved themselves by besides the reports of Saint Hierom, Solinus, flight, as some did, who ran away crying, and Orosus, Aristotle in the third of his Poand filling the streets with an uncertain tu- liticks, the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the City Such Affrian Lords as had revolted from knew not that the rest was taken three dayes Disk. 1.3. calamity of this great Empire; yea, and had one Furlong, but finds the wall far under alloheard the forrows and bewailings of that which Diodore reports: and so doth every surviving foul thereunto subj. ct. His Curtius measure their thickness but at two Prophecy of this place he beginneth in the few words; Come down, and fit in the dust, o dred cubits, which is also very much; every Virgin Dangbter of Babel: fit on the ground, cubit containing a foot and a half of the there is no throne, &c. And again, sit fill, large measure, though to the whole circuit and get thee into darkness, o daughter of the of the City he gives the same with siculus, Chaldwans; for thou shalt no more be called the and eight Furlongs more. Herodotus finds a Lady of Kingdoms. For, though it cannot be greater content than strabo doth, namely, doubted, that God used Nabuchodonofor, and four hundred and fourscore furlongs circle; the Chaldeans, to punish the Idolatry of the the thickness of the wall he measures at fif-Induans; yet E fay teacheth us in this place, ty cubits, and the height at two hundred of That he did not yet forget, that the execu-the same regal cubit. For entrance, it had Howler tion of his judgments was mixt with a rigo- an hundred Gates of Brass, with posts and rous extremity. For (faith E/ay) in the per- Hooks to hang them on of the same metal: fon of God, I was wroth with my people, I have and therefore aid the Prophet Ef.y rightly polluted mine inheritance, and given them into intitle Babylon, The Princess and Glory of 1/2. 47. 13.

ancient. I will rife up against them, faith the her out of her Princely Robes, and made Lord of Hofts, and will cut off from Babel the her a flave ; dividing not only all her good-Name, and the Remnant, and the Son, and the ly houses, and her whole Territory, with all Nephew. And in the thirteenth, Every one the riches therein contained, among his Soulthat is found, shall be stricken thorow: whose- diers; but bestowing the inhabitants themever joyneth himself, Shall fall by the sword, their solves as bond-llaves upon those that had ra-

Touching the reign of Cyrur, and the ravished. So as there is no Historian who time which he enjoyed in rest and please te, was either present at this victory of Cyrus, or I can say no more of it, than that it is gene-

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rally agreed by ail Chronologers to have in his own City of Pasagardes, which himlafted only feven years: in which time he felf had built, and where his Epitaph was to made such Constitutions as differ little from be read in his time; which is said to have the Ordinances of all wife Kings that are de- been this: O vir, quicunque es, o underna fireus to chabiish a Royal power to them- que advenis, neque enim te adventurum ienofelves and their posterity.

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#### ø. VI. The End of Cyrus.

great King Cyrus, is diverly written. my body is covered. Herodoins and Julin deliver. That after the Muliagetes , a very warlike Nation of the treasure, supposed to have been buried with Segilians governed by Tempris their Queen: him (or upon defire to honour his deadboand that in an incounter between the Per- dy with certain ceremonies) in which there fians and thefe Northern Nomades, Tomyris was found an old rotten Target, two Serloft her Army, and her Son spargapifes that thian Bows, and a Sword. The Coffin wherecommanded it : In revenge whereof, this in his body lay, Alexander cauled to be co-Queen making new levies of men of War, vered with his own garment, and a Crown blood, using these words; Thou that hast all body in the hands of Tomyris. thy life time thirfted for blood, now drink thy | And furely, had Cyrus loft the Army of fill, and fatiate thy fell.

ing the strength and multitude of those maining forces into Egypt, so far off from that frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate quarter; the scythian Nation then victotheir fury by some forcible invation and de- rious, and bordering Media: neither had population, because in the time of Cyaxares | Cambyses been able in such haste to have un-Father to Aftrages, those Scythians invaded dertaken and performed so great a Con-Media and Afia the less, and held the same quest. Wherefore I rather believe Xenoin a fervile subjection eight and twenty phon, faying, That Cyrus died aged, and in

myrique, lasted (saith he) lix years, and took unto him his Nobility, with his two Sons, end at the end of Cyrus.

nier; that this Scythian War was rather the wherein he assured himself, and taught fame which Cyrus made against the Sacians. others, of the immortality of the Soul, and of before the conquest of Lydia, according to the punishments and rewards following the Crefins before cited, who calleth Tompris, good and ill deferving of every man in this Sparetha, though he deliver the success of life; he exhorted his Sons by the strongest that War otherwise than Herodotus doth : arguments he had, to a perpetual concord Vig. pin. The rather (:aith Viginier) because strabo in and agreement. Many other things he uthis eleventh Book reciteth, that Cyrus fur- lered; which make it probable, that hereprized the Sacians by the same stratagem by ceived the knowledge of the true God which Justin faith, he defeated the Son of from Daniel, when he governed susa in cial is. Tomyris. And the same Ctesses also reporteth, Persia; and that Cyrus himself had read the That the last War which Cyrus made, was Prophecy of Esay, wherein he was expressy against Amorrhaus King of the Derbicians, a named, and by God (for the delivery of his Nation (as the rest) of scythia; whom people) preordained. Which act of deliverthough he overcame, yet he then received ling the Jews from their Captivity, and of the wound of his death, which he fuffered restoring the holy Temple and City of Jernthree dayes after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried work that ever Cyrus performed. For in

ravi: Ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum boc terra quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invideas ; O thou man, whoseever thou art, or whence soever thou comest; for I was not ignorant that thou flouldit come: 1 am Cyrus that founded the Perlian Empire, do "He last War, and the end of this not envy unto me this little earth, with which

This Tomb was opened by Alexander, as Conquest of Afia the less, Cyrus invaded the Qu. Curtius reporteth, either upon hope of and following the War against Cyrus, in a of Gold to be set upon it. These things well acted fecond battel beat the Perstan Army, and considered, as they give credit to there while taking Cyrus prisoner, cut off his head from ports of Xenophon and Zonaras, so they de-his body, and cast the same into a bowl of rogate much from Herodotus, who leaves his

Persia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his Son It should hereby feem, that Cyrus know- would so soon have transported all his repeace: and that finding in himself, that he This War, which Metasthenes calleth To- could not long enjoy the world, he called Cambyfes and Smerdis; or, after Xenophon, But in this particular I believe with Vigi- | Tanaoxares: and, after a long Oration, falem, was in true confideration the noblest though heaven and earth shall perish.

#### ø. VII.

of God in Jerusalem.

Victories, mentioned by fundry Hi his Fathers Decree, as well while he Gotorians, the glory of all which was a reward verned under him, as when himself became of this his service done unto him that was fole and Soveraign Monarch, we shall finde Authour of them and of all goodnes: 1 them in that Epistle remembred by Esdras, hold it meet at length to speak of the De- written by Belemus, Mithridates, and the cree made in the first of his Reign, being rest, Presidents and Counsellors in Phanicis. dured and finished the threescore and ten merly done in the times of other Kings. years captivity, by the Prophets foretold. But that which for that present seemed bed the Temple.

King Jeconias, and Jefus or Jofus the fon of written in Ezekiel, Egypt was the confidence Josadak, were about fifty thousand ; where, of the house of Ifrael. as foon as they arrived, they built an Altar terials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

in no fort favoured the Jens, nor the labours and by the Kings answer, it is evident. nor purposes they had in hand. And not Also in the fixth of Ezra, the fourteenth 18,22.16, only those which were but Provincial Lieu- verse, the Kings are named in order as they

other actions he was an infirmment of Gods begun. And whereas fome Authours make  $F_{jil}$ , 116. other actions for the chaftifing of many Nadoubt, that whatfoever Cambyjes did when power, the land of a Government himselfhad obtained the Empire, yet during tions, and the establishing of a Government himselfhad obtained the Empire, yet during the first state of the st in those parts of the world, which was not the life of Cyrus there was no such impedilong to continue. But herein he had the ment or prohibition: they may herein re-175.4 c Grace to be an inftrument of Gods good- solve themselves out of Esdras, That by the nels, and a willing advancer of his Kingdom conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, upon Earth; which must last for ever, the building was hindred all the time of King Cyrus life,&c. And therefore it is true, what the Jews themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of John, That the Temple was 46. years in fetting up having received of Cyrus bin Decree for building the Temple to many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of Darius.

And if we feek the natural and politick Aving therefore spoken of his great courses which moved Cambyses to withstand perhaps the first that ever he made after wherein they complain that the Jews were his possession of the Babylonian Empire: evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; F. L. 4 That the captive Jews should return again that their City being once built, they would into their own Territory, and re-build the then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the House of God in Jerusalem, having now en- obedience of the Empire, as they had for-

For the accomplishing whereof, he gave the most forcible impediment, was, that order to his Treasurers to furnish them with camby fer having in his resolution to invade all things necessary and wanting. He also Egypi, and that it was a common opinion, restored unto them five thousand four hun- That the Jews were descended of those Nadred threefcore and nine Veffels of Gold tions, because they issued thence under Moand Silver, whereof Nabuctodonofor, the fes, when they conquered Judea; their City Grandfather of Balthafar, had formerly rob being once repaired and fortified, they might return to their old vomit, and give The number of the Tews which returned the same disturbance to Cambyses Conquest, out of Chaldea under their Leader Zoroba- which they did to Sennacherib, Nabuchodobel, the Son of Salathiel, and Nephew to nofor, and other Kings of Babylon. For, as it is Estado

But it is to be understood, as Codoman to the living God, and facrificed thereon, and others have observed, that Artuxerxes, according to their own Law, and afterward to whom the Counsellors and Governors of bethought themselves how to prepare ma- Planicia complained against the Jews, did not precede, but succeed Darius Hift spes, as in the fixth and feventh Chapters of Estars and it is made plain: and also that those Government any one stone, than the samaritans and it is made plain: and also that those Government and the samaritans and it is made plain: other Idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave nors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, Governours of those Provinces under Cyrus but the fortifying and encloting of the City, altogether countenance the disturbers, and as by the reasons given in the laid Epistle,

tenants, and other officers of less place, but Governed, and Artaxerxes written after Da-Cambyles himself; who having the charge rim; as: and they built and finished it (to wit of the whole Empire, while Cyrus was busi- the Temple) by the appointment of the God of ed otherwise, countermanded the building Israel, and by the commandement of Cyrus

and Darius, and Artahihafte Kings of Perfia. | for the cruel intent that Aman (whom the Lastiv, in the seventh of Ezra it is written; old Translation calleth a Macedonian) had Now after these things, in the reign of Artah- against the Jews, though the opinion of Inthafte King of Perlia: which was as much as fephus be more probable, who finds Aman to to fay, after the finithing of the Temple in be an Amalekite. But it is hard to be under-Davies time. And therefore Artaxerxes in stood, how Atoffa, the daughter of Cres. the second of Esdras is there named by an- should have been Esther, whose History ticipation, not in his own time and place.

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ing of the City and Temple of Hierusalem. of Histaspes, or of Xerxes. The desire of Which action though prospered by the hand Atolja to have Greece brought under the of God, was very flowly purfued by the men yoke of Persia, was partly grounded upon whom it most concerned, but first set on the honour which thereby she thought her fact by Cyrus. The other Ordinances of husband might obtain, partly upon a femi-Cirus, with his form and manner of Govern- nine humour of getting many brave Dames, ment, are to be found in Kenophon. At his Corinthians, Athenians, and others of that ceath he bequeathed the Empire unto his Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore eldest Son Cambyses, appointing smerdis or I cannot give affent to the opinion of Codo-Tanaexares his younger fon to be satrapa, or man, who upon the near found of the two Lieutenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadusia; names, Atossa and Hadajja, (by the latter of and then died, after he had reigned (faith which Eftber was also called) makes them to throdotus) one and thirty years, or (accor- have been one person. For though it be true ding to Justine) but thirty.

#### ø. VIII.

jame with Qucen Hefter.

have supposed) instanced both her husbands, could have pretended a very weak claim.

Darius, and Xerxes after him, to invade But of these things more hereafter in fitter Greece, to be avenged of the whole Nation place.

feems rather to appertain to the time of Ar-And thus much concerning the rebuild- taxerxes Longinanus, than of Darius the fon that Eliber concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet Codomans inference is nothing probable, that the should therefore, and for the great affection of Cyrus his Iffue: and whether Atoffa were which the King bare unto her, be thought bis Daughter, or (as some think) were the the daughter of Cyrus. Certain it is, that Effber did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept Trus had iffue two fons, Cambyfes and free from this errour, yet the people, and Smerdis, with three daughters, Atoffa, especially the Nobility, must needs have un-Meroe, and Artsfona: Ciefias addeth to derstood the truth: who nevertheles didso these, Anytis. Atosa and Meroe their bro- well know the parentage of Atosa, that for ther Cambyles married; Artylona, Darius her (ake, a being daughter of Cyrus, her (on Vertes) being dead: who (as some Writers) for this elder brother, against whom also he byjes being dead: who (as some Writers)

CHAP. IV.

The Estate of things from the Death of Cyrus to the Reign of Darius.

ø. I.

Of the Number and Names of the Persian Kinos

F the Successors of Cyrus, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions As that of Metasthenes, who hath numbred the Persian Kings, and their times as followeth.

e	Darius Medus, and Cyrus joyntly. Cyrus alone. Prifeus Arlaxerxes. Darius Longimanus. Darius Nothus. Arlaxerxes Muemon.	2	}
-	Cyrus alone.	22	Ì
5	Priscus Artaxerxes.	20 37	years
h	Darius Longimanus.	37	) y cass
r	Darius Nothus.	19 55	
	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	Artax

Artaxerxes Ochus. Arles, or Arlames. Darius, the last, conquered by Alexander.

To which Philo agreeth; which number and names Artaxerxes Affuerus, for the im- remembered. mediate successor of Cyrus; in place (faith Melandhon ) of Darius the Son of Hystaspes: the fourth, verse seven, who is also called for Metafthenes, as Melandhon conjectureth, Artha/aftha, c. 4. l. I. Ezra v. 7. and chap. 7. doth not account Cambyfes in the Catalogue, v. 7. because his reign was confounded with that

There is a second Opinion, though ridiof that Empire.

Latins follow, and so doth Krentzheim, who ling with his own Sons. hathfully answered; and, as I take it, refutheir reigns.

Mileration gios Cires bengo.	Cyrus in all. Cambyfes with the Magi.	30 <sup>3</sup>	
·	Darius Hyftaspes.	36	
Minii.	Xerxes.	21	
but 20.	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	40	Ĺ
	Darius Nothus.	19	years.
Milett.	Artaxerxes Mnemon.	43	1
but 40. Misti.	Artaxerxes Ochus.	23	1
25.	Arsames.	3	1
Mitill. 4.	Darius the last.	6	i

all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have faid) the most ra I.ch. I. vers. I . and often elsewhere.

upon the Geneva understands that place; fall out right with each computation.

but, under correction, mistakes the matter

For Piolemy reckons the time answerable greatly, when he saith in the same note, that to two hundred and sour and twenty Julian Darius Hystaspes was an enemy to the people years, and an hundred and forty daies from of God, and stood against them: his great Nabonassar to the sixteenth of July, in the

favour and liberality to the Jews being elfeyears. where proved.

Thirdly, Is Darius Hystaspes found in Ezra the first, c. 4.v. 5. who in the fixth verse is also named Aballuerus

Fourthly, In the eleventh of Daniel, verfe. of years added, make in all an hundred the second, Xerxes is plainly foretold and ninety and one. But in this Catalogue Meta- described, and the great War which he thenes hath left out Cambyfes and Xerxes, should make against the Greeks by Danie!

Fifthly, Artaxerxes Longimanus in Ezra

Sixthly, Darius Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. v. 24. and cap. 5. v.6. Nehem. cap. 12.v.22.

Seventhly, Artaxerxes Mnemon in Nebem. culous, of sedar Olam, who finds but four cap. 2. v. 1. who was father to Artaxerxes Terfun Kings from the beginning to the end Ochus, and Arfames: for Durius the last, he that Empire. was of another Family, the Line of Cyrus the Great ending in Ochus, who descended also a differing account from the Greeks; from Xerxes the fon of Atoffa, Cyrus his whom neverthele's Eufebins, and most of the Daughter; and the iffue male of Cyrus fail-

But to proceed, Enfebius, with the Latins fedall the former Authors varying from following the Greeks, apply the beginnings that account. For in this fort do the Greeks and ends of every Persian King with their marshal the Persian Kings with the times of Acts, to some certain Olympiad; As the War of Astyages (Cyrus his maternal Grandfather) and Algattes (Crafus his Father ) to the nine and fortieth olympiad; The beginning of Cyrus reign, to the beginning of the five and fittieth Olympiad; The taking of Sardis by Cyrus to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The invalion of Egypt by Cambyfes to the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between feveral forms of computation, add the more credit unto both.

Again, this historical demonstration is Alm. 1.3. Which numbers put together, make in confirmed by the Astronomical computation of Ptolemy, who referrs the death of Alexander the Great, who died the 12. of Chronologers, and the best learned approve. November, in the beginning of the hundred These Persian Princes, being all warranted by and fortieth Olympiad, to the four hundred the authority of the Scriptures, as Pencer and four and twentieth year after Nabonafin his historical Animadversions, hath ga- far. And the Era of Nabonas ar began on the thered the places; finding first Cyrus in the fix and twentieth of Febfuary: which, confecond of Chronicles, ch. 36. verf. 22, 23. Ez- ferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth month of the first year of the eighth Olym-Secondly, Cambyles in the eleventh of Da- piad; So that whether we follow the acniel, who may indeed be well esteemed for counts of the Olympiads, as do the Greek Hione of those three Kings in the second verse storians, or that of Nabonassar with Ptolemy, named, and so the Marginal Commentator we shall find every memorable accident to

lus, place the taking of Egypt by Cambyfes in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetie the second or third year of the threescore the Daughter of Apries his predecessor. and third Olympiad, and the beginning of which Cambyses disdained. Cambyfes seventh year, in the first of the Howsoever it were; true it is, that Camthreescore and fourth Olympiad: which first byses gathered an Army fit for such an enof the threescore and fourth Olympiad runs terprize, and caused the same to march. along with part of the two and twentieth But before they entred Egspt, Amalis died. of Nabonassar. The like agreement is conse- and left Psammeniticus, whom Ctesias calquently found about the beginning and end |led Amyrteus, his fucceffor; who enjoyed of Cyrus.

fucceeded Cambyjes, is according to Ptolomy though other Chronologers give him fix the two hundred and fix and fortieth of Na- years. bonassar, which observing the differences of Nabonallars Æra and the olympiad, viz. eight in one battle he loft it, and was himself taand twenty years) agrees with the third of ken prisoner. the threefcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greeks. In this Josephus the example of Cyrus, did not only spare agrees with the Greeks throughout, faving life to the conquered King, but that he also that he joyneth Darius Medus, whom Xe- trusted him with the Government of Egypt, nophon calleth Cyaxares, with Cyrus in the and that, upon some revolt, or suspicion destruction of Eulylon; which is true, and thereof, he caused him to be slaughtered. not contrary to the Greek computation, but but the race of this King was not fo extirmay very well ftand with it.

accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian Kings formerly rehearfed, doth give the greater credit to this of the Greeks, which being constant init felf. accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewife with the holy Scriptures.

ø. II.

of Cambyses, and the conquering of Egyp

crease the greatness of his Empire: whereof it with Carrion. he was polleft in his Fathers time, while Cyrw made war in the North. Cteffas with others give him a longer reign than agreeth [eff had untombed the carcaie of Caus Marias after his dath. E-3] with the Gracian accompt before recei-

In the fifth year of his fole reign, and in Ho. 1. 2. the third year of the threescore and third 14.83,84, Olympiad, according to Diodore and Eusebito he invaded Egypt, and having overthrown the Kingthereof, Pfanmeniticus, he not only caused him to be slain, but also did put constrained Evelthon King thereof to acto death all his kindred and dependants, knowledge him who before held that Island with the most of hischildren.

Herodotus and Ctesias give for cause of this

tion of Cambyfes) that when he fent to Ama-The Greeks, and namely, Diodorus Sicu- fis King of Egypt, to have his Daughter in

CHAPLIV

Egypt after his Father (according to the best Likewise the twentieth of Darins, who Copies of Herodotus ) but fix moneths.

But how long foever he held the Crown,

It is (aid that Cambyles, following therein pated, if we may believe Herodotus and Lastly, The disagreement and confused inucydides, but that he left a Son called Inarus, who caused the Egyptians to revolt both from Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

That Plammenitions was at the first encreated gently by Camby ses, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amasis the King of Egypt, who died before his arrival, that he caused his body to be drawn out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custom both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians used to powder their dead bodies with falt, and TA7E will theretore, according to the other drugs, to the end the worms might truth, give the Empire of Persia to not devour them. The \* Persians durit not Name Cambyses, the Son of Cyrus, though degene- consume them with fire, which they esteem delication rate in all things, faving the defire to in- ed as a God, and therefore feared to feed confine

Plin. 1. 6. c. 54. Stra. & Jult. 1. 1 Pag. 87, 88. Her. 1. 3. Sca. 1. 7.

6. III. The rest of Cambuses his Ads.

Fter this victory obtained in Egypt Cambyses sent an Army into Cyprus, and of the Egyptians.

While Cambyses yet busied himself in War(being no other indeed than the Ambi- Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of CHAP. IV. Ammon; but the Devil, in defence of his that the same partiality deserved the same Oratory, raifed fuch a Tempest of Sand, punishment. wherewith the greatest part of the Country is covered, as the Perstans were therewith choaked and over-whelmed.

ing to be refifted, he prepared the reft of his tions, Praxaspes answered, That his virtues Army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of all men; only it was by many observed, that those incommodities, which his first-sent be took more than usual delight in the talt troopshad tryed, he changed his purpose. of Wine: with which taxation inflamed, For though conquering Kings have power he used this replication: And, Are the over men, yet the Elements do not obey Persians double-tongued, who also tell me, them; according to that old English Proverb, that I have in all things excelled my Father Go, faith the King; Stay, faith the Tide.

After his return from the attempt of

worthipped by that Nationas God, to be proceeded from true zeal, and been execu- mark, I am then pleafed that the fame be ted as in service of him that only is, and accounted true, and my subjects believed. liveth. But foon afterwards, when in a This being spoken, he immediately directed dream it seemed unto him that Smerdis did an Arrow towards the innocent child, who fit in the Royal Throne of Persta (which ap- | falling down dead with the stroak, Cambyses parition was verified in Smerdis the Magus ) hegaveit in charge to his favourite Praxaf- heart being broached on the Arrow, this per, to murther Smerdis his Brother. And monstrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, shewed having married his own Sifters, contrary to it to the Father, with this faying inftead of the Persian Laws, he committed a most cause- | an Epitaph : Now Praxaspes, thou mayest reless and most detestable murder upon the folve thy felf, that I have not lost my wits with one of them called Meroe , then by himself Wine, but the Persians theirs , who make such with child, because she bewaited the death report. of her Brother Smerdis. I find it written of cerned not the Kings private satisfaction, he Magi governed, while he was absent. cauled sisamnus, one of his Judges, and per- In Cambyses the Male-Line of Cyrus failed. chance one of those which favoured his in- For he had no issue either by Atossa or

that Nation, as he caused the Images them- | cestuous match, to be flayed alive, for an that is across, to be hayed anvey for an felves, with the Temples wherein they were unjust judgement given, and the same his worthipped, to be torn down and defaced. hide to be hung up over the judgement-feat. Worman France of This done, he directed a part of his Army in After which, bestowing the Fathers Office to Lybia, to overturn the Temple of Jupiter on his Son, he willed him to remember

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Among other his cruelties, that which he exercifed against the Son of his beloved Praxaspes, was very strange and ungrateful. Notwithstanding which misadventure, For when he defired to be truly informed by Heredoins and Seneca report, that, difdain- him what the Persians thought of his condiwere followed with abundant praise from Cyrus? Thou Praxaspes shalt then witness, whether in this report they have done me Æthiopia, he caused Apis the Egyptian Bull, right: for, if at the first shot I pierce thy Sons heart with an Arrow, then is it falle flain: a deed very commendable, had it that hath been spoken; but if I mis the commanded his body to be opened, and his

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerthis Cambyjes. That because his Predecessors cised, till at the last, according to the phrase observed religiously the Ordinances of their of our Law, he became felon de foy. For when Empire, he affembled his Judges and enqui- he was informed, that Patizites, and Smerred of them, whether there were any Law dis the Migi ( Cedrenus writeth them Sphenamong the Perstans that did permit the Bro- danis and Cimerdius ) Ministers of his dother tomarry his own Sifter; it being his meltical affairs, taking advantage of the own intent to to do: The Judges (who had great resemblance between smerdis the alwayes either Laws or distinctions in store Kings Brother, and Smerdis the Magus, pos to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, sest themselves of the Empire, he made all That there was not any thing written allow- hafte towards Persia; and in mounting haing any such conjunction, but they not with- stilly on horse-back, his sword dis-sheathing, standing found it in their customs, that it pierced his own thigh, wherewith deadly was alwayes left to the will of the Persian wounded, falling into an over-late and re-Kings, to do what best pleased themselves; mediless repentance of the slaughter which and io, as Nauclerus terms it, invenerunt oc he had executed upon his own Brother, he cassonem: that is as much to say, The Judges soonafter gave up his wicked ghost, when found a shift to please the King, and to se- he had reigned eight years, accounting cure themselves. And yet, where it con-therein those seven months in which the

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CHAP. V.

Cor. 1.4.

Zon, Con, ... Meroe: yet Zonarus out of Hierom gives him | upon the Laws of their Country; take other a Daughter called Pantaptes, and a Son mens wives by force, and deftroy whom called Orontes: who being drowned in the they please without judgement. River Ophites by Antioch . the fame was afterward, in memory of the Princes death, cal- firming that the tyranny of a multitude was

the place where Latopolis was formerly lea- judgement, run into business and affairs with ted, and that of Ateroe in the Island of Ni- precipitation, like raging and over-bearing lus, calling it by the name of his Sifter Hoods. Meroe.

#### o. IV.

of the Inter-regnum between Cambyfes and from excellent men. Darius.

one of the Migi, the counterfeit of Smerdis, ever happen that the discord of many Ruthe Princes, or Satrapa's, or Provincial Go- lers hath enforc'd the election of One Suvernors of the Empire (to wit, Otanes, In- preme. It were therefore, faith Darin, taphernes, Gobrias, Megabysus, Afphatines, Hi- | far fafer to observe the Laws of our Coundarnes, and Darius, who were all descended try, by which Kingly Government hath from Achamenes the first Perfian King ) had been ordained. ving discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprized and riss, and agreed to continue the same Imperooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Affistants. In which action (faith Justin) Intaphernes and Asphatines it was accorded, that the morning followwere flain: but Herodotus otherwife, that ing these seven Princes should mount on they were only wounded; for he avoweth, Horse-back, and on him the Kingdom should that all the seven Princes were present at be conferred, whose Horse, after the Sun-Horse the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into a consultation how the same might be ordered from of his Horse Ocharus, who, in the Suburbs of thenceforth. Otanes (one of the Seven) did the City, where the election was resolved not fancy any election of Kings, but that of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the the Nobility and Cities should confederate, morning Darius was mounted, to cover a and by just Laws defend their Libertie in Mare, who, as foon as he came into the same equality, giving divers reasons for his Opinion, being, as it seemed, greatly terrified Whereupon the other six princes descended by the cruelties of Cambyfes: As first, that from their Horses, and acknowledged Dait was not fafe to give all power to any one, rim for their Lord and King. feeing greatness it self, even in good men, Plato in the third of his Laws affirmeth, doth often infect the mind with many vices, that in memory of the feven Princes, and that liberty and freedom in all things is whereof Darius himself was one, that demost apt to insult, and to commit all man-livered the Empire from the usurpation of ner of wicked ourrage. Again, that Tyrants the Magi, he divided the whole into feven do commonly use the service of wicked Governments; Herodotus saith, into twenmen, and favour them most; they usurp ty satrapies.

Megabysus was of another Opinion, afthrice more intolerable than that of One. He built the City of Babylon in Egypt, in For the multitude do all things without

He therefore thought it fafest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counfels are ever had

Darius gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because Trus and his two Sons being now dead, even among few diuturnity of concord is and the Kingdom in the possession of seldom found, and in great Empires it doth

> The other four Princes adhered to Darial Government, by God established and made prosperous. And, to avoid partiality rifing, should first ney or bray. In the even-to, in ing, after thisappointment was made, it is said, that Darius consulted with the Master

CHAP. V.

Of Darius the lon of Hystaspes,

ø. I.

of Darius bis Linage,

Arius was descended of the antient Persian Kings, to wit, of the Achemenida, of which, Cyrus the Great was the lineal successor. For in of Darius his Government, and suppressing the this fort Herodotus derives him as before ;

corus the first, who had Teispius, who begat Ariaramnes, who was father of Arfamnes, the father of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, firnamed Celes, the father of Xerxes.

the wars against the soythians: at which fourteen thousand five hundred and threetime Cyrus being made jealous of Darius by score talents, saith Herodotus. a dream of his own, caused him to be sent into Persia; others say to be imprisoned, from in Egypt, and the contention between the whence by the death of Cyrus he was deli- Magi and the Princes of Persia, for the Emvered, and made Governour of the Persian pirc, gave heart to the Babylonians to recover Magi. He afterward followed Cambyfes into their liberty, and to shake off the Persian Egypt; he then joyned with the rest of the yoke; whereof Darius being advertised, he Necces for his wives.

137 befides Darius, these three sons, who were accused the cruelty of Darius: who, for P2. 132. great Commanders in the War which Darrus having given him advice to give over the Prison made in Asia the less, Thrace, Macedon, and frequency of their City, had in this fort dismension. Greece: Atames, Artaphernes, and Artaba-bred and deformed him; whereupon the Babylonians gave him that credit, as they trufted him with the disposition and commandment him with the disposition and commandment Pag. 185. married to Gobrius the Father of Mardoni- of their greatest forces: which when Zopy-190.18, who commanded the Army of Darius in rus had obtained, after some small coloura-Macedon, and married the Daughter of Da- ble over-throws given to the Persians upon

204. rius Artosoftre, his Cosen german. rius who succeeded Cambyses, Artabanus, moneths. BORNES Daughters, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two bornes, Daughters.

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6. II.

rebellion of Babylon.

Arius devised equal laws whereby his Subjects might be Governed, the same being formerly promised by Cyrus. He gave access to all his Subjects, and behaved himfelf so mildly to all men, that many Nations defired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he laid divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been Hylaspes accompanied Cyrus the Great, in accustomed in Cyrus time, to the value of

The war which Cambyfes made a far off Princes against the Magi, and either by the prepared an Army to recover that City and neying of his horse, or, asothers affirm, by State revolted. But finding the same a difftronghand he obtained the Empire, which ficult work, he used the service of Zopyrus, he the more assured to himself by taking who for the love he bare Darius, did cut off twoof Cyrus Daughters, and as many of his his own Ears and Nofe, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to fly Hyftaspes, according to \* Herodotus, had, to the Babylonians for succour, to whom he sallies, he delivered the City into Darius his Reineccine gives to Hyfraffes five fons, Da-

55°

the Temple.

TN the second year of Darins, he gave or- which Nation, being a Colony of the Greeken. der that the building of the Temple at Diodorus calleth Traytors to their Country, Hierusalem should go on , and commanded because they joyned themselves to Daring. that the fame thould be inithed at his own But the soythians more elegantly termed charge, and out of the revenues of the them good flaves, for as much as they would Crown. And whereas the Governours of not run away from their Master, but were those Provinces which are fituate between more mindful of doing their duties, than of house. 5. Fuphrates and the Phanician, and midland shaking off their bondage, when they were Sea (whom Ezr. calleth the Captains be- presented with as fair an occasion of liberty yond the River) had hindred the work in as could have been defired. For the great Cambifes his time, Darius gave commande- Army of Darius entring the defart Country ment that they should not thence-forth called Beffarabia, found in it neither people come near unto Jernfalem, to give any im- to relift them, nor any fustenance to relieve pediment to the building, but that they them. For the Soythians were then, as are thould withdraw themselves, and get them the Chrim Tartars, their posterity, at this far off till all were finished, and at an end. day, all horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. In the old Latine it is written, Procul recedite They were not Plough-men, but Grafiers, ab illis ; With-draw your felves far from them ; driving their Heards from one place to ano-In our English, Be je far from thence, to wit, ther, as opportunity of Pasture led them. from the City and Temple now in build Standing Towns they had none, but used

his own Subjects, That wholoever should thenceforth hinder the fetting up of the good order, making Streets and Lanes in the Temple of God, that his house should be manner of a great Town, removeable at torn down, and the disturber hanged on the their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour Gallows made of the timber thereof. Heal! himfelf, called now the great Chrim, any Eval. 11. in the same Decree maketh invocation to other City than such as Agora, (as they God: That hath caused his Name to dwell there name it or town of Carts. When as there-(10) deliroy all Kings and people that put their fore Durins had wearied himself, and wasted hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God his provision in those desolate Regions, which is in Jerufalem, &c. In four years after which Decree (the Jews being really furnished with mony and all things necessity furnished with mony and all things necessity for the second sec fary from Darius ) the Temple was in all thing at all, which either he himfelf might finished, to wit, in the beginning of the make use of, or by destroying it might Spring, in the fixth year of Darius Hystaspes, grieve his enemies, he began to perceive his and in the two and fortieth after their first own folly, and the danger into which he return.

> ø. IV of Darius bis Scythian War.

Fter the recovery of Babylon he inva-Aded the Scythians, whose King Justin whom was Miltiades, who perswaded the brym, one of the seven Princes, who had

Asian Grecians to break down the bridge, to the end Darius might not return thereby of Darius his favour to the Jews in building and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the fame was refifted by Hiltians Prince of Milet, a City of Ionia. for Houses the Waggons wherein they car-He also made a Decree which concerned lied their wives and children. These Waggons they place at every Station in very had brought him. Yet letting a good face upon abad game, he sent brave messages to the Sesthian, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make trial of his valour and fortune in plain battle; Or, if heacknowledged himfelf the weaker, then to yield by fair means, and become his Subject; giving him Earth and Water, which the Persians calleth Lauthimus; and faith, that Darius used to demand as a sign that all was yielded undertook this war against him, because he unto them. To this challenge the Scythian refused him his Daughter in marriage. The returned an Hieroglyphical answer; sending better to convoy his Army into Scythia, he a Bird, a Frog, a Mouse, and five Arrows: built a bridge of small Vessels over the Ri- which dumb shew Darius interpreting by his ver Ister or Danubius, and gave the custody own wish, thought that he did yield all the of the same in charge (among others of Asia Elements wherein those creatures live, and the less) to the Ionians and Eolians, among his weapons withall into his hands. But GoCamp by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were fick and weak behind him, either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not Hyltia. attend the coming of Darius, whom the sesthians did likewise fail to meet, when they returned from Ifter to feck him out.

ø. V.

Some actions of the Perfians in Europe, after the Scythian War.

Darius having thus escaped out of Seythia, determined the invasion of The first occasion of the War which Darius Thrace and Macedon, in which War he employed Megabasus, who mastered the Paonians, and transplanted them, and possest Perinthus, Chalcedon, Byzantium, and other places, being also soon after subjected, and were well filled with wine, and prefumed Athens.

than the Mugi, construed their meaning upon their greatness and many Victories, benam the many victories, or perfians, ger gan to use such embracings, and other laciaright, wings like Eirds, or dive under the mater, vous behaviour towards those Noble Laor every into holes in the earth, for elfe se field dies, as Alexander the Kings ion, great or tree fine grant and this interpreta Grandfather to Alexander the Great, difnot ejease our arrows from verified by the Softhians daining the Persans barbarous presumption, tion was 1000 themselves, who assaided the Persian camp belought his Father to with-draw himself draw the horse-men into the trenches, and from the assembly, continuing notwithrexed the Army with continual Allarums standing all honourable respect towards the day and night; were fo fearless or this great Embaliadors, whom withall he entreated day and mgms, were retained than that the Ladies might refresh themselves for Monarch, and so little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his fight, they did not forbear the paltime of courfthey did not forbear the paltime of courfThis being obtained, Alexander caused the ing a Harc, which they had ftarted by like number of well-favoured young men mg a hance. By this boldness of theirs, Darius to clothe themselves in the same garments, was io discouraged, that he for ook his and to use the same attires which the Ladies That when the Persians offered to abuse and fo with all speed marched away towards them, they should forthwith transpierce the River Ister. He was pursued hardly by them with their long knives, of which they the systiams, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the lonian to depart, affuring them that the Persian after given by Darius for a severe revenge king thould never more be able to do them of this murder: But Alexander formewhat before the death of Amintas, gave his litter Gygea in marriage to Bubaris, a principal us the Milestan prevailed with his people, to Commander of Darius forces on that side, the Alliance of Macedon would prove for the invasion of Attica intended, so prevailed, as Alexander escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall upon him very fuddenly; the war of Afathe leis, called Ionick, falling out at the same time.

made upon Greece, with a rehearfal of the government in Athens, whence the quarrel

NOw the better to understand the reaadded to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the fon and motives of that great War, fon of sysammes, whom Cambyses had excori- which followed soon after, between the ated for false judgement. So were the Ci- Perstans and Grecians, it is necellary to tues of \* Selbiria, and a Cardia likewisctaken make a short repetition of the state of in from the Perstan, who having now re- Athens, which City endured the hardest and duced under his obeyfance the best part of worst brunt of Darius invasion on that side Thrace, did send his Embassiadors to Amintas the Sea, with admirable success. Neither do King of Macedon adjoyning, demanding of I hold it any impertinency to be large in him by the Earth and Water, the Sove- unfolding every circumstance of so great a Taignty over that Kingdom. Amintas business as gave fire to those wars, which nedoubting his own strength, entertained the ver could be throughly quenched, until in Embassadors with gentle words, and after-the ruin of this great Persan Monarchy. Perwards invited them to a solemn and magni- Jepolis the Capital City of the Empire, was at ficent feast; the Persians greatly desired that the request of an Athenian Harlot consumed the Macedonian Ladies might be present : with a flame, as dreadful, as in the pride which being granted, the Embassadors, who of their greatness, the Persians had raised in Now

CHAR V

Now therefore as out of the former books | Abfander. it may be gathered, how Athens and other Erixias was the last Archon of the decennial parts of Greece, were antiently Governed, the same being already fet down, though featteringly, and in feveral times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperours, and the Kings of Judas; fo I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember again the two last Anthostenes. changes in the State of Athens. As for the Archimedes. Lacedamonians, they maintained still their Miltiades. ancient polity under Kings , though these Damisias. also after some sisteen descents were bridl- Draco.

ed by the Ephori. Codrus King of the Athenians, in the former books remembred, who willingly died for the fafety of his people, was therefore fo honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their dom, gave Laws to the Athenians, which former Government from Monarchial to were published, according to Gellius, in the Princes for term of life, of which Medon the three and thirtieth year of Tarquinius Prifius, Son of Codrus was the first after whom they and were in after ages derived unto the Rowere called Medoniide; and of these there mans, and by the Decem-viri (Magistratesia were twelve Generations besides Medon, to wit,

Agestus.

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ing to Eusebius: which migration all forty.

Thersippus. Phorbas.

Mezades.

Diogenetus, in whose time Lycurgus gave Laws to the Spartans.

Pheredus.

Ariphron. Arbaces.

Agamnestor. ing to Eusebius ) were erected in Laceda-

first Archon, was

Charops, then Æsymedes. Elydicus. Hippomines. Legarates.

Governours, which from continuing threescore and ten years, was then changed into annual Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of which Theseur was the first, according to Paulanias: others find Leoftratus; and then

Mee acles. Solon, and others, who are the less to be regarded, by reason of the yearly

change. This solon being a man of excellent wifto Twelve Tables, which were the ground of the Roman Laws. But these goodly ordi-Archippus, in whose times the Greeks trans- nances of Solon, were in his own dayes violaported themselves into Ionia, after Troy ted, and for a while almost quite extinguishan hundred and fourscore years, accor- ed. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular Goother Chronologers ( fuch as follow vernment; the state of Athens was very Eusebius herein excepted) find in the soon changed into a Monarchy by Piffirayear after Troy fallen one hundred and tus the fon of Hippocrates : who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof Megacles and Lycurgus, two Citizens of Noble Families, were become the heads, took occasion by their contention and infolency to raife a third faction more powerful than the other two, and more plaufible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in General. Having by Theispins, in whose time the Assyrian Em- this means obtained love and credit, he pire was overthrown by Belochus and wounded himfelf, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been flain for his love to the good Citi-169. Æschylus, in whose time the Ephori (accord- zens; he procured a Guard for his defence, and with that band of men furprising the State-house, or Cittadel of Athens, he made Pas, 175 Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after himself Lord of the Town; Hegessfratus bewhose death the Athenians elected De- ing then governour. But the Citizens, who cennial Governours: the former Princes in every change of Government had fought for life having continued in all three to remove themselves further and further hundred and fixteen years. The first of from the form of a Monarchy, could soil those that Governed for ten years, or the brook this usurpation of Pisstratus, that he was driven for lack of help, to fly the Town, as foon as Megacles and Lycurgus (joyning their forces ) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his Tyranny, founded upon the diffention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; fo was it

foonafter well re-edified by the new break- ly favoured by Darius, to whose Son Hypoing out of the old factions. For when Megaling out of the old factions for when Megaling out of the old factions for when Megaling out of the old factions. illy found the power of Lycurgus to grow riage. But some three years after the death greater thanhis own, he did (as is the ufual of his Brother, doubting I know not what practice of the weaker fide) call in the com-monenemy fiffralus, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance neither Pifftratus the Father, nor Hippias the Family of the Alemaonida, whereof Me- himself had ever exercised, during their gales was chief, became very powerful, yet usurpation till this time. And therefore the io, that Pifffratus by their power was made Athenians fearing left that this difease might Malter both of them and all the rest. But this rather increase than diminish in Hippias. agreement held not long; the Alemaonida, they stirred up Clistines, one of the noblest and especially Megacles, being incensed a and best able of their City, to practise their and especially for his middemeanour to-delivery: who, calling to his affiftance the wards his Wife. Wherefore they practifed banished Alemaonide, together with an Army by with the Souldiers of the Town, proceeding of the Lacedamonians led by Cleomenes their that by with the treason so secretly, and so far, that King, so affrighted Hippins, as by his compopiffratus (upon the first discovery of their lition he gave over his estate, and the posintent) perceived no other remedy for his session of Athens, and from thence imbarkaffairs, than to withdraw himfelf to Eretria, ing himfelf took Land at \* Sigeum, whence \* Sigeum, a and to whether the manned eleven years. Which time he went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by ry opposite called the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the promoter of the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the promoter of the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the promoter of the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the promoter of the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the promoter of the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the promoter of the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the promoter of the went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampfacus in Myfa governed by the Went to Lampf being expired, having hired Souldiers out of Autides, who presented him to Darius. He to the Ille being expired, naving interesting the description of the description o principality of Ashens: after which third Thurydides agree, twenty years before the in. is 5. fore, as after his several expulsions. Herodo- which Darius in the end to his great dishotw gives the Father and the Son fix and thir- nour undertook, twenty years after Hippias ty years ; Aristotle five and thirty. But Thu- had refigned his estate. cydides affirmeth, that he died very old, lea-

with such moderation, as they rather seemof Athens, his Brother Hipparchus was mur- most urgent. dered by Harmodius and Aristogiton. The cause why, and the manner how performed, Thusydides hath written at large. And, tural lust after Harmodius, yet Plato in his Dialogue, intituled Hipparchus, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent virtues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers, and authors of that scandal. Hippias fearing that this enterprize upon his Brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent,

CHAP. V.

obtaining his estate, he governed Athens battel of Marathon: all which time he con-Acinal feventeen years, according to Ariffotle, and tinued, partly with Eantides, at other times 200 months reigned in all thirty and three years, faith with Artaphernes Lieutenant for Darius in inc. Elianus, but, as Juftin hath it, four and thir- Sardis, the Metropolis of Lydia; perswading ty; accounting the time belike as well be- and practifing the enterprize upon Athens,

Thus far I have digressed from Darius, to ving for his Succeffors, his two Sons, Hippias the end the Reader may conceive the betand Hipparchus, who governed the Athenians ter, the causes and motives of this War: whereof the hope that Hippias had to be reedthe Lineal fuccessors of a natural Prince stored to Athens by the help of Darins, which than of a Tyrant. But in the end, and some made him solicit and perswade the Persians three years before Hippias was expelled out to conquer Greece, was one, but not the

ø, VII.

though Hipparchus was charged with unna- of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principal cause of the Wars ensuing between Greece and Persia.

Nother, and a strong motive to this A expedition, was the Ionick War, breaking out in Ale about the same time. The Colonies transported out of Greece into Asia, which occupied the greatest part of the Seafirst sought to discover the further intents coast, having enjoyed their liberty about of Harmodius and Ariflogiton, by a Harlot 500 years, even from the lonick migration, the in of theirs called Lemnia: who, because she to the time of Cresus, were by this Lydian adjugan ou uters caused Lemnia: who, because he had afterwards as a superfection would not reveal her Companions, did cut King made Tributaries, and afterwards as the half white make out her own tongue. Then did Hippins, the parcel of his Dominions, were taken in by better to strengthen himself, enter into a Crown, and lest as hereditary Servants to the Crown of Persa.

Grant amity with Eastides, Tyrant of the Crown of Persa.

City Lampfacus, whom he knew to be great- But as it is the cultom of Nations halfconquered CHAP. V

upon every advantage and opportunity: fo that might befall him, as one that had wadid the Ionians, and other Gracians, both in fled the King's treasures to no good pur-Gress his life, and after him, feek by all means pofe.

pollible to free themselves.

to four them into Rebellion, as had by the Countrey of long into the same course Perfun been given unto them for bridles to which he determined to run, he abandoned hold them in Jubjection. Every one of those his tyranny, and did tet Miletus at liberty. Towns had a Lord to rule it, whom they This plautible beginning wan unto him the (abhorring the Government of one man) hearts of the Milejians: and his proceeding called their Tyrants. These Lords were vety true to the Perstan, by whose only might he took and fold as flaves to their Citizens. they held the people in Subjection. And this others he chased away ) caused the whole their dutifull affection they had well decla- Nation to be at his command. The Persian red, when Darius, being in great extremity, Fieet, whereof he lately had been Admiral they used all means to deliver him and his in the enterprize of Naxos, he had surprized Army (that otherwise had been lost) out or in his first breaking out, together with the the Sottians hand. Of this great piece of principal Officers, and Captains; fo that now fervice Histories the Tyrant of Miletus ex- he thought himself able to deal with the pected the chief thanks, as having been chief great King's forces, lying thereabout, either Author of their expecting Darius, when the by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the reft, either perswaded by the scythians, or power of all Asia would shortly be upon his carried away with their own defires, were neck, and crush both him and his assistants ready to have abandoned him. But it came to pieces, unless he were able to raise an Arfo to pass, that Darius being more fearful of my that might hold the field, which the the harm that Histiaus (being powerful and lonians alone were insufficient to perform. crafty) might do to him in the future, than Therefore he took a journey to Sparia. mindful of the good which he had already received at his hand, found means to carry him along to sufa, where he detained him win to his party Cleomenes King of the Lacewith all kind utage of a friend, yet kept fuch demonians: he went from thence to Athens, good espial upon him, as an enemy, he could and with better success besought the people not fart away. Hifireus had subtilty enough to lend him their assistance. The Athenian to discover the Kings purpose, which ili Ambasiadours which had been sent to the agreed with his own defires. For he thought Perfian Kings Lieutenant in the lower Ala, it more pleasant, and more honourable to desiring them not to give countenance to rule as Prince in one fair City, having a Hippias, now a banished man, and lately their fmall Territory, than to fit and feaft at the Tyrant, were a while before this returned great King's Table, and hear the Counfels with ill answers, having found very churlish by which a large Empire was managed; be- entertainment. So that the evil which they ing himfelf an idle beholder, and enjoying were to expect in all likelihood from the with much restraint of liberty, none other Persian, made them willing to begin with pleasures than a private man might bestow him. To which purpose, their consanguinity upon himfelf.

Wherefore he bethought himself of raifing of some tumults in the lower Asia, to pa-

conquered (witness Ireland) to rebell again in fear of difgrace, if not of some surther ill

Therefore he readily embraced the coun-At this time they found fuch men ready fel: and the better to draw the whole with other Ionian Tyrants ( of whom fone where having affayed in vain with many arguments, and the offer of fifty Talents, to with the Ionians, and the persivations of Aristagoras, drew them on apace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships cifie which, if he might be fent, as one that the Athenians furnished for this Voyage; to had great experience and authority in those which the Eretrians furnished five more, in quarters, it would afterwards be in his regard of the ancient Kindness that had pafpower to stay at home, and either satisfie the sed between the Ionians and them. With King with excuses, or deal as occasion shall these and their own forces joyned, the lonirequire. Resolving upon this course, he sent ans entred the River Caiffrus, which falleth very fecret instructions to Ariflagoras his into the Sea by Ephejus: by which advankiniman, whom he had left his Deputy at tage they furprized Sardis, when no enemy Miletus, adviling him to ftir up some Rebel | was heard of or suspected; insomuch, as Arlion. These directions came scassonably to staphernes, who ruled as Vice-roy in those Ariftagoras, who having failed in an enter- parts, had no other hope of fafety, than by prize upon the lile of Naxos, through the retreating himselfinto the Castle, which the falle dealing of a Persian his Associate, stood Gracians could not force: from whence he

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the City flaming. Burgers, began to encourage them to de Bargers, began to the barket place, against him. These provocations did rather tence, and recovered the Market place, against him. These provocations did rather tence, and trengthened by the River Padolus, which breed in him a defire to abate their pride, trenguence it; and borrowing courage than any fear of harm that they were like ran thorow it; and both defended them to do him. For what they had done at Sar-Army, the rest saving themselves in Ephesus. was by that excellent Poet Simonides preferved. After this overthrow, the Athenians which were before fent unto Ariftagoras, and theirs, no not by their tears, be perswaded to make any second trial of their fortunes on that fide the Sea.

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noise in the world, than the late good sucpart of Caria; and fending their Fleet into threw him, and cut his troops in pieces. lately subdued by Cambyses, began hereupderacy with the Ionians, who were able to was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by give them aid by Sea, rebelled against the whom his double-dealing was detected. Persians.

think, that they would not have dared to given to his dead body that was crucified, attempt such things, but by the instigation and by his heavy taking of his death. ced any further.

beheld the flaughter of the Citizens, and the whole Nation of the Greeke; for all of The Terfant, at length, mixt with the Illanders moreover did help to furnish out tromacipe actions and their enemies 3 who well dis, was but by furprize. In every fight they were beaten by the Perstans, who had advining could toward the Sea fide. But Artaphernes not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, could toward the date of the frength he could, wherein Cyrus had trained them, nor all naving games and found them near their ancient Captains. In one Sea-fight by purined the of capitals in one sear ngitt by the life of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had them, he flaughtered a great part of their the upper hand; but they were Phaenicians, Army, the Evalcidet, Captain of the Ere quithed: neither was that victory of any use trians perithed: but his fame and memory to them; the Cyprians, in whole aid they Army at Land, and reduced into their old So had the Persians likewise by to the Ionians, could by no arguments of open War and fair force overthrown the Nation; as also they had recovered the Towns upon Hellefont, with some Lolian and Ionian Cities, when Ariftagoras with his friends quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, ces which the Persians had in one or two desirous to seat himself in Amphipolis, a Coskirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the lony of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on lanian bravely proceeded, won a great whose Territory belike he landed, over-

About the same time, Histiaus, the first Towns into their hands. Yea, the Cyprians, mover of this infurrection, came down inthe performance of great matters to Darius,

But this Evasion preserved him not long. These news coming to the ear of Darius, And after many vain attempts that he made, filled him with great indignation, and with he was taken in fight by the Persaus, and an extreme hatred of the Albenians, upon hastily beheaded, lest the King should parwhom he vowed to take sharp revenge. As don him upon remembrance of old good for the Ionians, his contempt of them, and turns; as it feems that he would have done, their knowledge of his power, made him to by the burial which he commanded to be

of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to Miletus; but the Citizens, doubting his conprovoke him. This was the main ground of ditions, chose rather to keep him out, and the War commenced by Darius, and purfued make thift for themselves, without his helpby Karkes, against Athens: To which the The strength of their City by Land, which folicitation of Hippins, before remembred, had in old time withflood the Lydian Kings; gave only fome form and affiftance: the bu- and their good Fleet, which promifed unto finels, when once it was thus far on foot, them the liberty of an open Sea, embolbeing like enough to have proceeded, dened them to try the uttermost, when though he had perished, ere it were advan- very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navy was Some other occurrences in this lonian broken as much by threatnings as by force; commotion extended the quartel of Darius many of their companions and fellow-rebels against many of the Islanders, if not against fortaking them upon hope of pardon; and them. Neither was it long before the Town it felf, being affaulted both by Lane and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens flain, their wives and children made flaves and their goods a booty to the Ferlians whom for fix years space they had put to to much trouble. 

#### o. VIII.

The it'ar which Darius made upon Greece with the lattell of Marathon, and Darius

made on Europe fidewith variable faccels; draitly, and after fix dayes affeult, partly by During optimate in the enterprife and Con- lorce, and in part by the treafon of Emphabus enet of orece (though at first he pre- and Philagias, they took it, fackt it, and resided to make the War but against the burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds Adherians and Ernrans, who joyedy af of profperous fortune filled their fayls From 14 to the lenions against him, and burnt Eubwathe Persians past their Army into 41-The fadours demand an acknowledgement rince of Athens, and marching towardsit, the control them all: among whom, tome of they encamped at Marathon, in the way mitted themselves; as the Aginets, and Athens. others. Against these, the Askenians being inflamed, (by the affiltance of the wherein they were to dispute with their con sund Lacedemonians ) after divers encounters own vertues against Fortune and to califors forced them to give pledges, and to re- for their liberty, for their wives, their chillinquilly the party of the Perfians. Cleamenes dren, and their lives, put themselves in the led the Lacedamonians in this War, and belt order they could to make reliftance, caused his companion King Demantus to be and withall fent away with speed to the Laderoid: who thereupon fied to Darius, cedamonians for fuecour, imploying inthat far the more confident of victory, by rea- Negotiation one Phidippides; who palling 20, 11 1, 333, 8... (on of thele difcords, alienations, and civil through areadia, encountred in the way a Wars among the Greeks. He therefore familiar Devil, which he supposed to belan, gave order to Hippagorus to prepare a Fleet who willed him to affure the Athenians of

Hellefront: the same confifting of an hunin the mid-way between Afia the less, and cause or folid reason. Greece. For (obtaining those places ) the The Athenians being now left to them-Persians had then nothing to hinder the selves, with one thou and only of the Platetransportation of their forces over the A- ans (who having been formerly defended by

many being daunted with the causeles alwayes both relieve themselves in the pasthight of those that thould have affilted tage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempetts and out-rage. To this end, they first possess themselves

CHAP. V

of samos; fecondly, they attempted Naxos; Which Itland, the Inhabitants despairing of their own forces, abandoned. So oid the people of Delos of which apollo was native: Which lib nd Darms did not only forbear to fack, but recailing the inhald ants, he gave re-rio beautific the places and Altars of Sacrifice to apollo exected. And having recovered the e & other Hands, the Perfimi directed their course for Eretria in Enteraor that City ( as already bath been thewed ) had attitted the Ionians at the taking H H's War with good success finished and firing of Sardis. In this Island the Peril by the Porfians, and tome attempts and took ground, and bedeged Eretriavery Sar. is in I salas ) and now by his Ambais Inca conducted and guided by Hippins, late them not to well resolved as the rest, sub- crom the Sea, where they landed, towards

The Athenians, finding the time arrived of Ships, fit to transport his Army over the victory, promifing that some one of the gods thould be prefent at the battell, toafdred thousand toot, and ten thou and horse. lift them and defend them against the mul-The charge in chief of his Army he committitude of their enemies. Phidippides at his ted to Datis, accompanied and affilted by return, teeing he could not bring with him Hippias, the Son of Pilifiratus, expelled any prefent faccours from sparta, yet he out of Alkens twenty years before, and thought it greatly availing to bring news by Artaphernes his Brother, Governour from the gods, and promife of affiltance from of sardin, and the Sca-coast of Asia the Heaven, which no doubt (though the device less. These Commanders having their was tomewhat likely to be his own, yet)it Companies brought down to the Sca-fide, greatly eucouraged the multitude and comimbarked themselves in fix hundred Gallies mon people, who in all ages have been more and other Veffels; and first of all astempt-stirred up with fond Prophecies and other ed the Illands, called Gelades, which lay like superstitious sooleries, than by any just

gean Sea; but on the contrary they might the Athenians against the Thevans, did in

CHAP. V. this extremity witness their thankfulness & gave. Themistocles had his first reputation in this execution) began to dispute, Whe-this fight, being but young and of the first ther it were molt for their advantage to beard. Those of the Gracians, of mark and define the walls of Alberts, or to put them commandement, that fell in the first entelves into the field with fuch forces as they counter, were Callinackus and Stefficus. It had, the same confilling of ten thousand is also said. That Greggrus following the Albenians, and one thouland of the Plateans. Persians to their embarking, laid hands on In the end, and after great divertity of opi- one of their Gallies, to have held it from nions, Alltrader, who pertiashed the trial putting off the flore, and having his right by battel, prevailed.

differed themselves into three troops: two ter happened in the first year of the threeungs or horns, as they term them; and the score and twel tholympiad, about the time body of a battel. The Perfians when they of the war made by Coriolanus against his perceived fo fmall a troop advancing to fellow-Romans: Alexander the Son of wards them, thought the Athenians rather Imputas being then King of Macedon, and if policit of their understandings than pof- Phanippo then Governour of athens, accorthey. So invincible and refittless the Per- nasseus.

hundred fourfcore and twelve. For how- a few dayes ended his life. of truth. In this fight Hippies the per- good Government.

hand cut off he yet offered to arrest it with The Armies being now in view, and his left; of which also being deprived, he within a mile of each other, the Athenians took hold of it with his teeth. This encouner panes. The resolution whereof they made ding to Plutareh, or Hibilides, after Halyear-Ant.

finiselectured their own numbers to be and the returned back into the lefter Afia, Miltan small troop of their enemies then in fians returned back into the lefter Afia, Miltans returned back into th view.rather to be despised than to be fought tiades sought and obtained an employment withall: But in conclusion, the Victory be against the Illanders of Paros, one of the ing doubtfully ballanced for a while, fome- Cyclades, and paffing over his Companies in time the vertue of the Gracians, and fome-threefcore and ten Gallies, after fix and times the number of the Persians prevailed; twenty dayes affault he brake his thigh, in the Gracians fighting for all that they had, seeking to enter it by the Temple of Ceres, the Perfuns for that they needed not, these wherewith himself being made mable, and great forces of Darius were difordered and his Companies difcouraged, he returned to put in rout; the Athenians following their Athens; where those ungrateful Citizens Viftory even to the Sca-shore; where the forgetting all his services past, and that of all Perfuns, so many of them as lost not their other the most renowned at the battel of wis with their courage, laved themselves in Marathon, did by the perswasion of Xantippus, the father of Pericles ( who envied his The Persian Army confifted of an hundred frame) cast him into prison, and set on him a thouland foot, and ten thouland horfe; of fine of fitty Talents; where his weak and which there were flain in the place fix thou- wounded body being not able to endure the fand three hundred, and ot the Grecians an one, nor his citate to pay the other, he after

foever it came to pass, either by strange | Which envy of the better fort to each vilions which were afterward called Pannici other, with their private Factions, affiltterrores, or by some other affright, it seem- ed by the unthankfull and willes people, eth that the invading Army, after the first brought them not many years after, from a encounter, fought with their backs towards Victorious and famous Nation, to bate fubtheir enemy, and lost that number, by Hero- jection and flavery. Militades left behind hau down let down, in their diforderly retrait, or one fon called Cymon begotten on Hegely, il.; tather in their flat running away. As for daughter of Olorus King of Thrace, who daith Justin's report, That two hundred thou- Plutarch) was neither inferiour to his father fand of the Perfan Army were flain, the in valour nor to Themiftocles in understandfame hath no appearance nor poffibility ing, but exceeded them both in Justice and

fwader of the enterprise was flain, faith Now Darius taking greater care how to Justine and Cicero; but Suidas tells us, That recover his honour, than forrow for the loss he escaped, and died most miserably in received in Greece, gave order for new levies of men, and all other warlike provinces. But The greatest honour of this Victory was the Egyptians revolting from his obedience cast upon Militades, who both perswaded (a Kingdom of great strength and revenu.) the trial by battel, and behaved himfelf greatly distracted his resolution for the therein answerably to the counsel which he re-invasion of Greece. The differtion al > 558 born after he was King, and by so great a after the battel of Marathon, and after mother as Atoffa, difdaining to give place to that he had reigned fix and thirty years. his elder brother, born before Darius ob- He left behind him five fons, namely. A. tained the Empire, greatly vexed him. tabasanes, born before he obtained the And laftly, Death, who hath no respect of Kingdom, Xerxes who succeeded him any mans affairs, gave end to all his con
Achamenes Governour of Egypt, Massili, fultations and enterprifes, and joyned him and Anabigues.

among his Sons, of whom the younger being to the earth of his Ancestors, about a year

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

## The preparations of Xerxes against Greece.

FErxes received from his Father, which he finished so speedily, (as it is written of him) or fearing the that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the those that opposed his desire to this War other against the Gracians, of which it is (changing opinion and counsel) affisted the hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the fuccess had. ridiculous. In the confultation for the profecution of this War, which was chiefly bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were divided in opinion. Mardoning, who had formerly commanded in the Persian Empire, consisted of seventeen Thrace and Macedon, under Darius, and hundred thousand foot, and eighty thouhad also Hystaspes for his Grandfather, as fand Horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, Xerxes had, and married Xerxes his fifter and other Beafts of Carriage, if we may Artozoftres, perswaded by many arguments believe Herodotus: for of this multitude, believe the Europaan War. But Artabanus, Bro- Trogus finds the number less by seven hunther to the late Darius, and Unkle to dred thousand footmen. Xerxes, maintained the contrary counfel, laying before Xerxes the lamentable were the Princes of the blood of Persia, eiand ridiculous fuccess of the two late ther by marriage in the Kings house, or Invasions, which Darius had made contrary otherwise; for to these were all commandto his counsel: The one in person upon the ments of this nature given, some few peo-Scythians, the other by his Lieutenants upon the Greeks; in each of which Darius left | ders. to his Enemies both his Army and his Ho-

He therefore befought Xerxes to be right well advised before he did too far imbark himself in this business. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and found coun- ten thousand select Persians, called the Imfel for conductor, though the success do not mortal Regiment (because if any one of alwayes answer the probability, yet hath the whole number died, or were flain, there Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than was another presently chosen in his stead) the variableness of his own nature, which was given to Hydarnes; the eighty thousand only the Divine Providence, and not any horsemen were led by the sons of Data, who humane power, can constrain.

But so obstinate was the resolution of as hereditary, a double War, one Kerxes in profecution of his former intent, to be made against the Egyptians, that Artabanus, whether terrified by Visione

After the War of Egypt was ended, four years were confumed in describing and gathering an Army for this invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to

The Commanders of the feveral Nations ple excepted, who had of their own Lea-

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on Mardonius, the Son of Gobrias,by a fifter of Darius, to whom were joyned some others of Xerxes his neerest kindred, as Generals over all; faving that the charge of commanded the late Army of Darius in eight turnithed by the Phanicians, who had marched. Commanders of their own Nation, and by the (Arrans, Carians, Ionians, Esolians, was a pallage for Gallies to be cut behind and iddesponines; who were trulted with Mount Athors, making the tame (with the and Haterpoortines 2 who were trutted with the turnthing of their own Velicles, though the turnthing of their own Velicles, though the turning of their own vertes, though to be an entire Island, fundring thereby by drabbone, the Son of Darius, and from the Continent of Thrace five Cities, bebarked.

d. 11.

Artabanus upon the view of the Army.

fomany of our Marks.

The King overcome with the exceeding

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200, and of the common way by which the Army

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-fide. The one of the relation of the Vellels for transfilled the Mountain and the Cherfongias, or others. others. The feth of the veners for train note the Mountain and the Corrignitis, or portation were three thouland. There were Neck of Landit felf: a work of more oftenportunou were time throughout the week and setting and set an enterprize of allo certain Gallies furnished by Artemessa, tation, than of use, and yet an enterprize of ano certain Games, Princels of Halon ogreat wonder, the Valley which held it the caughter of a squames, reflects of the literallies, and the Islands adjoying, to the Continent having but twelve furhemagicus, and the manus aujoining, to the Continent naving but twelve introduced which her ielt commanded. Those Gallies longs (which make about a mile and a when prepared and furnished, exceeded half) to cut through, and the ditch being by ner prepared and routiness, sectors broad enough only for two Gallies to pass all the relt of the Fleet, excepting those broad enough only for two Gallies to pass an time ten of the freet, excepting time of lines of the office of the o Thylus, and Cleone.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the Hellespont between Abidus and Selios, the Sea there Xerxes Army entertained by Pythius: bis having a mile of breadth, wanting an eighth calling of Mount Athos from the Conti- part 5, which, after the finishing, was by a nent: his Bridge of Boats over the Helle- Tempest tornasunder and dissevered whereipont : and the discourse between him and with Xerxes being more enraged than difcouraged, commanded those to be slain that were mafters of the work, and caused fix When this World of an Army was hundred threefcore and fourteen Gallies to throughly furnished, he caused all be coupled together, thereon to frame a the Nations of which it was compounded, new Bridge; which by the art and industry to make their Rendezvonz, and repair at of the Phanicians, was fo well anchored to Sardis in Lydia. And when he had affem refift both winds blowing into, and from the bled to the number of seventeen hundred EuxineSea, as the same being well boorded thousand foot, as he entred the border of and railed, the whole Army of seventeen Colerna, he was by one Pythina a Lydian en hundred thousand Foot, and fourscore tertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and of Carriages, past over it into Europe in Even Army. The feaft ended, he also presented dayes and seven nights, without intermissihim with two thousand Talents of Silver, on. This transportation of Armies did and in Gold four Millions, wanting feven Cafar afterward use. And Caligula, that mad thousand of the Persian Darici; which make Emperour, in imitation of Xerxes his Bridge,

The Bridge finished, and the Army liberality of Pilius, did not only refuse his brought neer to the Sea-side, xerxes took treasure offered, but commanded that seven a view of all his Troops, assembled in the thousand Darici should be given him to Plains of Abidu, being carried up, and scarmake uphis four Millions of which, fo many ed on a place over-topping the Land round thousands were wanting when he made the about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he Prefent. But foon after, when Pythin be- had gloried in his own happiness, to behold fought him to spare one of his five sons from and command so many Nations, and so his attendance into Greece (because himself powerfull an Army and Fleet, he suddenly was old, and had none whom he could fo (notwithstanding) burst out into tears, well trust as his own fon) Xerzes most bar- moved with this contemplation, That in one baroully caused the young man, for whom hundred years there should not any one his father fought exemption, to be fundered furvive of that marvellous multitude : the into two parts, commanding that the one cause of which sudden change of passion half of his Carkas should be layed on the when heuttered to Artabanus his Unkle, Arright, and the other half on the left hand tabanus spake to the King to this effect: That

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which is more lamentable than the diffolu perchance to utter what indeed he most tion of this great Troop within that num | feared, to wit, the overthrow of the Army in ber of years by the King remembred, is, self both by Sea and Land, which soon after That the life it felf which we enjoy is yet followed. These cautions were exceeding more miserable than the end thereof: for weighty, if Xerxes his obstinacy had not misin those few dayes given us in the world, prised them. For to invade by Sea upon a there is no man among all these, or else- perilous Coast, being neither in possession where that ever found himself to accompa- of any Port, not succoured by any party. nied with happiness, but that he oftentimes may better fit a Prince presuming on his forpleased himself better with the desire and tune, than enriched with understanding, hope of death, than of living; the incident Such was the enterprise of Philip the second calamities, difeases, and forrows whereto upon England in the year 1588. who had bemankind is subject, being so many and ine-like never heard of this Counsel of Artalavitable, that the shortest life doth of tentimes nue to Xerxes, or forgotten it. appear unto us over long; to avoid all Now concerning the fecond point; It is which, there is neither refuge nor reft, but very likely that Xerxes his Army, which in defired death alone.

being not much pleased, prayed Artabanus Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer fanot to overcast those joyes which they had mine, and using Machiavels words. Montire now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And Jans consteo; die mittout a knife. For it was holding still a doubtfull conceir, that Arta- impossible for Greece, being a ragged, strait. banus utterly condemned the invalion of and mountainous Countrey, to yield food Greece, against which he had formerly given (besides what served themselves) for twenty many firong reasons, defired him to deal hundred thousand strangers, whom they nefreely with him. Whether he were returned ver meant to entertain but with the sharpto his first resolution, that the enterprize of ned points of their Weapons, destroying Greece could not be prosperous; or whether, withall whatsoever they could not well inaccording to the change of mind put into close and defend. Nay, if we may believe him by his late Vision, he was confident of Herodotus, the Army of Xerxes, being regood fucces? Artabanus, notwithstanding viewed at Thermopyla, consisted of five milthat he assured himself of the Kings resolu- lions, two hundred eighty three thousand, tion to go on, and dared not by any new ar- two hundred twenty men, besides Launguments to batter the great purpose it self, dresses, Harlots, and Horses, and was yet he told the King, That there were two therefore likely to endure a speedy fathings which marvelloufly affrighted him, mine. and which the King should find as he feared. to be most adverse; to wit, the Sea and the lit was impossible to provide for all things; Land: The Sea, because it had no where in and that whosoever should enterprise any that part of the World any Port capable of great matter, if he gave the hearing to all fo great a Fleet ; infomuch, as if any tempest that could be objected of accidental inconshould arife, all the Continent of Greece veniences, he should never pursue the same could hardly receive them, nor all the Ha- farther than the dispute and consultation: vens thereof afford them any fafety: and which if his Predeceifors, the Persian Kings, therefore when any fuch shelter shall be had done, they had never grown to that wanting unto them, he prayed him to under- greatness, or possest so many Kingdoms and ftand, that in such a case of extremity, men Nations, as they now did; and therefore conare left to the will and disposition of For- cluded, That great enterprises were never tune, and not Fortune to the will and dispo- undertaken without great perils. Which refition of men. The Land, belides other in- folution of Xerxes was not to be condemncommodities, will be found by so much the ed, if any necessity had inforc'd him to that more an enemy, by how much the unfatiate war. But feeing the many Nations newdefire of man to obtain more and more there-of, doth lead him forward: for were there no ed, were more than could be conftrained man found to give relistance, yet the want of to obedience any longer than the powerfull means to feed such an Army, and the Famine prosperity of the Persians endured, and which cannot be prevented, will without that Greece was separated by the Sea from any other violence offered, difinable and the rest of Xerxes his Dominions (of whose consume it. By these Arguments Artabanus resolution his Father Darius had made a

could not have in it less than two millions With this melancholy discourse, Xerxes of Souls, besides his beasts for Service and

The effect of Xerxes his answer was. That hoped to have diverted Xerxes, not daring dear experience) the fruit of this War was whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, had raifed a wall with gates, which was then thofe millions of men which he transported for the most part ruined. At this entrance and yet in his own judgement not fufficient, Leonidas one of the Kings of Sparta, with and yet mans own jung on all the three hundred Laced amonians, affifted with (for me gametee in, matering on, an end one thousand Laccarmonans, annited with itrength of Thrace and Macedon ) were an one thousand Tegeate and Mantineans, one argument, that he rather hoped to fear the thousand Arcadians, and other Peloponnessargument, that it rainer in process, than that ansi, to the number of three thousand one he had any confidence in their valour and hundred in the wholesbefides one thousand ne nau any whom he conducted. For it is Phocians, four hundred Thebans, feven hunwifely faid of those uncountable multi- dred Thespians, and all the forces (such as udes: Non vires habent, sed pondus; o im- they were ) of the bordering Locrians, depedimenta potius funt, quam auxilium: They fended the passage two whole dayes togeare great in bulk, but weak in forces, and ther against that huge Army of the Persians. rather a luggage than an aid.

divers Nations, speaking divers languages, ed out of his Throne, fearing the destructibred the same confusion among the Persian on of his Army by one handful of those men Commanders when they came to fight, as it whom not long before he had utterly dedid to the builders of Babel, when they came spifed : and when the second dayes attempt towork. Whereas if Xerxes had of his five upon the Greeks had proved vain, he was almillions compounded ten Armies of fifty together ignorant how to proceed further 5 thouland chofen Souldiers in each, and fent and fo might have continued, had not a runthem yearly into Greece well victualled and nagate Grecian taught him a fecret way, by fword, or forced them to for lake their terri- ledge of mountains, and fet upon the backs mer following utterly defeated, and himfelf flain.

#### ø. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ and Artemisium.

of half an acre of ground, lying between shade.

answerable to the plantation, and the suc- the Mountains which did divide Thessalp aniwerance of the weak counsel from Greece, where sometime the Phocians The valour of the Greeks appeared so excel-Besides, as it was impossible to marshall lent in this defence, that in the first dayes such a world of men in one Army, so the night, Xerxes is said to have three times leapfurnished, he had either prevailed by the which part of his Army might ascend the tory, brought them into obedience by ne- of those who kept the Straits. But when the ceflity and famine, which cannot be refilt- most valiant of the Persian Army had almost ed. But while xerxes resolved to cut down inclosed the small forces of the Greeks, then the banks of Greece, and to let in a fea of did Leonidas, King of the Lacedamonians men upon them, he was deceived both of with his three hundred, and seven hundred his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he | The spians, which were all that abode by him, imployed, and beaten by the Greeks, both refuseto quit the place which they had unby Land and Sea ; yea, he himfelf, conduct- dertaken to make good, and with admirable ed by his fear, fled shamefully into Asia. A courage not only resist that world of men great part of his Army was buried in Greece: which charged them on all sides; but issuing the remainder whereof, which wintred out of their strength, made so great a slaughin Thessay, and led by Mardonius who perswaded the enterprise, was in the sum-called vanquishers, though all of them were flain upon the place. Xerxes, having loft in this last fight, together with twenty thoufand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not been present at these battels, with whom he knew that he shortly Fter such time as Xerxes had transpor- was to deal. Especially of the Spartans he 1 ted the Army over the Helleftont, and stood in great fear, whose manhood had landed in Thrace, (leaving the description of his passage along that Coast, and how him very carefully to enquire what numthe River of Lisses was drunk dry by his bers they could bring into the field. It is multitudes, and the Lake near to Piffyrus reported of Dieneces the Spartan, that when by his cattel, with other accidents in his one thought to have terrified him by marches towards Greece) I will speak of saying, That the flight of the Persian the encounters he had, and the shamefull and incredible overthrows which he received. As first at Thermopyle, a narrow passage of these for the shame of the sham CHAP. VI

Such notable resolution having as freely the other in good stead, whilst both held been expressed in deeds, as was uttered in one course, and lay not far asunder. But words, cauled the Persian to stand in great herein he was far deceived; for about the doubt, when he heard that the City of Spar- lame time that his Army had felt the valour ta could arm well-nigh eight thousand men of the Greeks by Land, his Navy likewise of the like temper, and that the other Lace made a forrowful proof of their skill and damonians, though inferior to those, were courage at Sea. The Grecians Fleet lay at very valiant men. Wherefore he alked coun- that time at Artimessum, in the straits of Esfel of Demaratus, a banished King of the bea, where the Persians thinking to encom-Spartans, who had alwaites well advited and pass them, sent two hundred fail about the instructed him in the things of Greece, what Island to fall upon them behind, using alike course were fittest to be taken in his further stratagem to that which their King did praproceedings. The opinion of Demaratus was, tiffe against Leonidus, in a case not unlike, but with far different success. For that nartogether to defend the Isthmus, that it reight row channel of the Sea, which divideth Es. neck of ground which joyneth Peloponnesus bea from the main, was in the same fortheld to the Continent. For which caute he advi- by a Navy of two hundred threefcore and fed, That three hundred thips well manued, eleven fail against the huge Persian Armado, should be sent unto the Coast of Laconia, to as the straits of Thermogyle had formerly spoil the Country, and to hold the Lacede- been maintained by Leonidas, till he was cirmonians and their neighbours busied at cumvented, as this Navy might have been home, whilst Xerxes at his leisure having sub- but was not. The departure of those two dued the rest, might afterward bring his hundred ships that were sent about the whole power upon them, who remaining de- Itland, and the cause of their voyage, was ftitute of succour, would be too weak alone too well known in the Persian Fleet, and soon to make resistance. To this purpose also the enough disclosed to the Greeks, who setting fame Demaratus further advised, That the fail by night, met them with a counter-furfaid Fleet of three hundred ships should prize, taking and sinking thirty vessels, infeize upon the Illand then called Cythera, torcing the rest to take the Sea; where, benow Cerigo, which lying near to the Coast of ing over-taken with foul weather, they were Laconia, might serve as a fit place of Ran- driven upon the Rocks, and cast all away. dezvous upon all occasions, either of their Contrariwise, the Navy of the Greeks were own defence, or endamaging the enemy: increased by the arrival of fifty three Atheren whereby that ancient speech of Chilon the man ships, and one Lemnian, which came Lacedemonian (hould be verified, that it to their party in the last fight. As thesenew were better for his Countrymen to have forces encouraged the one fide, fothefear that Isle drowned in the Sea, than stand fo of Xerxes his displeasure stirred up the other inconveniently for them as it did. What to redeem their loss with some notable exeffect this counsel might have taken, had it ploit. Wherefore setting aside their unforbeen followed, it is not easie to guess. But a tunate policy, they resolved in plain fight to contrary opinion of Achamenes, Brother to repair their honour, and casting themselves King Xerxes, was preferred as the lafer. For into the form of a Crefcent, thought foto the Perstan Fleet had been forcly vexed with inclose the Greeks, who readily did present a grievous tempest, which continued three them battel at Artemisum. whole daies together, wherein were loft up.

The fight endured from noon till night, on the Coaft of Magnessa, four hundred ships and ended with equal loss to both parts. of War, besides other vessels innumerable, For, though more of the Persians ships were accordingly as driabanus had forefeen, that funk and taken, yet the leffer loss fell altoif any such calamity should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide which being small, could worse bear it. Hereenough to give them fuccour. Therefore in only the Barbarians may feem to have Achamenes perswaded his Brother not to had the worse, that they for fook the place disperse his Fleet 5 for if (faid he) after the of fight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the lofs of four hundred thips we shall fend away enemy, who nevertheless were fain to abanother three hundred to feek adventures, don presently even the passage which they then will the Greeks be strong enough by had undertaken to defend; both for that ma-Sea to encounter the reft of the Navy, which ny of their ships were forely crush in the holding all together, is invincible. To this battel, and especially because they had re-

counfel/exery yielded, hoping that his Land cuyed advertisement of the death of Lemi-Army and Fleet, should each of them stand dis at Thermopyle. Before they weighed Anthey should revolt unto the Greeks, or stand neutral; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the

#### 6. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes upon Apollo's Temple

Partothis Army he fent to fpoil the Temple of Delphi, which was exceeding rich by means of many Offerings that had been rather the words to the present need, than made by divers Kings, and great personages; fashioning the business to words. of all which riches it was thought that Xerxes had a better Inventory than of the goods left in his own Palace. To make relation of a great aftonishment that fell upon How Themistocles the Athenian drew the the companies which arrived at the 1 emple to have facked it, and of two Rocks that breaking from the Mount Parnassus, overwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peradventure somewhat superstitious. Yet children into Irazene, Egina, and Salamis, Herodotus, who lived not long after, faith, That the broken Rocks remained even to as their freedom, and the common liberty of his memory in the Temple of Minerva, whi- Greece. Nevertheles, this great zeal, which ther they rowled in their fall. And furely the Albenians did fliew for the general good this attempt of Xerxes was impious; for fee- of their Country, was ill requited by the ing he believed that Apollo was a god, he other Greeks, who with much labour were fhould not have dared to entertain a cove- hardly intreated to stay for them at Salamis, tous defire of inriching himfelf by commit- whill they removed their wives and chilit may possibly be true, that license to chastife his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted unto the Devil, by that Holy One, who faith, Will a man spoil his Jeany, 10. gods? and elsewhere; Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go

chors, Themislocles, General of the Athenians | against Delphos, this vizzor of holy and zeacnors, transport of the watering-place lous revenge falling off, diffeovered the face engraved upon to the Ionians, that either of covetousness for much the more ugly, by fed a deteffation of the offence which the Athenians had committed in that kind by meer mischance.

The remainder of that which Xerxes did, may be expressed briefly thus: He came to Athens, which finding forfaken, he took and burnt the Cittadei, and Temple, which was therein. The Cittadel indeed was defended a while by some of more courage than wi-Thermopyle, he wasted the Country malls, had fortified that place with Boards of the Phocians, and the regions adjoyning: and Palifiadoes, too weak to hold out long, as for the Inhabitants, they chofe rather to though by their desperate valour so well fly, and referve themselves to a day of bat- maintained at the first atlault, that they ny, and to adventure their lives into his might have yielded it upon tolerable contel, man of a december of faving their wealth, by ditions, had they not vainly relyed upon the making proffer unto him of their fervice. Prophecy: whereof (being fomewhat ob-

# Greeks to fight at Salamis.

He Athenians had, before the coming of Xerxes, removed their wives and not so highly prizing their houses and lands, ing facrilege upon his Temple. Wherefore dren out of the City. But when the City of Athens was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forfake the isle of Salamis, and withdraw the Fleet to Ithmus: which neck of land they did purpose to fortifie against the Persians, and so to defend Peloponnesus by Land and Sea, leaving the to the Isles of Kittim, and behold, and send to rest of Greece, as indefensible, to the sury of Kedar, and take diligent heed, and fee whether the enemy. So should the Islands of Salamis there be any fuch things. Now this impiety of and Agina have been abandoned, and the Rerete was the more inexcufable, for that Families of the Athenians (which were there the Personal alledged the burning of Cybele's bestowed as in places of security) have been Temple by the Athenians, when they let fire given over into mercilels bondage. Against on the City of Sardis in Afia, to be the this resolution, Themistocles, Admiral of the ground and cause of the waste which they Athenian Fleet, very strongly made opposimade in burning of Ciries and Temples in tion, but in vain. For the Peloponnesans Greece. Whereas indeed, in the enterprize were fo possessing with fear of losing their

own, which they would not hazard, that [a-new; and there (quoth he) will we plant no periwations could obtain of them to re- our felves, leaving unto you a forrowfulre. gard the citate of their dittreffed Friends membrance of my words, and of your own and Allies. Many remonitances Themisto- unthankfulness. The Peloponnesians hearing eles made unto them, to allure them to thus much, began to enter into better conabide the enemy at Salamis: As first in pri- sideration of the Athenians; whose assairs vate unto Eurybiades the Lacedemonian, Ad- depended not, as they well perceived unmiral of the whole Fleet; That the felf- on to weak terms, that they thould be drifame fear which made them forfake those ven to crouch to others; but rather were coalts of Greece, upon which they then au- fuch, as might enforce the reft to yield to chored, would atterward (if it found no them, and condefeend even to the uttermoit check at the first ) cause them also to ditie- o. their own demands. ver the Fleet, and every one of the Confe- For the Athenians, when they first emderates to withdraw himfelf to the defence braced that Heroical refolution, of leaving of his own City and Eliate: Then to the their grounds and houses to fire and ruine. Council of War, which Eurybiades upon if necessity should enforce them so far, for this motion did call together (torbearing to the prefer vation of their liberty, did employ object what want of courage might work the most of their private wealth, and all in them hereafter; ) he shewed, that the the common treasure, in building a great fight at Isthmus would be in an open Sea, Navy. By these means they hoped (which whereas it was more expedient for them, accordingly fell out) that no fuch calamihaving the fewer thips, to determine the ty thould betall them by Land, as might matter in the streights; and that, besides not well be counterpoised by great advanthe fafeguard of Agina, Megara, and Salamis, tages at Sea: Knowing well, that a strong they should by abiding where they then Fleet would either procure victory at home, were, sufficiently defend Isthmus; which the or a secure passage to any other Country. Barbarians should not so much as once look | The other States of Greece held it sufficiupon, if the Greeks obtained victory by Sea ; ent, if building a few new ships, they did which they could not fo well hope for elfe- fomewhat amend their Navy. Whereby it where, as in that prefent place which gave came to pass, that, had they been vanquishhim fo good advantage. All this would not ed, they could not have expected any ferve to retain the Peloponnesians, of whom other fortune, than either present death, or one, unworthy of memory, upbraided The- perpetual flavery; neither could they hope millocles with the lois of Athens, blaming to be victorious without the affiltance of Eurybiades for fuffering one to speak in the the Athenians, whose forces by Sea didequal Council, that had no Country of his own all theirs together; the whole confifting of to inhabit. A base and shameful objection more than three hundred and sourscore it was, to lay as a reproach that loss, which bottoms. Wherefore these Peloponnesians being voluntarily fultained for the com- beginning to suspect their own condition, mon good, was in true estimation by fo which would have stood upon desperate much the more honourable, by how much points, if the Fleet of Athens had forfaken it was the greater. But this indignity did them, were foon perswaded, by the greater exalperate Themistocles, and put into his fear of such a bad event, to forget the lefnot a fairer City than any Nation of Greece counsel of abiding at Salamis. could boast of; having well-near two hundred good ships of War, the better part of the Grecian Fleet, with which it was calle for them to transport their Fa- How the Persians consulted about giving balmilies and fubitance into any part of the World, and fettle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refuted to fland by them. Herewithal

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mouth a reply fotharp, as availed more than fer, which they had conceived of the Perfall his former perswalions. He told them ans; and laying aside their insolent braall plainly, That the Athenians wanted very, they yielded to that most profitable

#### ø. V I.

tel: and how Themistocles by policy held the Greeks to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

IN the mean feafon, the Persians had enhe mentioned a Town in Italy belonging of | tred into confultation, whether it were old to the state of Athens, of which Town convenient to offer battel to the Greek, he faid an Oracle had foretold, That the or no. The rest of the Captains giving Athenians, in process of time, should build it fuch advice as they thought would belt this War in person, was of contrary opinicirculy should march toward Peloponnesus, poor desolate Island. whereby it would come to pais, that the Greek Navy (unable otherwise to continue fail for Ifthmus 3 which had pretently been long at Salamis for want of provition) should done, if the wisdom of Themstockes had not presently be differered, and every one feek- prevented it. For he perceiving what a vio ing to preferve his own City and Goods, lent fear had ftopt up their ears againft all they thould, being divided, prove unable good counfel, did practife another courfe. to relift him, who had won so far upon them and forthwith labour to prevent the execuwhen they held together. And as the pro- tion of this unwholfome decree; not fuffer fit will be great in forbearing to give bat- ing the very hour of performance to find tel; to on the other fide, the danger will be him bufie in wrangling altercation. As foon more (taid fine) which we shall undergo, than as the Council brake up. he dispatched seany need requireth us to adventure upon; cretly a trufty Gentleman to the Ferfian and the lots, in case it fall upon us, greater Captains, informing them truly of the inthan the profit of the Victory which we tended flight, and exhorting them to fend defire. For it we compel the enemies to fly, part of their Navy about the Illand, which it is more than they would have done, we incomposing the Greeks, might prevent their fitting still: but if they, as better Seamen escape; giving them withall false hope of than ours, put us to the worst, the journey his affistance. The Persians no sooner heard to Peloponue w is utterly dasht, and many that than believed these good news, well knowthe Greeks. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had if the Athenian Fleet joyned with them;

please the King their Master, had foon fave that which remained unconquered; agreed upon the fight 3 but Artemfla Queen propounding chiefly to themselves what of Hillicarnaffens, who followed Xerxes to milery would befall them, if, lofing the Victory, they should be driven into Salamis, (ii) Her counfel was, that the King himfelf there to be thut up, and belieged round in a

Hereupon they retolved forthwith to fet now declare for us, will foon revolt unto ing that the Victory was their own affured, fent for that purpose to the Fleet, related which they might easily hope, considering unto his Malter the common confent of the what ability their Malter had to recomother Captains, and withall this difagreeing pence for fo doing, both the Captains with opinion of Artemilia. The King, well pleased rich rewards, and the people with restitutiwith her advice, yet resolved upon fol- on of their City, and Territories. By these lowing the more general, but far worse means it fell out, that when the Greeks very countel of the rest; which would question- early in the morning were about to weigh les have been the same which Artemisia Anchor, they found themselves inclosed gave, had not fear and flattery made all the round with Persians, who had laboured hard Captains utter that, as out of their own all that night, fending many of their ships judgement, which they thought to be most about the lile of Salamis, to charge the eneconformable to their Princes determination. | my in rear, and landing many of their men Soit was indeed that Xerxes had entertained in the Ific of Pfittalea, which lyeth over a vain perswasion of much good, that his against salamis, to save such of their own, own presence upon the shore to behold the and kill such of the Grecian party, as by any conflict, would work among the Souldiers. misfortune should be cast upon the shore. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-side, Thus did meer necessity enforce the Grecipitching his own Tent on the Mount Aga- ans to undertake the battel in the straights less, which is opposite unto the Isle of of salamis, where they obtained a memora-Salamis, whence at ease he might safely ble Victory, stemming the foremost of their view all which might happen in that action, lenemies, and chaing the reft, who falling having Scribes about him to write down the foul one upon another, could neither conveacts and behaviour of every Captain. The niently fight nor fly. I do not find any partinear approach of the Barbarians, together cular occurrences in this great battel to be with the news of that timorous diligence much remarkable. Sure it is, that the Scribes which their Countrymen shewed in forti- of Xerxes had a wearssom task of writing fying the Ithmus, and of a Perstan Army, down many disasters that befell the Perstan matching apace thither, did now again to Fleet, which ill acquitted it felf that day, terrifie and amaze the Peloponnessans, that doing no one piece of service worthy the no entreaty nor contestation would suffice presence of their King, or the registring of to hold them together. For they thought it his Notaries. As for the Greeks, they might meer madness to fight for a Country already | well feem to have wrought out that Victory loft, when they rather should endeavour to with equal courage, were it not that the principal CHAP. VI

principal honour of that day was ascribed no such intent, but rather wished his hastv to thole of Egina, and to the Athenians, of departure, knowing that he would leave his whom it is recorded, That when the Barba- Army not fo strong, as it should have been rians did fly towards Phalerus, where the had he in person remained with it. And Land-Army of Xerxes lay, the ships of Ægina for this cause did Eurybiades give counsel. having possest the Straights, did link or take that by no means they should attempt the them whilst the Athenians did valiantly give breaking of that bridge, lest necessity charge upon those that kept the Sea, and should enforce the Persians to take more made any countenance of relitting.

#### ø. VII.

of things following after the battel of Salamis : and of the flight of Xerxes.

A by way of Scrutiny, to determine ther it were so that he found the bridge which of the Captains had best merited of whole, and thereby repassed into Asia; or them, in all this great Service; every whether it were torn in funder by tempests, Captain, being ambitious of that honour, and he thereby driven to imbark himtelf in did in the first place write down his own some obscure vessel, it is not greatly matename, but, in the second place, as best deser- rial; though the Greeks did most willingly ving next unto himself, almost every Suf- imbrace the latter of these reports. Howsofrage did concur upon Themistocles. Thus ever it were, this flight of his did well ease private affection yielded unto vertue, as the Country, that was thereby difburdened foon as her own turn was ferved. The Perfian of that huge throng of people, which, as King, as not amazed with this calamity, be- Locusts, had before overwhelmed it. gan to make new preparation for continuance of War; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might eafily discern his faint heart The negotiations between Mardonius and the through his painted looks. Especially Mardonius, Author of the War, began to cast a wary eye upon his Master, fearing lest his counsel should be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuit of the Victory, than to cast it away by undergoing his into Thessay, whence he sent Alexander the Princes indignation, he advised the King to fon of Amyntas King of Macedon, as Embasleave unto him three hundred thousand sador to the Athenians, with promise of men, with which forces he promifed to re-large amends for all their loffes received; duce all Greece under the subjection of the and of extending their Territories as far as Persian Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not their own desires; allowing them to retain to footh Xerxes with many fair words, tel- their liberty and laws, if they would make ling him, That the cowardise of those Egyp- peace with Xerxes, and affift him in that tians, Phanicians, and Cilicians, with others War. of the like metal, nothing better than flaves, The Athenians had now re-entred their who had so ill behaved themselves in the City, but not as yet brought back their late Sea-service, did not concern his hor our, wives and children; for as much as they who had alwayes been victorious, and had well perceived that the place could not be already subdued the better part of Greece, secure, till the Army of Mardonius was broyea taken Athens it felf, against which the ken and defeated. Wherefore the Lacede-War was principally intended. These monians, understanding what fair conditiwords found very good acceptance in the ons this Embaffador would propound, were Kings ear, who presently betook himself to perplexed with very great fear, less the should his journey homewards, making the more find good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, halte, for that he understood, how the Greeks they likewise very speedily dispatch their had a purposeto sail to Hellessont, and there Embassadors for Athens, who arriving beto break down his bridge, and intercept his fore the Macedonian had audience, used the passage. True it was that the Greeks had best of their perswasion to retain the Albe-

courage, and rather to fight like men, than die like beafts. Wherefore Themistocles did. under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timerous Prince. advising him to convey himself into Alia with all speed, before his bridge were diffolyed: which counsel Xerxes took very kindly, and Fter this Victory, the Greeks intending hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whe-

#### ø. VIII.

Athenians, as also between the Athenians and the Lacedamonians, after the flight of Xerxes.

Mardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawn himself

gainst the rest of Greece, but had only which projects, if they should fail, the deagainst the full vertion of Athens, till they struction of Athens would be a good mean threatned the full vertical threatness threat and all their Confederates arming themand an energy of that City, were drawn thereby needs understand, that Mardonius into the quarrel, wherein the Atherians kept his ground, and feared not to confront without much cruelty of injustice could the whole power of Greece, in the strongest without made we know, faid they, that part of their own Country. But his expectanot tear endured great calamities, losing tion was beguiled in all these. For the Atherical the fruit of the grounds, and being driven mians fo little regarded his offers, that when to forfake the Town, the houses thereof be one Lycidus, or (as Demostheres calls him) ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, we undertake to maintain as our own, your wives and children amongst us.as long as the War shall continue, hoping that ye who have alwayes procured liberty to others, will not now go about to bring all Greece into flavery and bondage. As for the confederates. From Athens he sent his Agent

nimi firm. They alledged, that neither haps the leaders might be won with great Minn min. And any pretence of War rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all ditions, and propounded them to the people; all the Senators, and as many as abiding without the Counfel-house, heard what he had faid, immediately fet upon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were fear or money, that had moved is in to Barbarians, their promifes are large, but utter such a vilesentence. Yea, the women of their words and oaths are of no affurance. Athens, and in the Ille of Salamis, hearing of It was needless to use many arguments to his bad counsel, and bad end, assembling tothe Alberians, who gave answer to Alexander gether did enter his house there, and put his in prefence of the Spartan Embassadors wife and children to the like execution. All That whilft the Sun continued his course, this bravery notwithstanding, when they they would be enemies to Xerxes, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which in giving them aid, they were fain to behe night feek to make purchase of their take themselves to Salamis again, the old liberty. Concerning the maintenance of place of their fecurity. Remaining there, their wives and children, it was a burden and feeing little forwardness in those whom which they promifed to fultain themselves, it most concerned to affift them, they fent only defiring the Lacedamonians, that with very feveremediages to Sparta, complaining all freed they would cause their Army to of their slackness, and threatning withal, to march, foralmuch as it was not likely, that take such course as might stand belt with their Mardonius would long fit still in Theffals, own good, seeing that the common estate of having once received such a peremptory all was so little regarded. These mellengers answer. In this their opinion of Mardonius were at the first entertained with dilatory his readiness to invade Attica, they found answers, which every day grew colder, when themselves nothing deceived. For he, as as the Peloponnessan Wall, builded athwart foon as Alexander had returned their obstit- the Isthmus, was almost finished. But as the nate purpose of resistance, did forthwith Lacedamonians waxed careless and dull, so lead his Army towards them, and their the Athenians hotly prefled them to a quick City: they having now the second time resolution, giving them plainly to underquitted it, and conveyed themselves into stand, that if they should hold on in those diplaces of more security abroad in the Coun- latory courses, it would not be long ere the try, where they expected the arrival of their City of Athens took a new courfe, that should little please them. All this while the Persian unto them, with instructions, not only to Fleet lay upon the coast of Afia, not daring perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with too weak at Sea. Likewise the Greekish Navy great promises to allure the principal of contained it self within the Harbours upon them to his party. His hope was, that either Europe fide ; both to do fervice where need the people, wearied with forfaking their should require at home, and withal to shun houles footten, would be defirous to preferve the danger which might have befallen any them from fire, & to have those which were part of it, that (being diffracted from the already laid wafte, re-edified at the Kings rest) had ventured over-far. So mutual charges: Or, if this affection took no place fear preferved in quiet the illands lying in with them, but that needs they would rely the midst of the Agean Seas. But it was well upon their old confederats, whose fuccors and featonably observed by a Counsellor of did very flowly advance forwards, yet per- | Sparta, that the Wall upon Ifem we would CHARVE

loponness, if once the Athenians gave ear to hundred and ten thousand, of which form Mardonius: considering that many doors thousand were weightily armed, the rest would be opened into that Demy-Island, as were only affistants to these forty thousand. foon as the Enemy thould by winning the being armed more fleightly, as rather to friendship of Athens, become the Master of make excursions and give chase, than to suthe Seas about it. The Lacedemonians upon stain any strong charges. this admonition, making better perusal of their own dangers, were very careful to give confronted one the other, without perfatisfaction to the Athenian Embassadors, forming any memorable piece of service: who not brooking their delayes, were upon Mardonius, whose victuals began to fail. repoint of taking leave, yea, as it feemed, of folved to begin the fray. The Greek were renouncing their alliance. Wherefore differentially promifed Victory by an Oracle, if they patching away five thousand spartans in the fought in the Land of the Athenians, and in evening, under conduct of Pansanias, they the plain of Ceres and Proserpina, makino gave audience the next day to the Embassa- prayers unto certain gods, Demi-gods, and dors, whose complaints they answered with Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain vehement protestations of their readines; place which the Oracle designed: For the deeply swearing that the Army of sparta plain of Ceres was indeed in the Territory was already far upon the journey, and gi- of Athens; but there was also an old Temving them leave to take up other five thou- ple of Ceres and Proferpina, near unto the fand Lacedamonians, out of the Region ad- place where they lay at that time enjoyning, to follow after them.

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want of gravity, in a matter (o important, place, upon Mount Citheron; and the ground were nevertheless contented with the final lerved well for footmen against horse; conclusion; and levying the number ap- only the Land belonged unto the Plateans, pointed of Lacedemonian Souldiers, made and not unto the Athenians. what haste they could to incamp in Attica. The other Grecians were nothing flack in the interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, sending forth Companies, whose near ap- the Plateans, to make all clear, did freely proach caused Mardonius to forsake Attica bestow their Land on that side the Town as a rough Country, and therefore of much upon the Athenians. disadvantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure Alexander the Great, many ages after, to he burnt the City of Athens, beating down re-edifie their City; which was ruined in the Walls of it, and ruining all that had for- the Peloponnesian Wars. merly escaped the fury of War.

## 6. IX. The great battel of Platæa.

that happened in many thirmishes be- lowed Mardonius, as better acquainted with tween the Greeks and him, in the Country of their fight, and having beaten them often-Baotia, which Mardonius had chosen to be times before. This being agreed upon, the the feat of that War. Much time was spent Athenians changed place with the Lacedamobefore the quarrel was decided by the trial nians; which Mardonius understanding, (wheof one main battel: for both parties did ther fearing the Athenians, of whose valour stand upon their guard, each expecting the Medes and Persians had felt heavy proof, when the other should assail them.

three hundred thousand, which were by him Greece) he did also change the order of his chosen out of Xerxes his Army; to whom battel, and oppose himself to Paulanius. All were adjoyned the forces of Thebes, Mace- the Greeks might well perceive how the Enedony, Thessay, and other parts of Greece, that my did shift his wings, and Pausanias therenow fiding with the Persian, furnished his upon returned to his former Station; which Camp with fifty thousand men. Against these Mardonius noting, did also the like. So one the Lacedamonians, Athenians, and their whole day was spent in changing to and fro.

ferve to little purpose for the defence of Pe- | Confederates, had leavied an Army of one

These two Armies having eleven dayes camped; as likewise the memorials of those The Athenians, though distasting such Nymphs and Demi-gods, were in the same

Whilst the Greeks were perplexed about

This magnificence of the Plateans caused

All things being ready for battel, the Lacedamonian General thought it most meet, that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his Spartans, should enter-T were too long a rehearfal to shew all tain the Thebans and other Greeks which solor defiring to encounter the spartans, as The Army of Mardonius contained about thinking them the bravest Souldiers in with their Archers at their watering place, space forced a patlage thorow the Wall; at that they were fain to enter into consultations which breach first, and then on all sides, the that they were take to the could not without much loss to themselves, and none to of vengeance, that of three hundred thouthe enemy, lye near to that fountain which and, they are faid not to have left three did ferre all the Camp. Having therefore thousand alive, excepting those who fled concluded among themselves to dif-lodge; away with Artabazus, when as the Persan and part of the Army being fent away before Army first fell to rout. day-light: Mardonius perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon be ported, an especial cause of it was the foolish parture in the maximum, fight, which to him retreat, or rather flight into the Camp. For, mg meourage of the meer cowardife though it were fo, that the place was well he charged them in the rear with great vio- fortified, and the number of those who cash lence. It may well be recorded as a notable themselves into it greater than any of the example of patient valour, That the Lacede- Assailants; yet they being of several Natimonians being over-taken by the enemies ons and Languages, and having loft their horse, and over-whelmed with great flights General, with other principal Commanders, of Arrows, did quietly fit ftill, not making it was impossible that they in such a terrour any refiftance or defence, till the Sacrifices and afton hment should make good that for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and flain, and fome of Enemy-Country, against an Army of men,

fuccess appeared in the entrails. Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstiti- ferved their lives, by holding out the enemy, on of that Age and Country accounted for did now impale them, and leave them to the tunate; he gave the Signal of battel: and saughtering sury of unpitiful Victors. Arthereupon the Souldiers, who till then did tabazans fled into Thrace, telling the people fit upon the ground, as was their manner, of Theffaly, and other Countries in his way, arose altogether, and with excellent courage that he was sent by Mardonius upon some received the charge of the Barbarians, that piece of fervice: For he well knew, that had came thronging upon them without any they understood any thing of that great diffear of fuch notable refiftance. The reft of comfiture, all places would have been hothe Greek Army that was in march, being re- Itile unto him, and fought with his ruine to voked by Paulanias, came in apace to luc purchase favour of the vanquishers. Therecour the Lacedemonians: only that part of fore making fo large marches, that many of much labour and courage obtain victory, greater consideration of their own strength, which having not long purfued, they came and the weakness of their Enemies. to help the Lacedemonians, whom they found warily bufied in affaulting the Camp,

Some attempt the Persians made that day with more valour than skill. Wherefore Some accempt the Archers on horfe-back, who did they themfelves undertook it, and in thore

If the execution were fo great, as is reespecial mark lost, before any fign of good far more valiant than themselves, and enstamed with present victory. Therefore the But as foon as Passanias had found in the fame Wall, which for a few hours had prethe Army which was led by the Athenians, his Souldiers being feeble, were left behind could not arrive unto the place of the great and lost, he came to Byzantium, whence he battel, because the Thebans, and other Greeks thipped his men over into Asia. Such was confederated with the Persians, gave them the end of the vain-glorious Expedition, check by the way. Nevertheless, the spar- undertaken by Xerxes against the Greeks, tans, with other their affiftants, did so well upon hope of Honour, and Conquest, acquit themselves, that the Persians were though forting otherwise, accordingly as vanquished, and Mardonius with many Artabazus had toreseen, and rather worse, thousands more flain in the field; the rest fled for a sit began the quarrel, which into the Camp, which they had fortified never ended before the nine of the Perwith wooden Walls, and there defended from Empire was effected by that Nation of the Greeks, despised and sought to have necessity inforced them unto, holding out been brought into slavery. Hereby it may the longer, because the Lacedemonians were seem, that the vision appearing to Xerxes, not acquainted with the manner of affault- was from God himself, who had formerly ing Fortreffes, and Walls. In the mean time disposed of those things, ordaining the subthe Albenians having found ftrong oppositive from of the Persian Monarchy by the tion of the Thebans and Theffalians, did with Greeks, who thus provoked, entred into

ples of the like.

Battel fought at Mycale, a Promontory, or ing very glad to have found fome that durft Head-land in Afia, where the Perfian Fleet begin. It is faid, that while the Greeks were

at the reguest of some Islanders and Ionians, (though perhaps it was given out by the and fail into those parts to deliver the Sami- Captains to encourage the Souldiers) was ans and procure the Ionians to revolt from very true. For the Battel of Plata was the Forfian, X-rxes himself at this time lay at fought in the morning, and this of Micale Sardis, a City in Lydia, not far from the Sca- in the evening of the same day. fice, having left threefcore thousand under | The like report of that great Battel. the command of Tigranes, for defence of 10- wherein Paulus Amilius overthrew Perleus mia, and the Sea-coaft. Therefore when Ar- the last King of Macedon, was brought to taintes, and Ithramitres, Admirals of the Rome in four dayes, as Livie with others do Persian Fleet, understood that the Greeks record. And Plutarch hath many other exbent their course towards them, they did amples of this kind. As that of the Battel forth-with draw their ships aground, forti- by the River Sagra in Italy, which was heard fying with Palissadoes, and otherwise, as much of, the same day in Peloponness: That of ground as was needfull for the encamping the Battel against the Tarquinians and the of all their Land and Sea-forces. Leutychides Latins, presently noised at Rome: And(which at his arrival, perceiving that they meant to is most remarkable ) the victory obtained keep within their strength, and resolving to against Lucius Antonius, who was Rebel to force them out of it, rowed with his Gally Domitian the Emperour. This Lucius Antoclose aboard the shore, and called upon the nius being Lieutenant of the higher Germa-Ionians (who more for fear, than good will, my, had corrupted his Army with gifts and were encamped among the Persians ) ex- promises, drawing the barbarous people to horting them in the Greek tongue to remem- follow him, with great hope to make himber liberty, and use the fair occasion which felf Emperour; which news much troubling they now had to recover it. Herein he did the City of Rome, with fear of a dangerous imitate Themistocles, who had done the like War, it was suddenly reported, that Antoniat Eulowa, trulting that either these perswa- w was flain, and his Army deseated. fions would prevail, or, if the Perfians did Hereupon many did offer facrifice to the happen to understand them, that it would gods, and shew all manner of publick joy, breed some jealousie in them, causing them as in such cases was accustomed. But when to fight in fear of their own companions. It better inquiry was made, and the Author need not feem strange, that this very same of these tydings could not be found, the stratagem, which little or nothing availed Emperour Domitian betook himself to his Themistocles, did now very happily succeed. journey against the Rebel; and being now For Xerxes being in his full strength, it was with his Army in march, he received advera matter of much difficulty, to perswade tisement by Post, of the Victory obtained, those Inhabitants of Asia to revolt; who now and the death of Antonius: whereupon rein his declining estate, gave a willing ear to membring the rumour noised before in the fweet found of liberty. The Persians like- Rome, of the felf-same victory, he found that wife, who in their former bravery, little re- the report and victory were born upon one garded, and less feared, any treason to be day, though twenty thousand furlongs contrived by their subjects, were now so ( which make above five and twenty hunwary, that from the samians which were dred miles) afunder. It is truly faid of Pluamongst them, they took away their arms ; tarch, that this last example gives credit unthe Milesians, whom they did suspect, but to many the like. And indeed it were very would not feem to miltrust, they placed far strange, if among so many rumours, begotten from them, as it were for detence of the by forgery or militakings, and fostered by

these Milesians did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed The Battel of Mycale; with a strange accident them. For the Samians perceiving that they that fell out in the beginning: and exam- were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold upon fuch weapons as came to hand, affailed the Perfe-He fame day on which the Battel was ans manfully, within the Camp; which exfought at Plates, there was another amples the Ionians prefently tollowed beyet in a march toward the Enemies Camp. Lutychides the Spartan, with Xantippus a rumour suddenly ran in the Army, that the Athenian, Admirals of the Greek Navy, Mardonius was overthrown in Greece, which

streight passages of Mycale; pretending that credulous imagination, there should not be

CHAP. VI. found ( as happens in dreams among many thousand vain and frivolous) a few precifely true. Howbeit we may find, that God himfelidoth fometimes use to terrifie those who prefume upon their own ftrength, by their light means of tumultuous noites : as he raifed the fiege of Samaria, by caufing a found of Horses and Chariots to affright the Ara-

mites, and as he threatned senacherib, faying, Behold, I will fend a blaft upon him, and he fball had he to revenge either this, or other his hear a noyse, and return to his own Land. Wherefore it may well have been true, that the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom God was pleafed by fuch means as this, to he could not prevail by intreaty, nor animate the Greeks; who (as Herodotus would obtain his defire by force. Because notes) went towards the Enemies with hea- he respected much his Brother her Hufvy hearts, being in great fear, lest their own band, he thought it best to make a match their own Country of Greece, which was rea- means to find occasion of such familiarity

make offenfive War.

σ. XI.

of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: with a transition from the Perlian affairs to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Erxes lay at Sardis, not far from the A place of this Battel; but little mind great loties, being wholly given over to adventure should by no means fall out well; between his own Son Darius, and the confidering in what danger they had left Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that dy to be subdued by Mardonius, whilest they as might work out his desire. But whether went wandring to feek out Enemies a-far it were fo, that the chastity of the Mother off, upon the coast of Asia. But, the same of the Battel fought at Platea being noised Daughter allure him, he soon after sell in among them, every man defired that his own love with his own Sons Wife, being a vicivalour in the prefent fight, might be some ous Prince, and as ill able to govern him-help to work out the full deliverance of felf in peace, as to guide his Army in war. Greece. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided This young Lady having once defired the themselves into two Battalions, whereof the King to give her the Garment which he Athenians led the one, by the way of the then wore, being wrought by his own Wife, plain, directly towards the Enemies Camp; caused the Queen thereby to perceive her the Lucdamonians conducted the other, by Husbands conversation with her, which the Mountains and streight passages, to win she imputed not so much to the beauty of the higher ground. The Athenians did first her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of ferupon the Camp (ere the Lacedamonians the Mother, against whom thereupon she could arrive on the other part ) and being conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a defirous to get all the honour of the day to Royal Feast, wherein the custom was, that themselves, did so torcibly affault it, that the King should grant their request, she they brake way thorow the Palifladoes and craved that the Wife of Mafifles, her Huf-Gabions, and made themselves Masters of the bands Brother, the young Ladies Mother, place, flaying all that could not fave them- might be given into her disposition. The barselves by Hight. In this fight the samians barous King, who might either have reformdid good fervice, as is formerly mentioned. | ed the abuse of such a custom, or have delu-But the Milesians, who upon the like jea- ded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by louse, were placed by the Persians on the threatning her self with the like, to what so tops of Mycale, to defind the passages, did ever she should instict upon the innocent Lanow (as if they had been fent of purpose to dy, granted the request; and sending for his keepthem from running away) put as many Brother, perswaded him to put away the to the fword as fell into their hands, letting Wife which he had, and take one of his none escape, except very few, that fled Daughters in her stead. Hereby it scems, that through by-paths. The Lacedamonians that he understood how villainously that poor day did little service, for the business was Lady should be intreated, whom he knew to dispatched ere they came in: Only they be virtuous, and whom himself had loved. broke such companies as retired in whole Massites resuled to put her away; alledging troops; making them flie dispersed in very his own love, her deserving, and their commuch disorder, whereby the Milestans were mon children, one of which was married to enabled to do the greater execution upon the Kings Son, as reasons important to move them. This was the last fight of that huge him to keep her. But in most wicked man-Army levied against Greece, which was now ner Xerxes reviled him, saying, That he atterly broken, and had no means left to now should neither keep the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promifed Cccc 2

promited unto him. Malifter was much grie- troduction; teaching the Greeks, and effectved with these words but much more, when ally the Athenians, that the Persian was no returned home, he tound his Wife most better Souldier at his own doors, than in a butcherly mangled by the Queen Ameltris, forein Countrey: whereof good trial was who had cauled her Nofe, Lips, Ears, and made forth-with, and much better proofas Tongue to be cut off- and her breafts in like toon as the affairs of Athens were quietle manner, which were calt unto Dogs. Malijtes fetled and affured. enraged with this villany, took his way with From this time forward I will therefore his children, and tome friends, towards Ba- purfue the Hittory of Greece, taking in the dria, of which i rovince he was Governour, matters of Persia, as also the cltate of other intending to rebell and avenge himfelf: But Countries, collaterally, when the order of Xerxes understanding his purp o'escaused an time thall present them. True it is, that the Army to be levied, which cut him off by the Persian estate continued in her greatnes. way, putting him and all his Company to many ages following, in such wife, that the the word. Such was the Tyrannical condi-known parts of the world had no other tion of the Ferlian Government; and such! Kingdom, representing the Majetty of a are generally the effects of Luxury, when it great Empire. is jounced with absolute power.

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Prince of much vertue. And therefore Alex- quired, yielding few actions, or none, that overthrown, and lying upon the ground, fome Tragedies of the Court, and examples the mischief done by him to Greece, should ever were, have been enervated, made un-

a coward, and confequently mercilefs. the virtue of Cyrus was very great, upon with money & base policies; very seldomor which the foundation of the Persian Empire never (unless it were with great advantage) was so surely laid, that all the wickedness daring to adventure the tryal of plainbatand vanities of Xerxes, and other worse Prin- tel with that little Nation of Greece; which ces, could not overthrow it, until it was bro-would foon have ruined the foundations ken by a virtue almost equal to that which laid by cyrus, had not private malice and did establish it. In wars against the Egipti- jealousie urged every City to envy the ans, the fortune of Xerxes did continue, as at height of her neighbours walls, and therethe first it had been, very good; but against by diverted the swords of the Greeks into the general citate of Greece, neither he. or their own bowels, which after the deparany of his posterity, did ever make oftensive ture of Xerxes began very well, and might war, but received many losses in Asia, to better have continued, to hew out the way which the last at Mycale ferved but as an in- of Conquest, on the side of Asia.

But this greatness depended only upon the Yet o. Xirxes it is noted, that he was a riches and power that had formerly been acander the Great, finding an Image of his were worthy of remembrance, excepting faid, That he doubted, whether in regard of of that excellive Luxury, wherewith both his virtue, he should again erect it; or, for it, and all, or the most of Empires that let it lye. But furely, whatfoever his other wieldy, and (as it were) fattened for the good qualities were he was foolith, and was hungry fwords of poor and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to pass, that Xerxes and his Therefore we may firmly believe, that successors were fainto defend their Crowns

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian War, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

ø. 1.

How Athens was re-built and fortified.

Fter that the Medes and Persians ded the Grecian Army, leaving the pursuit had received their last blow, and of the War to the Athenians, assisted by the were utterly beaten at Mycale: revolted Iones, returned with the Lacede-Leutichydes, who then comman-monians and other Peloponnessans to Sparts,

own places. and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the Lacedamonians being advertifed, and milliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their own City of sparta was unwalled, as also because the Athenians were grown more powerfull by Sea, than athenians to diffiwade them; not acknowledging any private mislike or jealousie, but to invade Greece a third time, the Athenians their works, by the advice of Themistocles, | maintained. they held the Lacedamonians in hope of the Themistocles towards Lacedamon, giving him Embassadors. for excuse, that he could not deliver the retarded. But after a while, the Lacedemo- all occasions. nians expectation being converted into calousie (for by the arrival of divers persons out of Attica, they were told for certain, That the walls of Athens were speedily grownup beyond expectation) Themistocles prayed them not to believe reports and vain rumors, but that they would be pleased to

lend some of their own trusty Citizens to

and other places, out of which they had been leaved. The Athenians in the mean while heriteged selfos, a City on the firait of Which requell being granted, and Commitwhile neareged states which and Abydus, finners lent, Themificeles dispatched one of Rever had lately faltened his Bridge of his own, by whom he advised the Atkenians. Bosts; where the Inhabitants, delperate of lirit to entertain the Lucedemonians with hour, did not long dispute the defence some such discour e as might retain them thereof, but quitted it to the Greeks, who a few dayes, and in conclution to hold them there one rained themtelves the Winter follow-among them, till him'e'f, and the other, ing on that fide the Hellesport. In the Spring Athenian Embaffadours, then at Sparta, had their liberty alfo to return. Which done and they are who and children, fince the invalion of At- being also afford by his affociats and Arinet, and the abandoning of Athens, in di- flides, that Athens was already defentible on versillands, and at Trazen, they now found all parts. Themiffectes demanding audience, themout, and returned with them to their made the Lacedamonians know, That it was true that the walls of Athens were now raif-And though the most part of all their ed to that height, as the Athenians doubted houses in Athens were burnt and broken not the defence of their City; praying the down, and the walls of the City over-turn- Lacedemonians to believe, That when foever ed yet they resolved first on their common it pleased them to treat with the Athenians, defence, and to fortifie their City, before they would know them for fuch as right they cared to cover themselves, their wives well understood what appertained to a Common-weal and their own fafety, without direction and advice from any other: That they had in the War of Xerxes abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the wooden Walls of their Ships, from the resolutions of their own counsels and eather themselves, or any other State of courage, and not thereto taught or per-Gree, they dispatched messengers to the swaded by others: and finally, in all that perilous War against the Perfians, they found their own judgements and the execupretending, that if the Persians should return tion thereof in nothing inferiour, or less fortunate, than that of any other Nation, being in no better state to desend themselves State, or Common-weal among the Greeks. thanhetetotore, the same would serve to re- And therefore concluded, that they deterceive their enemies, and to be made a Seat mined to be Masters and Judges of their for the War, as Thebes had lately been. To own affairs, and thought it good reason, this the Athenians promifed to give them fa- that either all the Cities confedered within tistation by their own Embaffadours very Greece should be left open, or else that the speedily. But being resolved to go on with Walls of Athens should be finished and

The Lacedemonians finding the time uncontrary, till they had raifed their walls to fit for quarrel, diffembled their millike, both that height, as they cared not for their mif- of the fortifying of Athens, and of the divibkes, nor doubted their disturbance; and sion; and so suffered the Athenians to depart, therefore (to gain time) they dispatched and received back from them their own

The Walls of Athens finished, they also Athenians resolutions, till the arrival of his fortified the Port Pyraus, by which they fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose might under covert imbark themselves upon

5. II.

é. II.

proferous Il ar made by that state upon the no one man found occasion to complain of

in good order at home, prepared which they conceived of encreasing their thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the War commodity, corrupted their vertue, and against the Persians, to which the Lacedamo- robbing them of the general love, which had rians added other twenty, and with this made them powerful, abandoned their Circ Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities to the defence of her treasure, which with of Greece confederated, they fet fail for Cy- her in the next age perished. For it was prus, under the conduct of Paulanias the not long ere these four hundred and three-Lacedamonian; where, after their landing score Talents were raised to fix hundred nor having possest themselves of many principal long after that, ere their covetous tyrange places, they imbarked the Army again, and had converted their followers into flaves. took land in Thrace, recovering from the and extorted from them yearly thirteen Persians by force the City Bizantium, now hundred Talents. The Isle of Delos was at Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, be- the first appointed for the Treasure-house having himself more like a Tyrant than a wherein these sums were laid up, and Captain, especially towards the Ionians late- where, at the general Assembly, the Caply revolted from Xerxes, was called back by tains of those forces, sent by the confedethe Council of Lacedamon, and not only rates, were for form fake called to confultaaccused of many insolent behaviours, but of tion. But the Athenians, who were stronger Intelligence with the Medes, and Treason by Sea than all Greece besides, had locktup against his Countrey. In his stead they im- the common treasure in an Island, under ployed Docres, who either gave the fame their own protection, from whence they cause of offence; or else the Athenians, who might transport it at their pleasure, as afteraffected the first commandement in that ward they did. War, practifed the Souldiers to complain; The general Commander in this Warwas though indeed the wife and vertuous be- Cimon, the fon of Milliades, who first took haviour of Ariftides, General of the Athenian Eionia, upon the River Strimon; then the forces, a man of rare and incomparable fin- life of sciros, inhabited by the Dolopes: they cerity, had been able to make a good Com- mastered the Cariffii, and brought into sermander feem ill in comparison of himself; vitude the Naxii, contrary to the formofthe and therefore was much more available, in confederacy: So did the other the inhabirendring those detested, whose vices afford- tants of Greece, if at any time they failed of ed little matter of excuse. Howsoever it their contribution, or disobeyed their comwere, the Lacedamonians being no less mandements; taking upon them and usury weatied of the War, than the Athenians were ing a kind of foveraign authority over the eager to pursue it, the one obtained their rest: which they exercised the more assured eafe, and the other the execution and ho- ly, because they were now become Lords of nour which they defired: for all the Greeks the Sea, and could not be refifted. For many ( those of reloponnessis excepted ) willingly of the confederated Cities and Nations, subjected themselves to the commandement | weary of the War in their own persons, and of the Athenians, which was both the be- given up altogether to their eafe, made ginning of their greatness in that present choice rather to pay their parts in money, age, and of their ruin in the next succeed- than either in men of War, or in Ships; ing. For the charge of the War being now leaving the provision of both to the Athenicommitted unto them, they began to rate ans. Hereby the one grew weak in all their the confederated Cities; they appointed Sca-defences, and in the exercise of the Receivers and Treasurers, and began to Wars; the other greatly strengthened their levy mony according to their differetion for Navy and their experiences, being alwayes the maintenance of the general defence of armed and imployed in honourable fervices, Greece, and for the recovering of those places at the cost of those, who having lifted them on Europe fide, in afia the less, and the Itlands, into their Saddles, were now enforced to from the Persians. This tribute (the first that become their footmen. Yet was the Triwas ever paid by the Greeke) amounted to bute-money, levied upon these their confefour hundred and threescore Talents, which derates, employed so well by the Athenians,

CHAP. VI Iwas raised easily by the honest care of that just man Ariffides, to whose discretional The leginning of the Athenian greatness, and the confederates referred themselves, and him. But as the vertue of Ariftides, and other worthy Citizens, brought untothe HE Athenians having fettled things Athenians great commodity 5 to the define

at the first (as ill proceedings are often) tounded upon good beginnings ) that no touneer upon Spining was given. For they The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabagreat cause of repining was given. rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith Cimon the Admiral fouring the Affatick Seas, took in the City of Phalelis; which having formerly preten-

IAP. VIII.

toon presented with a third. For four core held it seven months; or whether, intending fail of Phanicians ( who were the best of the like evil to Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, ail Sea-men, under the Persian command) he was by him prevented and surprised, were thinking to have joyned themselves with the hard to affirm any certainty. But all Writers First before destroyed, arrived upon the agreeupon this, That taken he was, and with fame Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and his whole family put to death by extream tearing nothing less than what enfued. Upon torments, according to the sentence whereof the first notice of their approach, Cimon the truth is more ancient than the Verse; weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called Hydra, did fo amaze them, that they only fought to run themselves on Seldom the villain, though much haste he ground: by which mean preserving sew of their men, they lost all their ships. These lolles did fo break the courage of the Perfian, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon Grecce, he condescended to whatsoever Articles it pleased the Athenians to propound, The banishment of Themistocles : his flight to granting liberty unto all the Greeks inhabiting Asia; and further covenanting, That

Chelidonia. ever the Greek made; neither did they in ceffity of his affairs required, began to concficet, after this time, make any War that ceive new hopes of better fortune against redounded to the profit or glory of the the Greeks, than he or his predecessors had ander, they overthrew the Empire of Persia; had any place of great command, but ferved altogether under the Macedonians.

d. III.

DEfides these losses, which could not cally have been repaired, the troubles ded neutrality, and refuted to relieve, or of the Empire were at this time fuch, as any may affilt the Greeks, were enforced to gave just cause to the Persian of seeking pay ten Talents for a fine, and for to become peace upon any terms not altogether intotollowers of the Athenians, paying yearly leable. For Artabanus, the Unkle of Xerxes, perceiving, that the King his Mafter did ea-From thence he fet fail for the River Enrymedon in Pamphylia, where the Perfan fuch, as in kindred or place were neer unto Phicam in amportant hundred fail, or (ac-him, began to repote less hope of Safety in cording to the most sparing report ) three remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the hundred and fifry, and having a great Land. Soveraignty, by destroying a Prince that Army, encamped upon the floar; all which was to hated for his cruelty, and defpifed torces having been provided for advancing for his cowardite and misfortunes. Having the Kings affairs in Greece, were utterly de- conceived this Treason, he found means to heated in one day, and two hundred thips execute it by Milbridates an Eunuch, in fuch taken by the Athenians; the reft being broken | close manner, that (as if he himself had been to fices, or funk, ere ever they had fwom innocent) he accused Darius the Son of in the Greekift Seas. Cimon having in one Kerxer, and caused him to suffer death as a day obtained two great Victories, the one Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this by Sea, and the other by Land, was very great wickedness he got the Kingdom, and

Raro antecedentem scelestum

Deseruit pede pæna claudo.

Lame-footed Vengeance fails to overtake.

#### ø. IV.

Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia; and bis death.

A Riaxerxes being established in his belidenia.

This was the most honourable peace that ed with the Athenians, as the present nearly the County of the Coun none of his thips of War should sail to the Westward of the Isles, called Cyanea and whole Nation, till such time as under Alex- ever hitherto found. For the people of Athens, when the Persians were chased out of in which War, few, or perhaps none of them, Greece, did so highly value their own merit in that service, that they not only thought it fit for themselves to become the Commanders over many Towns and Islands of the Greeks, but even within their own walls, they would admit none other form of Government CHAP. VI

in they were so insolent, that no integrity great conflict between thankfulness to his nor good defert was able to preferve the well-deferving Prince, and natural affection estate of any such as had born great office, to his own ill-deserving people, by finishing longer, than by flattering the rascal multi- his life with a cup of poyson. tude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themiltocles; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatness upon popularity, yet now prefuming upon his good fervices done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to check their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwife, they were fo highly offended with his often rehearing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laid upon That a just cause is a good defence against him the punishment of Oftracism, where a strong enemy. An Athenian Fleet of by he was banished for ten years, as a two hundred fail strong was sent forth unman over-burthensome to the Commonwealth.

expired, a new accusation was brought broken at Sea, and thereby unable to reagainst him by the Lacedemonians, who lieve the Island. Now although it werefo, charged him of confulting with Paulanias, about betraying the whole Countrey of was likely to have been kept fincerely by Greece unto Xerxes. Hereupon Themistocles, the Persian, who had made so good proof finding no place of security against the of the Gracian valour, that he was nothing malice of two fuch mighty cities, was driven defirous to build any Ships of War (without after many troublesom flights, and dange- which the Greeks could receive no harm rous removings, to adventure himfelfinto from him ) whereof if any one should be Persia, where he found Artaxerxes newly found sayling towards Greece, the peace was fettled, and was by him very honourably en- immediately broken; and, if not this whole tertained. But the great hope which Arta- estate, yet all the Sea-coast (no small part xerxes had conceived of advancing his af- of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an fairs by the counsel and affistance of The- enemy too far overmatching him, Yet whemistocles, proved altogether fruitless. For ther the Athenians were in doubt, lest the when the Athenians, in favour of Inarus the league which in his own worfer fortuneshe Lybian, (who infested Egypt, causing it to had made with them, he would break in rebell against the Persian) had sent a Fleet theirs; and therefore sought toget such asto Sea, landing an Army in Egypt, and scou- surance into their hands, as might utterly ring those Eastern Seas, to the great hinde-disable him from attempting ought against rance of Artaxerxes, and (for ought that I them; or whether the increase of their recan understand ) to the manifest breach venues and power, by adding that rich and of that peace, which to their great honour great Island to their Empire, caused them to they had concluded with Xerxes; then did measure honour by profit; they thought it the King fend his; Letters to Themistocles, re- the wifest way, to take, whilest they might, quiring him to make good the hopes which whatfoever they were able to get and hold, he had given, of affuring the Persian estate and he unable to defend. against the Greeks.

But whether Themistocles perceived much the streights between Cilicia, Syria, and unlikeliness of good success, in leading a Egypt, is very fitly seated for any Prince of great army of dastardly Persians against the State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either warlike people of Greece; or else (as in fa- seek to enrich himself by trade with those vour of his vertue it is more commonly re- Countreys, or to infelt one or more of ported) the love of his Countrey would not them when they are his enemies. And this permit him to seek honour by the ruine of being the purpose of the Athenians, their it; sure it is, that being appointed by Ar- Ambition which had already devoured, in taxerxes to undertake the conduct of great conceit, this Island, was on the sudden well-

vernment than meerly Democratical. Here- forces against the Athenians, he decided the

#### ø. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great bonour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in

Hen was Artaxerxes driven to ufethe fervice of his own Captains in the Egyptian war, wherein it appeared well. der Cimon, to take in the Ille of Crorus: which conquest seemed easie both to make Before the time of his return was half and to maintain; the Persian being utterly that a peace had been concluded, which

The Isle of Cyprus lying in the bottom of

that they might eafily have swallowed loft, or for the preservation of the remainand digefted. For Inarus King of the Lybi der. The best of his hope was, by setting ant, confining Egspt, having found how the Lacedamonians upon Atlans, to enforce greaty the Country was exhaulted by the the Athenians to look homewards to their late Wars, and how weakly defended by own defence. This was the first time that very flender Persan Garrisons, conceived the Persan fought to procure the allistance rightly, that if fuch small forces as the Sa- of the Greeks one against the other, by stir-Egyltians his adherents were not answera- about Memphis the great City. ble to their defires, perceived well, that to lit cannot be doubted, that long abode in they shared somewhat equally.

nigh choaked with a greater morfell, to could Artaxerxes well advice what means match at which, they let Cyprus alone, to use for the recovery of that which was traps, or Viceroy, could make on the fudden ring them up with gold, to the entertainof his own Guards, or levy out of the or- ment of private quarrels, for the good of dinary Garrifons, were by him defeated, their common enemy. To this purpose he the naturals of the Country not long fince | fent Megabazus to Sparta with much Treaapprelled by Cambyfes, and, after a revolt, fure; who after great expence, finding that very lately subdued by Xerxes, would foon the Lacedamonians were nothing forward break faith with him, who had no other in employing their whole force against the title to that Kingdom than a good fword. Athenians, whom in many conflicts of great Further, he perswaded himself that the importance they had found to be their people, unable to defend themselves against matches, notwithstanding the absence of the Persian without his assistance, would their Army in Egypt; he thought it his ealily be drawn to accept him, the author wifeft way to employ the rest of his money of their deliverance, for King. Neither did and means, to their relief who had now the this hope deceive him. For having taken space of fix years detended his matters right and cruelly flain Achemenes the Viceroy, di- in Egypt. Therefore he halfily dispatched vers Cities forthwith declared themselves another of his name, the son of Zopyrus, who for him, and proclaiming him King, shew- arriving in Egypt, was first encountred by ed the most of their endeavour for prose- the revolted people; over whom he obtaincution of the War. But he confidering his ed victory, which made him mafter of the own weakness, and that the means of the Country, whilst the Atlenians lay bushed

relift the power of Artaxerxes, far greater a strange ayr, and want of supply, had forces than his and theirs were to be pro- much enfecbled the Athenians : fure it is, that cured, at what price foever he obtained when Migabazus, having reduced the Counthem. Therefore hearing of the great Athe- try to obedience, attempted the City it felf, nian Fleet, and knowing well the vertue of whether his former success had amended the the Souldiers therein imbarqued; he invi- courage of the Persians, or want of necessiated the Commanders to share with him the ries made the Athenians inseriour to them properties fingdom of Egypt, as a far greater reward selves, he chased them out of Memphis, and an island of their adventure, than fuch an addition purfued them fo near, as they were forced between of their adventure, than fuen an addition purified them to hear, as they were forced the Rivers as that of Coprus could be to their effate. to fortific themselves in the life of Profo- of Total and Whether he or they (if things had wholly pites, where Megabazus, after eighteen Pharmetaforted according to their expectation) months siege, turning away one part of the outlets would have been contented with an equal the River by divers Trenches, affaulted the of Miss flare, and not have fallen out in the parti- Athenians without impediment of waters, twandedtion, were perhaps a divination unnecessia- took their Gallies, and put all to the sword, ry. He was possessed of the peoples love, fave a few that saved themselves by flight Mederics

they were of most power. But the issue of into Lybia; the same entertainment had fifty is an Island thoic affairs was fuch as left them nothing other Gallies, which they fent to the fuc- in the to communicate but misfortunes, which cour of the first two hundred. For those Miss, be-Athenians having heard nothing that their tween the Yet had the beginning of their enter-Prife very good and hopefull fuccess: For by the branch of Nilus, which is called tios, and they entred the Land, as far as to Memphis, Mendesum, and fell unawares among the Distances and the branch the principal City; and of the City it felf Phanician Gallies, and the Persian Army; of North they took two parts; to the third part, which fo as the Persons recovered all Egypt, but called was called the William and the was called, the White wall, they laid fuch that part held by Amyrteus, and Inarus the runneth hard stege, that neither those forces of the King of Lybia, being by them taken and into the Persians, which then were in Egypt, were hanged. This was the end of the Atheni-Chypass throng enough to remove them; neither ans fix years War in Egypt, and the reward bear

of their vanity and indifferention to under- Theffaly, perswaded thereunto by Orester, but take many enterprises at once.

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#### ø. V.

Wars waded through many difficulties, and they fent fixty of their thips. The rest of held the reputation of their forces against their Army failing in their enterprise at the Lacedamonians, Corinthians, and others, Cyprus, and their fortunate and victorious rather to their advantage than otherwise. Leader Cimon dying there, as they coasted For as they were beaten near unto Halia the Island, incountred a fleet of the Phoniby the Corinthians and Epidaurians, so they cians and Cilicians, over both which Natiobtained two great victories foon after ; ons they returned victorious into Greece: the one over the Peloponnessans, near unto as also those returned fafe which were sent Curryhalia; the other over the Eginets, into Egypt. near us to Asina, where they funk and carried away threefcore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the fudden, and belieged of Artaxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ægina, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded Megara; where, after a great fight with equal lofs, the Corinthians, when they returned again to fet up their Trophie, as Victors peaceable: whereof the length is by some in the former battel, were utterly broken restrained unto twenty years, but the more and flaughtered by the Athenian Garrisons, and better Authors give him forty, some and Megarians, to their great loss and dif- allow unto him four and forty. He was a

near to Tangra, by the Lacedamonians, who was exceeding great to the Jews; as apreturned from the succour of the Dorians peareth by the Histories of Esdras and No against the Phocians (at which time the hemias, which fell in his time. Thessalan horsemen turned from their Allies the Athenians, and fought against them) gave countenance and ayd to that great fo about threescore dayes after, the Atheni- work of building the Temple, it were a ans entred Exotia under the conduct of needless travel; considering that all the Myronides, where beating that Nation, they late Divines have taken very much pains to wan Phocis on the gulf of Octeus, and evened | shew that those two Prophets were licensed the walls of Tenagra to the ground. Finally, by him, and succoured in that building, in they enforced Egina to render upon most such fort as appears in their writings. base conditions; as to beat down the walls of their City, and to give them hostages for who married Hefter. Whereof if it be need-Tribute; the fiege whereof they had con-full to give proof, it may suffice, that Ahatinued, notwithitanding all their other Sueros lived in Susa, reigning from India to brabbles and attempts elsewhere. Besides Athiopia, and therefore must have been a these victories, they fackt and spoiled many Persian; That he lived in peace, as appears places upon the Sea-coast of Peloponnesus, by the circumstances of the History, and belonging to the Lacedamonians, wan upon used the counsel of the seven Princes, the the Corinthians, and overthrew the Sicyoni- authority of which Princes began under ans that came to their fuccour. These were Darius the son of Hystaspes; wherefore he the undertakings of the Athenians, and their could be neither Cyrus nor Cambyles. Allies, during the time of those fix years, The continual Wars which exercised that a part of their forces made War in King Darius the son of Hystaspes, together

were relifted by the King Pharfalus, who had chased orestes out of his Dominions. They also landed in Sicyonia, and had victo. ry over those that resisted; after which they Of other Wars made by the Athenians for the made truce with the Peloponnesians for five most part with good success, about the same years, and fent Cimon into Cyprus with two hundred ships; but they were again allured by Americus one of the race of their former 7Otwithstanding these overthrows in Kings, who held the Marish and Woody Ferpt, yet the Athenians in their home- parts of Egypt from the Persians, to whom

CHAP. VI

#### ø. VI.

Ahashuerosh the Husband of Queen He-

Hefe Egyptian troubles being ended, the reign of Artaxerxes continued Prince of much humanity, and noted for Again, as the Athenians were discomfitted many examples of gentleness. His favour

To prove that this was the King who

This was likewise that King Abashneros

Fgjpt. In the end whereof they attempted with the certainty of his marriages with

fundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his first wite Atolla, the divorces, out total alive in great honour, of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Pedaughter of Gyrus, alive in great honour, the being mother to Xerxes the fucceeding King, do manifestly prove that Hester was not his. Whereunto is added by Philo the Jew, That at the periwasion of Mardochau, Jojachim the High Priest the son of time forward, more vehemently prosecututed in memory of that deliverance. Now for many ages to relt in peace: this Egyend of Darius.

their times.

us eighteen years more than Isaac the Pa- truce was made for thirty years. triarch lived, namely, one hundred fourfor re and eighteen years in all, which ex- Athenians (favouring the Mylesians against years old.

o. VIII.

loponnesian # ar.

Due it is fit that we now return to the affairs of the Greeks, who from this Jejua, cauled the featt of Parim to be inftithe time of Jojachim was in the reign of phian Expedition being come to nought. the time of Joynthia coming of Estras and Soon after this, the Lacedemonians under-Neventus: Jejua his father dying about the took the war called Sucred, recovered the Temple and Ille of Delphos, and delivered The fame continuance of wars with other both to the Inhabitants; but the Athenians his furious and tragical loves wherewith regained the fame, and gave it in charge Merker did confume such little time as he to the Phoeisms. In the mean while the bahad free from war, are enough to prove, nished Exotians re-entred their own Land, that the story of Hester pertained not un- & mastered two of their own Towns posseit to the time of Xerxes, who lived but one by the Athenians, which they foon recoverand twenty years, whereas the two and ed again from them; but in their return thirtieth of Abasuerus or Artasatha is ex- towards Athens, the Beotians, Eubeuns, and prefled by Nehemiss. Again, it is well known Locrians ( Nations opprest by the Athenithat Xerxes in the seventh year of his ans) set upon them with such resolution, as reign ( wherein this marriage must have the Athenians were in that fight all slain or been celebrated ) came not near to Sufa. taken, whereby the Beotians recovered their Of the Princes that succeeded Artaxerxes former liberty, restoring to the Athensans Longimanus, to prove that none of them their prisoners. The Islanders of Eubera took could be Ab. flueroft, it is enough to fay, that fuch courage upon this, that they revolted Mardock ens having been carried from Hie | wholly from the Athenians, whom when Perulalem captive, with Jechonia, by Nabr- ricles intended to reconquer, he was adverthumezzar, was unlikely to have lived until tifed that the Megarians ( who first left the Lacedamonians, and submitted themselves to But of this Artaxerxes it is true, that he Athens) being now weary of their yoke, had lived in sufi, reigned from India to Athi- flain the Athenians Garrifons, and joyned opis, lived in peace, was contemporary with themselves with the Corinthians, Sycionians, jojachim the high Priest, and further he had and Epidanrians. These news haitened Pehappily by his Lieutenants reclaimed the ricles homeward with all poffible speed; but rebellious Egyptians in that seventh year ere he could recover Attica, the Peloponneof his reign; which good fortune might stans, led by Plistoanax the son of Paulanias, well give occasion to such a Royal Feast, as had invaded it, pillaged and burnt many is described in the beginning of Hefter. This parts thereof, after whose return Pericles is the summ of the arguments, brought to went on with his first intent, and recovered prove the age of Hesters story by the Enbea. Finally, the Athenians began to treat learned and diligent Krentzbemius, who of peace with the Peloponnessuns, and yielded adds the authorities of Josephus, affirming to deliver up all the places which they held the same, and of Philo giving to Mardoche- in the Countrey of Peloponnesus: and this

After fix of these years were expired, the pire in the t ve and thirtieth year of this the Samians) invaded Samos by Pericles ; and Artaxerxes, if we suppose him to have been after many repulses, and some great losses, carned away captive, being a Boy of ten both by Sea & Land, the Citizens were forced to yield up themselves upon most lamentable conditions: Namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break down their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatfoever had been taken by themfelves, or by their practice, from the Athenians. In the neck of which, followed that long and cruel

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Peloponnessan War, whereof I have gathered of it, was not drawn into the quarrell; I this Brief following: the same contention hold it convenient now at the first to shew taking beginning fifty years after the flight briefly the estate of the Countrey at that of Xerxes out of Greece. But because there time, and especially the condition of those was no City thereof, which either in the two great Cities, Athens and Sparta, upon beginning of this war, or in the continuance which all the rest had most dependance.

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian War.

Upon what terms the two principal Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, flood at the begining of the Peloponnesian War.

them rather to Union and League against by the power of the Lacedamonians, whose the Persians, whereof they were Captains, aid was commonly held as good as the asiathan into any absolute subjection. For rance of victory. every Eltate held their own, and were governed by Laws, far different, and by four hundred years under one form of Gotheir own Magistrates, notwithstanding vernment when the Peloponnesian War bethe power of the Macedonians, to whom gan. Their education was only to practile they did yield obedience no otherwise than feats of Arms; wherein they so excelled, that as to fuch, who were (perforce) their avery few of them were thought equal to Leaders in the Person war (deemed the very great numbers of any other people. General quarrel of Greece) and took the They were poor, and cared not much for rofit and honour of the victory, to their own use and increase of greatness. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in Macedonia, did fo far enlarge their authority, that all Greece was by them brought under fuch parel they regarded not. Their diet was obedience, as differed little from servitude, limple, their feasts and ordinary meals being very few excepted, who could hardly, in common Halls, where all fared alike. They fometimes with arms, and fometimes with used Money of Iron, whereof they couldnot gifts, preserve their liberty: of whom the be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they Lacedamonians and Athenians were chief; lived Utopian-like, fave that they used no which two people deserved best the plague other occupation than War, placing all their of tyranny, having first given occasion there | felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby unto by their great ambition, which wea- it came to pass that in all enterprises, where ried and weakned all the Countrey by per- of they were partakers, the leading and high petual War. For untill these two Cities of command was granted to them, and all Greece Athens and Sparta distracted all Greece, followed their conduct. But the Athenians drawing every State into the quarrell, on the were in all points contrary to this. For they one or other fide, and so gave beginning to sought wealth, and measured the honours of the Peloponneffan Wai (the effects whereof in their victories by the profit ; they used mertrue estimation ceased not, before the time cenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted that Philip had overmastered all, forasmuch great tribute of their Subjects, which were as every conclution of one war afforded for the most part Islanders compelled to obey henceforth matter of (ome new diftraction of the whole Country) the wars, commendation for the whole Country) the wars, commendation for the whole Country of the wars, commendation for the wars of the whole Country of the wars, commendation for the wars of t

Reece was never united under the were neither great, nor of long continu-Government of any one Prince or ance. All controverties were from decided. Estate, untill Philip of Macedon, either by the authority of the Amphilliona, and after him Alexander, brought who were the general Councel of Greece, or

ced between one City of Greece and another, fo in conditions natural, the difference be-

tween there two people was very much. The Athenians were eager and violent, fudden in their conclutions, and as hafty in the execution. The Lacedemonians very flow in the Albenians being now very mighty in by war the injuries done to their Allies. Fleet, reduced all the Islands of the Greekish quarrel with them ; but much more willing fift from their purpose of making War. to breed contention between them and This they defired, not as a matter of any this advice, That they should feek help at ned them with greater difficulties apparent, Athens. Hereby it was thought, that the than they were very willing to undergo. Athenians should be intangled in a long force was now fo great, that all fuch occations did only ferve to encrease their honour and puillance.

ø. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into War.

their deliberations full of gravity, but very their deliberations full of gravity, but very were very ill-affected to Athens, bereloute, and fuch as would in cold blood were very ill-affected to Athens, bereloute, and fuch as would be supported by the support of the support o resource, and the Athenians did usually in cause that City grew very infolent upon pertona what the funder properity, and, maintaining the Litedamonians had all the Estates of Greece weaker Towns against the stronger, independing upon them, as on men firm and croached apace upon their Neighbours, tadepending upon the control of the co whereas the Athenians were followed by ly the Corinthians were much inraged, beunder as obeyed them perforce, being held cause the people of the Island Coregra, their intreight fubjection. But the Signiory of the Colony which had rebelled against them, Mittenans was nothing large, untill fuch time and given them a great overthrow by Sea, as the Forfian Xerxes had invaded Greece, was by the Athenians (who defired to inas the compared to Athens: For crease their Fleet by adjoying that of Corpretending only a quarrel to Athens: then the Citizens perceiving well, that the cyra unto it) taken into protection, and the Town of athens could not be defended Corinthians thereby defeated of that reagainst his great Army of seventeen hundred venge, which else they would have taken. thousandmen, bestowed all their wealthup- Now, howsoever it were so, that these dealonaNavy, and (affifted by the other Gracians) ings of the Athenians were not directly overthrew the Fleet of Xerxes, whose Landagainst the conditions of peace agreed upon torces were foon after discomsted by them, among the Greeks, yet were the complaints and the Greeks, who all ferved under con- made at Sparta fo vehement, that ( though dut of the Spartans. After these victories, with much ado) they concluded to redress

First therefore, seeking religious preten-Seasunder their obedience; impossing upon ces, they required the Athenians to explate them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as certain offences committed against the gods; they pretended) of War against the Perstan; whereto having for answer, That they though indeed they imployed their forces themselves should expiate other the like ofchichy, to the conquest of such Islands and fences, committed in sparta, they began to Haven-Towns of their Countrey-men, as deal plainly, and required that the people tiood out against them. All which was ea- of some Towns, oppressed by the State of tily suffered by the Lacedamonians, who athens, should be set at liberty; and that were In-landers, and men that delighted a decree made against those of Megara, not in Expeditions to be made far from whereby they were forbidden to enter any home. But afterwards perceiving the power Port of the Athenians, should be reversed. or the Albenians to grow great, they held This last point they to earnestly press, that themin much jealoufic, and were very apt to lifthey might obtain it, they promifed to ab-

other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the great importance (for it was a trisse) but on-Thebars would have oppressed the Plateans, ly that by seeming to have obtained some when they of rlatea repaired to Sparta for what, they might preserve their reputation succour, they found there no other aid, than without entring into a War, which threat-

But the Athenians would yield to noand tedious War with their neighbours of thing; for it was their whole defire that all Thebes. But it proved otherwise; for their Greece should take notice how far they were from fear of any other City. Hereupon they prepared on both fides very strongly, all that was needful to the War; wherein the Lacedamonians were Superiour, both in number and quality, being affifted by most of the Cities in Greece, and having the general favour, as men that pretended to fet at liberty fuch as were oppressed : but the saions of money, hipping, engines, and ab-vy, wherein they had little good fuccels beiclute power of command among their Sub- ing eatily vanquithed by the Athenians, who horsewhich they held, and alterward found ooth had more and better thips, and were of greater use in such need, than the willing lo skilfull in Sea-lights, that a rew Vessels of readiness of triends, who toon grow weary. and are not eatily aftembled.

#### ø. 111.

The beginning of the Peloponnelian War.

He first and second years Expedition was very grievous to the City of Athens. For the Fields were walted, the Treescut down, the Country people driven a very fore blow, that compelled them to to twe, with Wives, Coildren, and Cattel live for peace. A Fleet of Athenian thins in o the Town; whereby a most furious refittiene, grewinthe City, tuch as before they as their manner was, the coast of Laconia. had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was and all the half-life of Peloponnelus, was by added the revolt of the Mytileni as, in the contrary winds detained at Pylus, which is lile or Lusbos, and the fiege of Plates their a ragged Promontory, joyning to the Main, confederated City, which they durft not ad- by a strange neck of Land. Before it there venture to rai.e, belides some small over-lyes a small barren Island of less than two throws received. The Lacedamonians af miles compass, and within that a Creek, fembling as great forces as they could raife which is a good harbour for thips, the force out of Pciofonnejus, did in the beginning of of weather being born off by the head-Land Summer enter the Country of Attica, and and Isle. This Promontory the Athenians therein abide, until victuals began to fail, fortified, as well as in halte they might; walting and deftroying all things round and what was wanting in their artificial forabout. The Governours of the Athenians dification, was supplyed by the natural would not fuller the people to iffue into the strength and fite of the place. By holding field against them; for they knew the valour this piece of ground, and haven, they in reaof their enemies: but used to send a Fleet ion expected many advantages against their into reloponnesias, which wasted as fast all cuemies. For the Country adjoyning was the S. a-coalt of their enemies, whileft they inhabited by the Meffenians, who in ancient were making war in Attica. So the Pelo times had held very strong and cruel war ponnessans being the stronger by Land, wan with sparta; and (though quite subdued) the Town o. Platas, which wanted refeue; they were held in streight subjection; vet the Athenians likewise being more mighty was not the old hatred so extinguished, that by Sea, did tubdue Mytilene which had re- by the neer neighbourhood and affiftance belled, but could not be succoured from of the Athenians, it might not be revived. the Lacedamonians began to perceive how willers to the Lacedamonians, and as many unht they were to deal with fuch enemies. of their bond-flaves as could escape from For after that Allica was throughly wasted, them, would repair to Pylus, and from thence it lay not greatly in their power to do any make daily incursions into Laconia, which

4. chans did as far exceed them in all pro- | began to fet their care to build a ftrong Natheirs durit undertake a great number of the Feloponnesians.

#### ø. IV.

Of the great loss which the Spartans received at i ylus.

Mong other loffes which the Spartans had felt by Sea, they received at Pylin bound for Corcyra, waiting in that passage, Sparta. Ly thele proceedings in that War Furthermore it was thought, that many illoffence equal to such harm as they them- was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet felves might, and did, receive. The Confe- would the benefit of this haven, lying almost derates began to fet forward very flowly in in the mid-way between them and Coreyra, their Expeditions into Atticas perceiving make them able to furround all Pelopone-well that athens was plentifully relieved 1/10, and waste it at their pleasure. The news with all necesiaries, which came by the Sea of these doings at Pylus drew the Peloponnefrom the III and that were subject unto that | fans thither in all halte out of Attica, which Litare; and therefore these invaders took they had entred a few dayes before with but small pleasure in beholding the Walls their whole Army: but now they brought or that mig ty City, or in walting a for faken not only their Land-forces, but all their field, which was to them a pattern of the Navy to recover this piece, which how bad ca minies with which their own Territory a neighbour it might prove in time, they was the whillt afflicted. Wherefore they well fore-faw, little fearing the grievous lots at hand, which they there in few daies whilst with such reputation they might. received. For when they in vain made a But they found all contrary to their expectagene, al atrault on all fides, both by Sea and tion: For instead of concluding upon even Land unding that small Garriton which the terms, or desiring of meet recompence for A:hensans had left, very resolute in the de- loss sustained, the Athenians demanded certence, they occupied the haven, placing four tain Cities to be restored to them, which handred and twenty choice men, all of them had been taken from them by the Lacedamo-Gitzens of Sparta, in the Itland before men- nians long before this War began, refusing moned at each end whereof is a channel that likewise to continue the treaty of peace, leads into the Port; but so narrow, that on- unless the Spartans which were in the Isle, ly two thips in front could enter between were first rendred unto them as prisoners. the lile and Pylus; likewise but seven or Thus were the Embassadors returned withright thips could enter at once by the fur- out effect; at which time the truce being ther channel, between the Island and the ended, it was defired from the Athenian Cap-Main. Having thus taken order to that up tains, that they should, according to their relidue to run themselves aground.

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Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from hard means, for conveyance of victuals into sparta to the Camp (as was their custom in the Isle; which finally was taken by force, great dangers) to advice what were belt for and the men that were in it carried prifothe publick fafety; who when they did per- ners to Athens, where it was decreed that ceive that there was no other way to releue when the Peloponnesians next invaded Attica, their Citizens out of the Isle, than by compolition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the Athenians about peace, taking truce in the mean while with the Capwere, That the Lacedamonians should deli-Wine, and Fleth, thould be daily carried into were ill-affected unto them. the Isle, but that no thips should pass into the Island fecretly: That the Athenians should carry the Lacedemonian Embassadors to Athens, there to treat of peace, and should bring them back, at whose return the truce should end, which if in the mean time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly void in all; That when the truce was expired, the Athenians should restore the Peloponnesian thips, in as good cafe as they re-

this new Town by Sea, they fent part of Covenant, restore the ships which had been their Fleet to fetch wood, and other ftuff, put into their hands. Whereto answer was wherewith to fortific round about, and made, that the condition of the truce was, block up the piece on all fides. But in the that if any one Article were broken, all should mem feafon the Athenian Fleet, hearing of be held void; now (faid the Athenians) ve their danger that were left at Pylus, returned have affaulted our Garrisons, and thereby thither, and with great courage entring the are we acquitted of our promise to restore haven, didbreak and fink many of their ene- the ships. This and the like frivolous allemics velicles; took five, and so inforced the gations which they made, were but meer thifts; yet profit to far overweighed honour, Now was the Town secure, and the spar- that better answer none could be got. Then tuns abiding in the Island as good as lost. were the Lacedamonians driven to use many these prisoners should all be slain. Whether fearing the death of these men, or withheld by the troubles, which (according to the Athenians hope) fell upon them, the Latains at Pylus. The conditions of the truce cedemonians were fo far from walting Attica, that they suffered their own Country to ver up all the ships which were in the Coast, be continually over-run, both by the Atheand that they should attempt nothing against nians, who landed on all parts of their Coast, the Town, nor the Athenians against the and by those which issued out of Pylus; Camp: That a certain quantity of Bread, which became the Rendezvous of all that

#### ø. V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disadvantage, obtained a Peace that was not well kept.

Herefore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace ; which the Athenians would not hearken unto. For they were fo ceived them. The Embassadors coming to puffed up with continuance of good success, Athens, were of opinion, that as they them- that having fent a few bands of men into sclives had begun the War, so might they end sicilie, to hold up a faction there, and make it when they pleased. Wherefore they told what profit they might of the Sicilians the Athenians how great an honour it was quarrels; when afterward they heard that that the Lacedemonians did fue to them for the differences in that Ille were taken away, peace, advising them to make an end of War, and their bands returned without either

if it had been meerly through their default, unto them; yea, as Masters of the Sea, to that the lile of Sicilie was not conquered : weary them out, as in elicet already they which (besides the longer distance) was in had done. As for the Confederates of power to effend others, or defend it felf. Sparta, they could now endure neither War no whit inferiour unto Peloponne[us. Yet nor peace; their daily travels, and many was this their over-weening much abated loffes had to wearied and incenfed them. shortly after, by some disasters received, Wherefore the Lacedamonians were glad especially in Thrace, where, in a battel which to use the occasion, which the inclination they lost at Ampinpolis, Cleon and Brasides, of their enemies did then afford, of making Generals of the Athenian and Lacedamonian a final peace, which with much ado they forces, were both flain; which two had most procured, as seemed equal and easie; but been advertaries to the peace. As the Atheni- was indeed impossible to be performed. ans by their iolies were taught moderation; and therefore all their travel was little To the Lacedemenians, who not only felt the effectual. like wounds, but through the great Navy which they had received at Fylis, were fain taken being agreed upon, it fell out by lot, to proceed lamely in the War, against fuch that the Lacedemonians should restore first. as, through commodity of their good fleet. These had won more Towns upon the Conhad all advantage that could be found in tinent from the Athenians, than the Atheniexpedition, were fervently defirous to con- ans had from them; but what they had won, clude the buliness, ere Fortune by any new they had not won absolutely. For they favour mould revive the infolence, which had reflored fome Towns to such of their was at this time well mortified in their Ene- Allies, from whom the State of Athens had mics. Neither was it only a confideration taken them; fome, and those the most, they of their present estate, that urged them to had fet at liberty (as reason required) which bring the treaty of peace to a good and had opened their gates unto them as to their speciely effect; but other dangers hanging triends and deliverers, and not compelled over their heads, and ready to fall on them, them to break in as enemies. Now concernwhich unless they compounded with the ling the Towns which were not in their own Alkenians, they knew not how to avoid. The hands, but had been rendred unto their thate of Argos, which had antient enmity Confederates, the Spartans found means to with them, was now after a truce of thirty give fome fatisfaction, by permitting the years well-nigh expired, ready to take the Athenians to retain others, which they had benefit of their present troubles, by joyning gotten in the War; as for the rest, they with those who alone found them work promised more than afterwards they could else to do.

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this War had not been regarded. For it was terance in time to come. This dull perforthen thought that by waiting the Territory mance of conditions on the fide of the sparof Athens with sword and fire, the quarrel lans, made the Athenians become as back-

gain or lofs, they banished the Captains, as wherewith to maintain a Navy, could do

The restitution of prisoners and places enough. Argos was a rich and strong City, perform. The Cities which they had taken which though inferiour to sparta in valour, into protection, could not endure to hear yet was not fo unwarlike, nor held fuch of being abandoned, neither would they by ill correspondence with the neighbouring any means yield themselves into the hands Estates, that the Lacedamonians could ever of their old Lords the Athenians, whom far prevail upon it, when they had little they had offended by revolting, notwithstanding whatsoever Articles were drawn, This was a thing that in the beginning of and concluded, for their security, and betshould easily and in short time have been ward in doing those things which on their ended, whereby not only the Athenians part were required; so that restoring only should have been brought to good order, the prisoners which they had, they deferred but the Corinthians, and others, for whose the rest, untill such time as they might refake the War was undertaken, have been fo ceive the full fatisfaction, according to the firmly knit to the Lacedamonians, that they agreement. But before such time as these fliould for love of them have abandoned difficulties brake out into matter of open the Argives to their own fortunes. But now quarrel, the Lacedemonians entred into a the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that more streight alliance with the Athenians, the Athenians abounding in ready money, making a league offentive and defentive and means to raise more, were able to se- with them. Hereunto they were moved by cure themselves by a strong fleet, from any the backwardness of the Argives, who being great harm that the Peloponnesians, wanting (as they thought) likely to have such for

once compounded between athens and fore Pylms, had rather chosen to live in cap-Sparts, did shew themselves plainly unwil- tivity, than to die in fight; and that Pylus it has to give ear to any such motion. Think- self, sticking as a thorn in the foot of Lacoing therefore, that, by cutting from Argos nia, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as all hope of Athenian succour, they should utterly wearying the accustomed Spartan make fure work, the Spartans regarded not resolution, had made it fit down, and seek to the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deferving in the late War, or found fo troubletome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durft let it appear) was little worse than friendthip. It bred great jealousies in all the Cities same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the of Greece, to perceive such a conjunction be- rich and great City of Argos, of whose abilitween two so powerful Signiories: especially one clause threatning every one, that was lief, because of long time it had done noany thing apt to fear, with a fecret intent thing. Such is the base condition, which that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Country, and taking each what they could lay hold For, besides the other Articles, it was agreed. That they might by mutual consent add new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the Corinthians, Thebans, and other ancient Confederates of sparta, that the hate which they had born to the Athenians their professed enemies, was violently thrown upon the Lacedemonians their unjust friends: whereby it came to pass, that they who lately had born chief sway in Greece, might have been abandoned to the War. But these Corinthians did only murant used the advantage.

ø. VI.

of thenegotiations and practices held between many States of Greece, by occasion of the Peace that was concluded.

peace at their hands, as foon as things were | being overlaid by enemies, in the Island berefresh it felf by dithonourable ease: then did not only the Corinthians and Thebans begin to conceive basely of those men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other less Cities joyning with these in the ty to do much, they conceived a strong bethrough foolish envy is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curioully fearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have dicerned only the vertues; and comparing injurioully our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a falle opinion o good in strangers, which we kn wanting in our felves. The first that publish'd their distince of a

ta were the Corinthians, at whose whement entreaty (though moved rather by enthe greatness of Athens daily encreasing the Lacedamonians had entred into the present difcretion of their enemies, as already in at the peace, alledging as grievances, that effect they were, had the enemies wifely fome Towns of theirs were left in the Atheneans hands. The Manteneans, who during the time of War, had procured some part of the Arcadians to become their followers, and forfake their dependency upon the State of sparta, did more freely and readily discover themselves; fear of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The Argives feeling the THE admiration wherein all Greece gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill The admiration wherein an orter gate of property themselves to take as their fails, prepared themselves to take as able, and able to make way through all much of it as they could stand undersgiving impediments, had been so excessive, that for that purpose unto twelve of their Citiwhen by some similter accidents, that City zens a full and absolute commission to make was compelled to take and feek peace, upon alliance between them and any free Cities of terms not founding very honourable, this Greece (Athens and Sparta excepted) withcommon opinion was not only abated, but out any further trouble of propounding (as happens usually in things extreme) was every particular business to the multitude. changed into much contempt. For it was ne- When the gates of Argos were fet thus open ver thought that any Lacedemonian would to all commers; the Mantineans began to have endured to lay down his weapons, and lead the way, and many Cities of Peloponne-yield him elf prifoner, nor that any misfor-tune should have been so great, as should confederacy; some incited by private rehave drawn that City to relieve it self other- spects, others thinking it the wisest way to wise than by force of Arms. But when once do as the most did. What inconveniency it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especial mark, Lacedemonians easily discerned; & therefore rinth, where they well perceived that the themselves to the Argives, in whom they mightiefhadbeen hatched. These Embaila- knew the same affection to be inveterate: ours found in the Corintbians a very rough others did only hate the peace concluded; di polition, with a gravity expressing the opi- and these would rather have followed the pion which they had conceived of their prefint advantage over sparta. They had caufed all Cities which had not entred yet into in peace. Of this number were the Corinthalliance with Argos, to fend their Agents to ans, who knowing that the Thebans were afthem, in whote prefence they gave audience fected like unto themfelves, dealt with them to the Lacedamonians, the purport of whole to enter into the fociety of the Argives, as Embatue was this: That the Corinthians, they had done : but the different forms of without breach or their oath, could not for- Government, used in Thebes and Argos, cautake the aliance which they had long fince cd the Thebans to hold rather with Sparta, made with Sparta; and that Reason did as that was ruled by the principal men, thanto well bind them to hold themselves content-incur the danger of innovation, by joyning ed with the peace lately made, as Religion with such as committed the whole rule to enforced them to continue in their antient the multitude. confederacysforafmuch as it had been agreed between the Spartans and their allociats, that Corinthians began to bethink themselves of the confent of the greater part (which had yielded unto peace with Athens) should bind any truce with Athens, and yet were unprethe leffer number to perform what was concluded, if no Divine impediment withitood come to some temporary agreement with the them. Hereunto the Corinthians made an- Athenians, and hardly obtained it. For the fwer, that the Spartans had first begun to Athenians, who had dealt with all Greece at do them open wrong, in concluding the war wherein they had loft many places, without provision of restitution; and that the very clause alledged by the Embassadors, did acquit them from any necessity of subscribing they might be safe enough from them, if they to the late Peace, forasmuch as they had fworn unto those people whom they perinto protection; for that an oath was no less one should not make peace nor War withto be accounted a Divine impediment, than out the other. were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things clearly beseen the great advantage which undertaken. As for the alliance with Argor, absolute Lords have, as well in peace as in they faid that they would do as they should war, over such as are served by voluntaries. find caule. Having difmitted the Embaffadors We hall hardly find any Signiory, that hath with this aniwer, they made haste to joyn been so contrantly followed as sparta was themselves with argos, and caused other by so many States, and some of them little

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ent Emballadors to stop the matter at Co- neans and Eleans; these did firmly betake Spartans than the Argives in War, vet rather the Argives in War than the Lacedemonians

This business having ill succeeded, the their own danger, who had not fo much as pared for War. They fought therefore to one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had thewed against them more stomach than force; but gave them to understand, that would claim the benefit of that alliance, which Athens had lately made with Sparts fivaded to rebel against Athens, that they and her dependants; yet finally they grantwould never abandon them, nor willingly ed unto these Corinthians (which were loth fuffer them to fall again into the tyrannous to acknowledge themselves dependants of hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held Sparta) the truce that they defired; but themselves bound both in Reason and Reli- into private consederacy they would not gion to use all means of upholding those, admit them, being an article of the league whom by common confent they had taken between them and the Spartans, That the

Herein, as in many other passages, may States to do the like; fo that sparta and inferior to it c.t, being all as free: whereas Atkens were in a manner left to themselves, contratiwise, the Atkenians had lately, and the Thebans and Megarians being also upon by compellive means gotten their Dominithe point to have entred into this new con- on, wherein they demeaned themselves as federacy. But as the affections were divers Tyrants. But in performance of conditiwhich caused this halty confluence of sud-ons agreed upon, the Athenium were able den friends to Argo, it fo likewife came to to make their words good, by excluding any paisthat the triendilip it felf, such as it was, State out of their Confederacy, and giving had much diverfity both of fincerity and of up fuch places as were agreed upon: of continuance. For some there were that hated which the Lucedemonian could do neither or feated the Lacedemonians, as the Manti- the one nor the other. For such Towns as the lite War, could not be restored without their content which had them in prefent possession; and particularly the Town of analle, which the thebans held, could by vantage of breaking the peace, by reason that no means be obtained from them by the Laredemonians (who carneftly defired it, that their wills) had broken all Covenants with by restitution thereof unto the Athenians them. Now the State of Athens had fully deas carneftly demanding it, themselves might termined to retain Pylus, and to perform norecover Pylus) unless that they would agree thing that the Lacedamonians should, and to make a private alliance with Theber; might require, until they had first, without which thereupon they were constrained any longer halting, fulfilled all Articles Athens.

CHAP VIII.

The Lacedamonians having broken one article of the league made between them & the Athenians, that by fo doing they might Citizens, which were prisoners. But Alcibienablethemselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their sent privily to the Argives, and gave them to hopes by the Thebans, who did not give up understand how fitly the time served for the Town of Penatte, till first they had utter- them to associate themselves with Athens, ly demolished it, and made it of no worth to which was enough to give them security the Athenians. This was fought to have against all enemies. been excused by the Lacedamonian Embasfadors, who coming to Athens (whither they many Estates unto their society, had embrahad fent home all prisoners that had been ced great hopes of working wonders as if detained at Thebes ) hoping with gentle they should have had the conduct of all words to falve the matter; faying, That from Greece against the Athenians, robbing Sparta henceforth no enemy of Athens should nestle of that honour, as having ill used it, and in Panatte, for it was destroyed. But these thereby leaving their old enemies in case of Embassadors had not to deal with tame much contempt and disability. But these sudfools. For the Athenians told them in den apprehensions of vain joy, were suddenplain terms, That of three principal conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one 5 but used to the state of the stat fuchbase conclusions as stood not with their had refused their alliance; when the Corinthe Thebans; having destroyed a Town when a false rumour was noised abroad, fent them.

There were at that time both in Athens and Sparta, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the Ephori, cholen for that year, in Sparta; & Alcibiades, the Ephori, though defiring to renew the War, yet wished that first they might get from the Athenians as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, especially tween their Estates and the Athenians. Pylus that had so forely troubled them. Alcisome honourable employment; used all it; butto keep the love of the Atheniuns, the

their old Allies had gotten by their means in | means to fet the quarrel on foot, whilft the Athenians had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought fave their prifoners, and pretence enough to use that adthe Lacedamonians (though indeed against to do, though knowing it to be contrary whereto they were bound, even to theutto the last agreement between them and most point. This was enough to make them fweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their ades withing a speedy beginning of open war.

The Argives, upon the first confluence of honour: having made private alliance with thians had fought security from Albens; and that they should have restored; and not Athens Thebes and Sparta, were come to a full having forced their dependants by War, agreement upon all points of difference; to make good the Covenants of the late then began the Argives to let fall their crefts, concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed and sue for peace unto the Lacedemonians, the Embassadors with rough words, mean- who needing it as much as they, or more, yet ing with as rough deeds to anger those that held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of Alcibiades came very welcome to the Argives, which were not now consulting how to become the chief of all others, but how to fave themselves. apowerful young Gentleman in Athens. But Wherefore they fent away presently to Athens, their own Embassadors, accompanied with the Mantingans and Eleans, to make a league offentive and defentive be-

Of this business the Lacedamonians knew biades, whose Nobility, riches and favour not what to think : for well they faw, that with the people, made him desire War, as such a combination tended to their great the mean whereby himself might procure hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent

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of the History of the World.

done, than frood with their honour or pro- of the Embaffadors, and the strong perfitsothers held it the wifeft way, having done Iwalions of Alcibiades, that little wanted of fo much, not to stick upon a little more, but concluding the league with Argos. Yet for rather by giving full fatisfaction, to retain the present to far did Nicion, an honourable the friendibip of that State, which was more Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preto be valued than all the rest of Greece. This vail with them, that the business wasput off, resolution prevailing, they sent away such of until he himself, with other Embassatheir Citizens as were best affected to the dours, might fetch a better answer from peace, who coming to Athens, with full com- Sparta. mission to make an end of all controversies, did carnestly labour in the Council-house, poor a trick of Alcibiades was able to carry to make the truth of things appear, faying; a matter offo great importance, when the That their Confederacy with the Thebans Spartan Embassadours might have cast the had tended to none other end than the re- load upon his own shoulders, by discovering covery of Panader concerning which Town, the truth: But the gravity which was usuer any other business, that it much grieved ally found in the Lacedemonians, hindred the Lacedemonians, to fee things fall out in them (perhaps) from playing their game fuch wife as might give to the Athenians handsomely against so nimble a wit; and cause of displeature; but that all should be they might well have been thought untrusty cone which in reason might be required for men, had they professed themselves such as making matters even between them; to would fay and un-fay for their most advanwhich purpose they shewed that themselves tage. had absolute commission. Wherefore they delired that Polus might bereftored to them, meffage to deliver at Sparta, being perempand especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argives might be called afide. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather because they which Panade, and should immediately renounce promised amends, had power to make their their Alliance made with the Thebans; letting words good. But all this fair likelihood of them understand, that otherwise the Athegood agreement was dasht on the sudden, by nians, without further delay, would enter the practice of Alcibiades, who, secretly dea-into confederacy with the Argives, and ling with the Lacedamonian Embassadors, their adherents. The Ephori at Sparta had perswaded them well of his friendship to-no minde to forsake the Thebans, assured wards their City, and advised them to take friends to their State; but wrought so hard, all care that their absolute power to con- that the anger of the Athenians was suffered clude what they pleafed in the name of spar-to break out what way it could, which to ta, might not be known to the Commonalty mitigate, they would do no more, than or Athens, left the insolent multitude should only (at the request of Nicias their honourthereupon grow peremptory and yield to able friend, who would not feem to have efnothing, unless they could draw them to un-fected nothing) (wear a-new to keep the reasonable conditions. The Embassiadors Articles of the league between him and believed him, and fashioned their tale in the Athens. Immediately therefore upon return assembly of the people, as he had advised of the Embassadors, a new league was made them Hereupon the same Alcibiades taking between the Athenians, Argives , Mantinealliance, as (contrary to their own Oath) effect. already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would ill case, who having restored all that they very hardly have fatisfied, or brought into could unto the Attenians, and procured a good opinion of the Lacedemonians, others to do the like, had themselves reco-

new Ephori thought that more was already | fo much incented with the double dealing

CHAP. VIII

It may also feem a great wonder, how so

Nicias and his Companions had a fowre torily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedemonians should take the pains to rebuild presently the advantage, which their double ans, and Eleans, with very ample provision dealing afforded, inveighed openly against for holding the same common friends and them, as men of no fincerity, that were come enemies; wherein, though the Lacedomoto Athens for noother purpose, than to hin-nians were passed over with silence, yet was der the people from strengthening them-lit manifest, that the whole intent of this confelves with triends, meaning to draw the federacy did bend it felf chiefly against Argives and their Adherents to their own them, as in short while after was proved by

At this time the Lacedamonians were in (whose honest meanings had so ill been se-vered nothing of their own (prisoners exconded, with good performance) were now cepted) for default of restoring all that they

dischem, was the los of reputation, which affection, was the los of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late War be quiet a retaining still that enmity in their they mad not more imparted by misfortunes, than in fundry pallages be-hearts, which they had fufficiently discovertween them and the Athenians: to procure ed in effects, though not yet breaking out and keep whose Amity, they had lest iun- into terms of open War. dry of their own friends to thift for themfelves. Contrariwife, the Athenians by the treaty of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they loft in War; all The Athenians fending two Fleets to fack Sytheir gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the access of new Confederates.

#### ø. VII.

was ill kept, though not openly broken.

of their feveral friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Beetians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people of Greece, began a-new to range themselves under the Lacedemonians, and follow their lia such, as without help from Athens, could enligns. One victory which the Lacedamo- give any likelihood of a good end in that nians obtained by their meer valour in a fet War. For, although in the beginning, the Battel, near to Mantinea, against the Ar- enterprize and so well succeeded, that they give side, helped well to repair their decay-besieged syracuje, the chief City of all the ed reputation, though otherwise it yielded Island, and one of the fairest Towns which them no great profit. The civil diffention the Greeks inhabited, obtaining the better in arifing fhortly after within Argos it felf, be fundry Battels by Land and Sea; yet when tween the principal Citizens, and the Com-the Town was relieved with strong aid from mons, had almost thrown down the whole Peloponnesus, it came to pass that the Atheframe of the new combination. For the nians were put to the worse on all sides, in chief Citizens getting the upper hand, made fuch wife, that their Fleet was that up into a league with sparta, wherein they pro- the haven of syracuse, and could not iffue ceeded fo far, as to renounce the Amity of out. the Athenians in express words, and forced to the Athenians as closely as before.

prosperous attempts. Finally, the Atheni-fometimes give alarm unto the City it felf.

fould. But that which did most of all dif | ans wanting matter of quarrel, and the La-

#### d. VIII.

racuse, are put to flight, and utterly discomfited.

During this intermission of open War, the Athenians re-entertained their hopes of tubduing sicil; whither they fent a How the Peace between Athens and Sparta Fleet to mighty, as never was fet forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and T was not long ere the Argives and their furnished with all necessaries to so great an fellows had found business wherewith to expedition. All which came to nought spartfet the Athenians on work, and makeuse of ly by the factions in Athens, whence Alcibithis conjunction. For, prefuming upon the ades, Author of that voyage, and one of the ftrength of their fide, they began to meddle Generals of their Fleet, was driven to banish with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned himself, for fear of such judgement, as else the State of Sparta to defend. So, many acts he was like to have undergone among the ofholility were committed, wherein Athems incensed people; partly by the invasion and Sparta did (as principals) infest each the which the Lacedamonians made upon Attica. other, but came in collaterally, as to the aid whilst the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aid of the King of Perfia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with mony.

Neither was the success of things in Sici-

As the Athenian affairs went very ill in the Mantineans to the like. But in short Sicil, so did they at home stand upon their space of time the multitude prevailing, re-terms, for that the Lacedamonians, who had versed all this, and having chased away been formerly accultomed to make wearttheir ambitious Nobility, applied themselves tome yearly journeys into Attiea, which have ving pillaged and forraged, they returned Befides these uproats in Peloponness, many home; did now by counted of Aleibiades assaires were made to raise up troubles in all (who seeking revenge upon his own Citiparts of Greece, and likewife in Macedon, to | zens, was fled unto them) fortilie the Town the Athenians; whose forces and readiness of Decelea, which was near to Athens, whence for execution, prevented fome things, rethey cealed not with dealy incurfious to venged other, and requited all with tome harry at the Country round about, and CHAP. VII

In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy | measure honour or dishonour by the affu-

never offended them.

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makes foolish counsel seem wifer than it whereby oppression beginning upon one, is was; which came to pass many times among extended as warrantable upon all. Therethe Athenians, whose vain Conceits Pallas fore his fear of wrongful condemnation was was faid to turn to the best. But where unfound advice, finding bad proof, is obstinately pursued, neither Pallas nor Fortune Army, having no other expectation of safecan be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the Athenians, which better might have ferved to convey home the former that was defeated, after fome attempts made to small purpose against the the Camp break up till seven and twenty Syracufans, was finally (together with the daies were past. His timerousness was even other part of the Navy, which was there be- as foolish and ridiculous, as the iffue of it fore) quite vanquished, and barr'd up into was lamentable. For he should not have the haven of Syracuse, whereby the Camp of the Athenians, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for fuccour or departure, was driven to break up, and fly away by Land in which flight they were over-taken, routed, and quite overthrown, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This milchief well deferved fell upon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile Sophocles and Pthiodorus Generals, formerly fent into that Isle, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in cias, he had furely found the same fortune in sicil, whereas indeed there was not any a case very like. But when, he retiring the means or possibility to have made War. broken remainder of Crassus his Army, defea-Hereby it came to pass, that Nicias, who had ted by the Parthian Archers, was advised, the chief command in this unhappy enter- upon such an accident as this, to continue prize, did rather chuse to hazard the ruine of where he then was, till the Sun were past his Country by the loss of that Army, where- the fign of Scorpio; he made answer, that he in confilted little less than all the power of flood not in such fear of scorpio, as of Sagit-Athens; than to adventure his own estate, tarius. So adventuring rather to abide the his life, and his honcur, upon the tongues of frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer shameless accusers, and the sentence of danger of Enemies upon Earth, he made Judges before his tryal resolved to condemn such a safe and honourable retreat, as did him, by retiring from syracuse, when wis- both shew his noble resolution, and give a domand necessity required it. For (faid fair example to that good rule, he) they shall give fentence upon us, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give ear to any that would speak in our behalf, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumours that shall be brought against us : yea these our fouldiers, who now are fo desirous to return the Governours of understanding, when he in fafety, will in our danger be well contented intends evil to the Multitude; and that the to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lend wickedness of unjust men is the ready mean and insolent multitude.

This resolution of Nicias, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man, to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to

of the Athenians was very strange; who lea- rance of his well-informed conscience, raring at their backs, & at their own doors, an ther than by the malicious report and cenenemy little lefs mighty than themselves, did fure of others) yet it may be excused fince he vet fend forth another Fleet into Sicil, to had before his eyes the injustice of his peoinvade a people no less puissant, which had ple, and had well understood that a wicked tentence is infinitely worse than a wicked It often happens, that a prosperous event fact, as being held a president and patern fuch as a conftant man could not eafily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the ty than the faint hope of a fecret flight, he was fo terrified with an Eclipfe of the Moon, happening when they were about to dif-lodge, that he would not confert to have thought that the powers of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his Athenians; or might portend less evil to the flothful, than to fuch as did their heft. Neither do I think that any Aftrologers can alledge this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turn it to their own confusion. Had C. Callius the Roman, he who flew Tulius Cafar, imitated this superstition of Ni-

#### - Sapiens Dominabitur aftris.

Thus we fee that God, who ordinarily works by a concatenation of means, deprives to weaken the virtue of those who might have done them good.

in Sicilia.

the Atherian Dominion, and may be Councel and good performance he to far excill accounted a very little less calamity to celled all the Lacedemonians, that all their that Effaces than was the subversion of the good success was as a cribed to his wit and va-walls, when the City about seven years atter was taken by Lylander. For now began weary of his virtue; especially Agis one of the libjects of the Athenian Estate to rebel: their Kings, whose wife had so far yielded of whom, fome they reduced under their her felf to the love of this Athenian, that of whom, the died out; fome for fear among her inward friends the could not forobcalence, offices were fet at liberty bear to call her young child by his nameremiting only to be their good friends, as Hereupon order was taken, that Alcibiaformerly they had been their Subjects; des should be killed out of the way. But he others having a kinde of liberty offered by discovering the Spartaz treachery, conveythe Albertans, were not therewith content- ed himfelf unto Tiffaphernes, whom he to ed, but obtained a true and perfect liberty bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conby force. Among these troubles it fell out very unfeatonably, that the principal men of came the Matter of that barbarous Vice-Albert, being wearied with the peoples info- roys affections, who had free power to diflency, took upon them to change the form pose the great KingsTreasures and Forces in of that Estate, and bring the Government those parts. Then began heto advite If spherinto the hands of a few. To which purpose, mer, not so far forth to affilt the Lacedamoconfiring with the Captains which were #ians, that they should quite overthrow the abroad, they caused them to set up the form State of Athens, but rather to help the weaof an Ariftocracy in the Towns of their ker fide, and let them one confume another, Confederates; and in the mean time, some whereby all should fall at length into the that were most likely to withstand this In- hands of the Persum. By this counsel he made novation, being flain at Athens, the Commo- way to other practices, wherein by strength nalty were to diffinald, that none durft speak of his reputation (as the only Favorite of against the Conspirators, whose number they so great a Potentate) he played his own knew not, but every man was afraid of his game, procuring his restitution. At length neighbour, lest he should be a member of his banishment being repealed by the Army, the league. In this general fear the Majesty but not by the Citizens (who then were of Atbers was usurped by four hundred oppressed by the four hundred helaboured men, who observing in shew the ancient greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the form of proceeding, did cause all matters to Governours; or at least to divert their heat be propounded unto the people, and con- another way, and turn it upon the common cluded upon by the greater part of voices: Enemy Some of the four hundred approved turther, was quickly dispatched out of the with their good liking, sought to accord By these means were many Decrees made, But the most of that Faction labour all tending to the establishment of this new obtain peace of the Lacedamonians, delr ment, and by his affiftance procured that fundry overtures of peace to the Lucedethe fupplies which the Persian King had pro- monians, desiring to compound in as good

mised to the Lacedamonians, were by Tis-Saphernes, his Lieutenant, made un profitable, troubles whereinto the State of Athens through the flow and bad performance. Al-Atter the great logs of the Fleet and cibiades had at the first been very well enunto that State, was not grown to be the oband the ies of this Army was the ruine of ject of envy. But when it appeared that in but the things propounded were only such his motion, as being weary of the tyranny as were first allowed in private among whereof they were partakers, partly because themselves; neither had the Commonalty they saw it could not long endure, & partly any other liberty, than only to approve and for that themselves, being less regarded by give consent: for who foever prefumed any the rest of their companions, than stool way, and no enquiry made of the murther, themselves of it as honestly as they must authority, which nevertheless endured not chicfly to maintain both their own authority long. For the Fleet and Army which then ty, and the greatness of their City, is they was in the Isle of Samor, did altogether de- might: but if this could not be, they did test these dealings of the four hundred usur- rather wish to preserve their own power, or pers, and held them as Enemies 5 where- fafety at least, than the good Estate of the upon they revoked Alcibiaderout of banish- Common-wealth. Therefore they made terms as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the City of sparta was governed by an Aristocracy, to which form they had now reduced Attens. All these pallages between the four hundred (or the most and chief of them) and the Lacedamonians, were kept as fecret as might be. For the City of Athens, hoping, without any great caule, to repair their lofics, was not inclined to make composition; from which upon juster ground the Enemy was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not unknown abroad) might yield some fair opportunity he could raise, obtained many Victories. to the destruction of it self, which in effect (though not then prefently) came to pais. And upon this hope King Agir did Battel to the Atheniums; he overthrew and iometimes bring his forces from Decelea to utterly destroyed the Fleet of the Laceds. Athens, where doing no good, he received monians, commanded by Mindarus; took fome small losles. Likewise the Navy of Pe- the Towns of Cyzicus and Perinthus, made loponness made snew of attempting the Ci- the selymbrians ransome their City, and forty, but seeing no likelihood of success, they tified Chrysopolis. Hereupon Letters were bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained Victories, which cepting, found to contain the diffress of the in the better fortune of the Athenians might more lightly have been regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisdom, they should rather have forborn to present unto the Lacedemonians in fight by Land at Chalthe City, or to the Countries near adjoyn- cedon, took Selymbria, believed and won Bying, any terror of the War. For the dillen- zantium, now called Conftantinople, which tion within the walls might soon have done even in those days was a goodly, rich, and more good than could be received from the very ftrong City. Hereupon he returned Fleet or Army without, which indeed gave home with very great welcome, and was occasion to set the Citizens at unity, though | made High Admiral of all the Navv. it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fain to for it was taken from him, and he driven to refign their authority, which they could banish himself again, only because his Lieunot now hold, when the people, having ta- tenant, contrary to the express command ken arms to repel forein Enemies, would of Alcibiades, fighting with the enemies in not lay them down, till they had freed his absence, had lost a great part of the themselves from such as oppressed the State | Fleet. at home. Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the sovereign to the Athenians more harmful than the command unto the people, or whole body first; and the loss which thereupon they reof the City, but onely to five thousand; ceived, was (though more heavy to them, which company the four hundred (when yet) less to be pitied of others, than that their authority began) had pretended to which ensued upon his former exile. For, take unto them as affiltants: herein feem- whereas at the first, he had fought revenge ing to do little wrong or none to the Com- upon his own City; now, as inured to admonalty, who feldom affembled in greater versity, he rather pitied their fury, who in number. But now when the highest power time of such danger, had cast out him that was come indeed into the hands of fo many, should have repaired their weak effate, it was foon agreed, that Alcibiades and his than fought by procuring or beholding the companions should be recalled from exile, calamity of his people, to comfort himself and that the Army at samos should be re- after injury received. Before they, who were quested to undertake the Government: instituted in the place of Alcibiades, arrived which was forthwith reformed according at the Fleet, he presented Battel to Lysander to the Souldiers defire.

6. X.

How Alcibiades won many important wiffer ries for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their General, and again de-

This establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good fuccels in the Wars. For the Lucedamonians were about the same time overthrown at Sea, in a great Battel, by the Athenian Fleet. which had remained at Samos, to which alcibiades afterwards joyning fuch forces as Before the Town of Abydus, his arrival with eighteen ships, gave the honour of a great fent to Sparta, which the Athenians inter-Army, in these few words : All is lost ; Mindarus is flain; the Souldiers ment victuals: me know not what to do.

Shortly after this, Alcibiades overthrew

But this his honour continued not long,

The fecond banishment of Alcibiades, was the Lacedamonian Admiral, who was net

undertake Alcibiades himself, bringing thips in this judgement was not regarded. Six of more in number (notwithstanding the for- them were put to death, of whom one had mer los of fifteen) than his enemies had, hardly escaped drowning, and was with and better ordered than they had been un-much adorelieved by other Veticls in the der his Lieutenant. But when the Decree storm: but the Captains which were absent of the people was published in the Navy, escaped; for when the fury of the people he had built a Castle.

ς. XI.

The Battel of Arginufæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captains by the

A many losses and discomfitures, were driven to fly into the Haven of Mytelene, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raifing of this fiege, necessity inforced them to man all their veffels, and to put the uttermost of their forces scoured the Agean Seas, enter Hellespont, into the hazard of one Battel. This Battel where (landing Souldiers) it befreged and was fought at Arginusa, where Callicratidas, took the Town of Lampsacus. Hereupon all Admiral of the Lacedemonains, losing the the Navy of Athens, being an hundred and honour of the day, preserved his own repu- fourscore fail, made thither in haste: but tation, by dying valiantly in the fight. It finding Lampfacus taken before their commight well have been expected, that the ten ing, they put in at seftor, where having re-Captains, who joyntly had command in chief freihed themselves, they sailed to the River over the Athenian Fleet, should for that good | called Agos-Potamos, which is (as we might daies service, and so happy a Victory, have name it) Goats-Brook, or the River of the received greathonour of their Citizens. But | Goat, being on the Continent oppolite to contrariwise, they were forthwith called Lampfacus: and there they cast Anchors, home, and accused, as if wilfully they had not one whole league off from Lylander, who fuffered many of the Citizens, whose ships rode at Lampfacus in the harbor. The next were broken and funk, to be cast away, day after their arrival, they presented sight when by appointing some Vessels to take unto the Pelopponnessans, who refused it, them up, they might have faved them from whereupon the Athenians returned again under sufficient men, to save those that were drew towards evening. wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising the Navy, and his power in those places was performance of that, and other their intend- Country-men, if they could have made use durst absolve them, save only socrates the might furnish themselves with necessaries.

to confident upon his former Victory, as to wife and virtuous Philosopher, whose voice then did Aleibiades withdraw himself to a was over-past, this judgement was reversed. Town upon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamy of injustice, but the divine Justice was not asleep, nor would be so deluded.

ø. XII.

Fter this time, the Athenians receiving The Battel at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian War.

HE Peloponnesian Fleet under Lysan-L der, the year next following, having being drowned. Hereto the Captains readi- to Agos-Potamos; and thus they continued ly made a very justanswer, That they pur- five daies, braving every day the Enemy, fuing the Victory, had left part of the Fleet, and returning to their own har oour when it

The Castle of Alcibiades wasnot far from about the end of the fight, had hindred the fuch as might have greatly availed his ments. This excuse availed not . For a lewd of it. For he had waged mercenaries, and fellow was brought forth, who faid, That making war in his own name upon tome he himself escaping in a Meal-tub, had been people of the Thracians, had gathered much intreated by these who were in peril of wealth, and obtained much reputation drowning, to delire of the people revenge of among them. He perceiving the diforderly their deaths upon the Captains. It was very course of the Athenian Commanders, restrange, that upon such an accusation main-paired unto them, and shewed what great tained with fo flender evidence, men that inconvenience might grow, if they did not had well deserved of their Country should soon fore-see and prevent it. For they lay beoverthrown. But their enemies had so in a rode subject to every weather; neither incenfed therascal multitude, that no man near enough to any Town where they

Seffor was the next Market-town 5 thither referee, cut in pieces. Thus was the war which both Souldiers and Mariners reforted, flock- had lafted feven and twenty years, with vaing away from the Navy every day, as foon riable fuccefs, concluded in one hour, and the as they were returned from braving the glory of Athens in such wife eclipsed, that she Enemy. Therefore Alcibrades willed them never afterward shone in her perfed light. either to lye at sefior, which was not far off, or at least to confider how near their der, having taken such Towns as readily Enemy was, whole fear proceeded rather did yield upon the first fame of his exploit, from obedience to their General, than from fet fail for Athens, and joyning his forces any cowardite. This admonition was fo far with those of Agis and Paulanius, Kings of despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authority was out be won on the sudden, he put forth again of date. Had it not been for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the Lacedamonians, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utter-Streights, who affaulting the Peloponnefians by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sca, or elle to leave their ships to

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he did prognosticate. careless in looking into the demeanour of ders in the wars. the Athenians. When they departed, his manner was, to fend forth some of his swiftest walls were thrown down with great rejoy-Veffels after them, who observing their do- cing of those who had born displeasure to ings, related unto him what they had feen. Athens; and not without some consultation Therefore understanding in what careless of destroying the City, and laying waste the fashion they romed up and down the Coun-land about it. Which advice, although it was try; hekept all his men aboard after their not entertained, yet were thirty Goverdeparture: and the fifth day gave especial nors, or rather cruel Tyrants, appointed charge to his Scouts, that when they percei- over the people, who recompended their ved the Athenians dif-imbarking, as their former infolency and injuffice over their custom was, and walking towards sestes, Captains, by oppressing them withallbase they thould forthwith return, and hang up and intolerable flavery. a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for

him to weigh Anchor. 11 fander being in a readine is, made all speed ruined. But the Thirty Tyrants perceiving that fireigth of Oars could give, to Agost this, advertised the Lacedemonians there-Totamos, where he found very few of his of, who contrived, and (as now domineerenemies aboard their thips, nor many near ing in every quarter) foon effected his fudthem, and all in great contuiton upon the den death. news of his approach.

Infomuch that the greatest industry which the Athenians then the wed, was in the eleape of eight or nine thirs, which knowing how much that loss imported, gave over Greece, and by combination of many Cities to the lile of cyprus; all the rest were taken, authority, even in that very age in which

nor fo far oit as had been more expedient. and fuch of the Souldiers as came into the

Immediately upon this Victory, Ly an-Sparta, fummoned the City; which finding too stubborn to yield, and too strong to to Sea, and rather by terror than violence, compelled all the Islands, and such Towns of the Ionians as had formerly held of the Athenians, to submit themselves to Sparta, ly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it he did thereby cut off all provision of victuwas that he might so have done by trans- als, and other necessaries, from the City, porting the light-armed Thracians, his con- and inforced the people by meer famine to tederases, and others his followers, over the yield to these conditions; That the long walls, leading from the Town to the Port. should be thrown down; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set at lithe mercy of the Athenians But finding their berty: That the Athenians should be Maacceptance of his good council no better sters only of their own Territories, and the than hath been rehearsed, he lest them to fields adjoyning to their Town; And that their fortune; which how evil it would be, they should keep no more than twelve ships; That they should hold as Friends or Ene-Lyfander all this while defending himself mies, the same, whom the Lacedemonians by the advantage of his Haven, was not did, and follow the Lacedamonians as Lea-

These Articles being agreed upon, the

The only small hope then remaining to the Athenians was, that Alcibiades might The Scouts performed their charge, and perhaps repair what their own folly had

Such end had the Peloponnesian war. After which the Lacedemonians abusing the reputation and great power, which therein they had obtained, grew very odious to Atkens as desperate, & made along Hight in against them, were dispossed of their high

CHAP. IX. that they took, was of the Theban led by ction fo far as might make her terrible to Epaminondas, under whom Philip of Macedon her neighbours. And thus all parts of the Father to Alexander the Great, had the best | Country remained rather evenly ballanced, of his education. By the Ethebarr, the City than well agreeing, till fuch time as Philip, of sparta (besides other great losses seei- and after him Alexander, Kings of Macedon, ot sparia (Denues other great officials and whose fore-fathers had been dependants, kings of pauceaon, ved) was fundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the The and followers, year almost meer Vassals to bans came finally to nothing; for the feveral the Estates of Athens and Sparta) found Estates and Signiories of Greece, were grown means, by making use of their factions, to fo jealous one of anothers greatness, that bring them all into servitude, from which 6 counterpoize the stronger, that no one Masters.

they had subdued Athens. The greatest foil City could extend the limits of her jurisdithe Lacedamonians, Athenians, Argives, and they never could be free; till the Ro-Thebans, which were the mightiest, affocia- mans presenting them with a shew of li-Incomes, which were the migraters, and berty, did berty, did themselves indeed become their

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian War, or shortly following it.

6. I.

How the affairs of Persia stood in those times.

tions foregoing it, Artaxerxes Longima- an Egyptian, rebelled against him, and having 1885, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign partly flain, partly chased out of the Land over the Persians, left it by his death either to Darius, who was called Darius No- ly with the Greeks, that by their aid he thus, or the Baltard, whom the Greek Hi- maintained the Kingdom, and delivered it storians (lightly passing over Xerxes the se- over tohis posterity, who (notwithstandcond, and Sogdianus, as Usurpers, and for ing the fury of their civil Wars) maintained their short reign little to be regarded) place it against the Persian, all the daies of this next unto them, or to Xerxes the second; Darius, and of his Son Artaxerxes, Mnemon. who, and his Brother Sogdianus after him Likewise Amorges, a subject of his own, and (feeming to have been the Sons of Hester) of the Royal blood, being Lieutenant of held the Kingdom but one year between Garia, rebelled against him; confederating them, the younger succeeding his elder himself with the Athenians. But the great Brother. It is not my purpose (as I have calamity, before spoken of, which fell upon said before) to pursue the History of the the Athenians in Sicil, having put new life feized at once upon the King and Kingdom. cifeterms; wherein it was concluded, That

Uring the times of this Peloponnesian | Darius having slain his Brother, held the War, and those other less Expedi- | Empire nineteen years. Amyrtaus of Sair Persians from hencesorth, by rehearfal of all into the Spartans, and given courage to the the particulars, otherwise than as they shall Manders and others, subject to the State of be incident to the affairs of Greece. It may Asbens, to shake off the yoke of their long therefore suffice to say, That Kerxer the se- continued bondage; It fell out well for Dacond, being a vicious Prince, did perish af- rins, that the Lacedemonians being destitute ter a month or two, if not by surfeit, then of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of by the treachery of his riotous Brother Sog- a great Navy, without which it was impofdianus. Likewise of Sogdianus it is found, fible to advance the War against the State that being as ill as his Brother, and more of Athens, that remained powerful by Sea, cruel, he slew unjustly Bagorazus a principal were driven to crave his assistance, which Eunuch, and would have done as much to he granted unto them, first upon what conhis Brother Darius the Bastard, had not he ditions best pleased himself, though afterfore-feen it, and by raifing a stronger Army wards the Articles of the league between than this hated King Sogdianus could leavy, him and them, were fet down in more prethe Athenans, and upon all that should re- Law, and make a collection of such ancient bel from either of them, and (which was Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: highly to the Kings honour and profit) that the condition of the City standing as it did all the Cities of Asa which had formerly in that fo fudden alteration. To this charge been his, or his Predecellors, thould return was annexed the supreme authority, either to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the as a recompense of their labours, or because War entiring (of which I have already ipo- the necessity of the times did fo require it, ken) he recovered all that his Grandfather wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fie and Father had left in Afia. Likewife by af- that fuch men thould give judgement in parfiltance of the Lacedamonians, he got Amorticular causes, to whose judgement the Laws ger alive into his hands, who was taken in themselves, by which the City was to be orthe City of Jasus; the Athenians wanting ei- dered, were become subject. But these thirther force or courage to fuccourhim. Never- ty, having fo great power in their hands. thele's Egyr (till held out against him; the were more careful to hold it, than to decause whereo; cannot be the employment of serve it by faithful execution of that which the Perfin forces on the parts of Greece: for was committed to them in truff. he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, fome fellows as were odious to the City. which caused him to fight with gold; which though not punishable therefore by Laws effected for him by Souldiers of other Na- they condemned them to death; which protions, and his natural enemics, what the va-ceeding was by all men highly approved, who tour of his own Subjects was infufficient to confidered their lewed conditions, but did perform. Darius had in marriage Parysatis his not withall bethink themselves, how easiea own Sifter, who bare unto him (befides thing it would be unto these thirty men, to other children) Artaxerxes called Mnemon, take away the lives of Innocents, by calling that is to fay, the Mindful, or the Rememberer, who fucceeded him in the Kingdom; they lifted, when condemnation without and Gyrus the younger, a Prince of fingular true trial and proof hadbeen once well alvirtue, and accounted, by all that knew him, lowed. Having thus plaufiby entred into a the most excellent man that ever Persia bred after Cyrus the great. But the old King Da- it belt to fortific themselves with a sure rise, intending to leave unto his eldelt Son guard, ere they brake out into those dilor-Artaxerxes the inheritance of the great Em- ders, which they must needs commit for the pire, did cast a jealous eve upon the doings establishing of their authority. Wherefore of young Cyrus, who being Lieutenant of dispatching two of their own company to the lower Asia, took more upon him than be sparta, they informed the Lacedemonians, fitted a Subject: for which cause his Father that it was the full intent of the Thirty, to fent for him, with intent to have taken some keep the City free from all rebellious movery tharp coutfe with him, had not his own tions: to which purpose it behoved them to death prevented the coming of his younger cut off such as were seditious; and therefore Son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of defired the Lacedamonians to fend them a the war between these Brethren, and summarily of Artaxerxes, we shall have occasion to fpeak fomewhat in more convenient place.

6. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in

he and they should make war joyntly upon | first by the people to compile a body of their

Therefore apprehending fuch troublethem perturbers of the peace, or what elle wicked course of Government, they thought Garrison, which they promised at their own cost to maintain. This motion was well approved, and a Guard fent, the Captain of which was fo wellentertain'd by the Thirty, that none of their misdeeds could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after base and detested persons invaaed the principal men of the City, fending armed men from house to house, who drew Hold it in this place very convenient to out fuch as were of great reputation, and linew the proceedings of the Greeks, after likely, or able to make any head against the subversion of the walls of Athens, which this wicked form of Government: whereby gave end to that War called the Peloponne- there was fuch effusion of blood, as to Thelian War, but could not free the unhappy ramenes (one of the Thirty) feemed very Country of Greece from civil broils. The horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. thirty Governours, commonly called the His distike of their proceedings being openly thirty Tyrants of Athens, were chosen at the discovered, caused his fellows to bethink themselves himfeli a Captain of the discontented (which The very thought of such a practice had were almost the whole City and redeem his been treason at home, which had no other own peace with their ruine. Wherefore they danger abroad, than might be found in the felected three thousand of the Citizens, execution. Seventy men, or thereabout, whom they thought meetelt, and gave unto were the first undertakers, who with their them some part of the publick authority, Captain Thras bulus took Phyla, a place of thereit they disarmed; and having thus in- strength in the Territory of Athens. No creased their own strength, and weakned sooner did the thirty hear of their expleit, their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed than seek means to prevent further danger; the blood not only of their private enemies, affembling the three thousand, and their Labut of fuch whose mony, or goods, might in cedemonian guard, with which force they rich them, and enable them for the payment of their Guard. And to this purpofe they concluded, that every one of them should strong to be taken by assume the strength of the strong to be taken by assume the strong the strong the strong to be taken by assume the strong the strong to be taken by assume the strong the strong to be taken by assume the strong the st name one man, upon whose goods he should to beliege it; which purpose came to nough feize, putting the owner to death. But when by means of fnow that fell, and other ftormy Theramenes uttered his detellation of fo weather, against which they had not made wicked intent, then did Critias, who of all provision. Retiring therefore to the City on which confideration, he advised them all rather to preserve his own life by filence, him to drink poyfon.

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X

6. III. their deposing.

Citizens, who were fled to Theber, entred in feventy only, yet the Victory feemed the

themselves, and provide for their own secu- to consultation, and resolved to hazard themserves, and received to instantation, nd received to instantation and received thethirty was most tyrannical, accuse him which above all they were to make good, to the Council, as a treacherous man, and they left the most of their guard, and two (whereas one main priviledge of the three companies of horse, to weary out them thousand was, that none of them should suf- which lay in Phyla, with a flying siege. But fer death at the appointment of the thirty, it was not long ere the followers of Taraffbut have the accustomed tryal)he took up- bulw were increased from seventy to seven on him to strike out of that number the hundred, which adventured to give charge name of Theramenes and so reduced him un- upon those guards, of whom they cut off der the trial and sentence of that order. It above an hundred and twenty. These small was well alledged by Theramenes that his but prosperous beginnings, added more to name was not more easie to be blotted out the number of those in Phyla, who now with of the catalogue, than any other mans, up- a thou fand men got entrance into Piraus, the fuburb of Athens, lying on the Port. Before to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as their coming the thirty had resolved to forof their own, who were liable to the same tifie the Town of Elensine, to their own use, form of proceeding: but every man chusing whereinto they might make an easie retrait, and fave themselves from any sudden peril. than prefently to draw upon himfelf the It may well feem ftrange, that whereas their danger, which as yet concerned him little, barbarous manner of Government had and perhaps would never come near him; brought them into such danger, they were the Tyrants interpreting filence as consent fo far from seeking to obtain mens good condemned him forthwith, and compelled will, that contrariwife, to affure them elves of Elensine, they got all of the place who could bear arms into their hands by a train, and wickedly (though under form of Juflice) murthered them all. But, Sceleribus The Confirmacy against the thirty Tyrants, and tutum per scelera est iter, the mischies which they had already done were such, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any Fter the death of Theramenes, the thir- other apparent likelihood of fafety, than by Aty began to use such out-rage; as excel- extending their cruelty unto all, seeing few led their former villanies. For, having three or none were left, whom they could truft. thousand (as they thought) firmunto them, When Thrasphulus and his fellows, who as they robbed all others without fear or yet were termed conspirators, had taken the shame, despositing them of lands and goods, Pireus, then were the three thousand armed and caused them to fly into banishment, for again by the Tyrants, and brought to assault safeguard of their lives. This flight of the it; but in this interprize Thras bulus had the Citizens procured their liberty, and the general good of the City. For the banished though there were slain to the number of

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CHAP.

thirty, perished in that fight. The death of league: but fearing indeed, lest the Lacede-Critias, and the stout detence of Pirans, to- monians should annex the Territory of Athens gether with some exhortations used by Thra- to their own Demains. It is not to be doub-Isbulus to the Citizens, wrought such effect, ted, that Pausanias took this answer in good that the thirty were deposed. Nevertheless part. For it was not his purpose to destroy there were fo many of the three thousand, those against whom hewent, but only to cross who having communicated with the thirty the proceedings of Lyfander, whom he enviin their misseeds, feared to be called to a ed. Thereforehaving in some small skirmishes that p account, that no peace, nor quiet form against them of Toras jobs in his party, made a of Government could be established. For the work war, he finally wrought such means, Embassadors were sent to sparta, who crathat all things were compounded quietly: fent to their allistance, both by land and sea, ta. The remainder of that tyrannical faction.

greater, because Critics, and one other of the not hitherto broken any one article of the embanadors were the ving aid against Thrassbulus and his follo-the thirty men, and such others as were like wers, had favourable audience, and a power to give cause of tumults, being sent to sparunder the conduct of Lylander, and his Bro- having withdrawn themselves to Eleuline ther; whom Paufanias the Spartan King did were shortly after found to attempt some infollow, raifing an Army of the Cities confe- novation; whereupon the whole City rifing derate with the Lacedemonians. And here against them, took their Captains, as they appeared first the jealousie, wherein some were coming to Parly, and slew them: which people held the State of sparta. The Beoti- done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law ans and Corinthians, who in the late warshad was made, that all injuries past should be been the most bitter enemies to Athens, re- forgotten, and no man called into question fused to follow Pausanias in this expedition; for wrongs committed. By which order. alledging that it stood not with their oaths, wifely made, and carefully observed, the to make war against that people, who had City returned to her former quietness.

CHAP. X.

Of the Expedition of Cyrus the younger.

6. I. The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his Brother.

to Artaxerxes King of Persia, having in victorious foot-steps of their posterity his Fathers life-time very carefully pro-fecured the War against Athens, did send the riches, and withal the weakness of the his messengers to Sparta, requesting that Persian, to kindle in them both desire and their love might appear no less to him, hope of that Conquest, which he reserved to than that which he had shewed towards another generation; than to give into their them in their dangerous War against the hands that mighty Kingdom, whose hour Athenians. To this request, being general, the Lacedemontars gave a suitable antiver; commanding the Admiral to perher younger son, being seconded by the earform unto Cyrus all service that he should nest favour of the people, and ready desires require of him. If Cyrus had plainly difco- of many principal men, had moved this vered himself, and the Lacedemonians bent young Prince, in his Fathers old age, to their whole power to his affistance, very like aspire after the Succession. But being sent it is, that either the Kingdom of Persia should for by his Father (as hath before been shewhave been the recompence of his deferts; ed) whose meaning was to curb this ambitior that, he perishing in battel, as after ous Youth; he found his elder brother Ar-

HE matters of Greece standing up- he did, the subversion of that Empire had on such terms, that no one Estate forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, radurst oppose it self against that of ther to shew unto the Greeks the wayes, Lacedemon; young Cyrus, Brother which under the Macedonian Enfigns, the Kings favour, that it were not fafe to at- of his own people, and that good neighbourrungs any means of displanting him, by hood of the Lacedamonians, whom he had tempt any means of the state of the place of a Viceroy, which he held in Afia himfelf. Neither was it expedient that he the less, and hardly be able to maintain his should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion own life. The nearest neighbour to Grass should present it self: but rather enterprise own me. of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Afia, somewhat whilst yet his Mother lived, who oran one brings, a man compounded of co- could procure a good interpretation to all was tijjeputeres, a warfite, treachery craft, and all vices which his actions, if they were no worfe than only warunes treatment of the fe. This man questionable. Hereupon he first began to accultomany pranction of these tribinal states are sectionable. Rectapon ne into began to accompanied Cyres to his Father, using by the way all fair flews offriendship, as to a the way all fair flews offriendship, as to a prince, for whom it might well be thought, them to his own Province, which displaced that Queen Parglatis had obtained the inhe- not Artaxerxes at all, who (besides that he ritance of that mighty Empire. And it was was of condition fomewhat fimple) being reture, that Pary atis had used the best of truly paid by Cyrus the accustomable Triber endeavour to that purpose, alledging butes out of those places, was well contentthat (which in former ages had been much ed to fee his brothers hot spirit exercised in that (which in former ages had occur made) private quarrels. But Tiffaphernes, whose with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was born base conditions were hated, and cowardise whilft his Father was a private man, but despised, although he durst not adventure whilt ins rather was a private man, all to take arms against Cyrus, yet perceiving which not sufficing, when the most that the Milesans were about to give up could be obtained for Cyrus, was the pardon themselves into the hands of that young of fome prefumptuous demeanor, and con- Prince, as many other Towns of the Ionians firmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts had done, thought by terror to preserve adjoyning: then did this Tiffaphernes disco- his reputation, and keep the Town in his ver his nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and the new King artaxerxes, of a dangerous many he banished, who flying to Cyrus, were his own Province.

ø. II.

into the War.

THE form of Government which the Persian Lieutenants used in their te-

taxerxes established so surely by the old ment; and the means which he had by love treason intended against his person. Upon gently entertained, as bringing fair occasion this acculation, whether true or falle, very to take arms, which was no small part of his eafily believed, Cyrus was arrefted, and by defire. In levying Souldiers he used great the most vehement intreaty of his Mother policy; for he took not only the men of his very hardly delivered, and fent back into lown Province, or of the Countries adjovning, whose lives were ready at his will; but fecretly he furnished some Grecian Captains with money, who being very good men of War entertained Souldiers therewith, fome The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entry of them warring in Thrace, others in Thesialy, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to cross the Seas, at the first call of Cyrus, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their several Wars, veral Provinces, was in many points almost that the Souldiers might be held in conti-Regal. For they made war and peace, as nual exercise, and ready in arms upon the they thought it meet, not only for the Kings sudden. Cyrus having sent a power of men behoof, but for their own reputation; ulu- to beliege Miletus, forthwith summoned ally indeed with the Kings enemies, yet these bands of the Greeks, who very readily fometimes one with another: which was came over to his affiftance, being thirteen the more easily tolerated, because their own thousand very firm Souldiers, and able to heads were held only at the Kings pleasure, make head (which is almost incredible) which caused them to frame all their doings against the whole power of Artaxerxes. to his will, what foever it were, or they could With this Army, and that which he had leconjecture it to be. Cyrus therefore being vied before, he could very easily have forced ferled in Lydia, began to confider with him- Miletun, and chased away Tiffaphernes out felf, the interest that he had in the King- of Asia the less: but his purpose was not so dom; the small affurance of his Brothers to lose time in small matters; that was to love, held only by his Mothers intercession; be imployed in the accomplishment of the difgrace endured by his late imprison-higher designs. Pretending therefore that Subject to the Persian, had invaded his Ter- promise of reward, he brought them to Enritory; he raised the fiege of Miletus, and phrates; where some of the Greeks confiderwith all speed marched Eastward, leaving ing, That who so passed the River first. Tiffaphernes much amazed, who had no lei- should have the most thanks, and might fure to rejoyce that Cyrus had left him to fafely return if the rest should refuse to folhimself, when he considered, that so great an low them; they entred the Foords, where-Army, and so strong, was never levied by all were finally perswaded to do assome against the Rovers of *Pistala*, but rather had begun: and being allured by great against the great King his Master. For which hopes, they resolved to leek out Artaxerxes. cause taking a band of sive hundred horse, wheresoever he was to be found. The King he posted away to carry tidings to the in the mean time having raised an Army of Court, of this great preparation.

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#### d. III.

How Cyrus took his journey into the higher Afia, and came up to his Brother.

was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen Statira, against Parysatis, the Queen-Mother, whom the called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilst the King in great fear was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hafted upon him very fast. For Cyrus made great marches, having his number much increased of Abrocomas, or his Souldiers, who arrived by the repair of his Countrey-men, though not at the Camp, till five dayes were past most strengthened by the access of seven after the battel, received either punishment, hundred Greeks, and of other four hundred or difgrace; for they, toward whom he of the same Nation, who revolted unto him withdrew himself; were all made of the from the King. How terrible the Greeks same metal. were to the Barbarians, he found by tryal in a Muster, which (toplease the Queen of of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Cicilia, who had brought him aid) he made Kingdom, until by Teribazus, one of his Capin Phrygia; where the Greeks by his directi- tains, he was perswaded not to abandon so on making offer of a charge upon the rest many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who of his Army, which contained a hundred would thereby have gathered addition of thousand men, the whole Camp (not per- strength, and (which in the sharp disputaticeiving that this was but a bravery) fled on of Titleto a Kingdom is most available) a-main, the victuallers and baggagers for- would have grown superiour in reputation. faking their Cabins, and running all away By fuch advice, the King refolved upon for very fear. This was to Cyrus a joyful meeting with his Brother, who now began spectacle, who knew very well, that his Bro- to be secure, being fully perswaded that Arther was followed by men of the same tem- taxerxes would never dare to abide him in per, and the more unlikely to make refi- the field. For the King having cast up a stance, because they were prest to the war Trench of almost forty miles in length, about against their will and dispositions, whereas thirty foot broad, and eighteen foot deep, his Army was drawn along by meer affe intended there to have encamped: but his drion and good will. Nevertheless he found courage failing him, he abandoned that it a very hard matter to perswade the Greeks to pass the River of Euphrates. For the very length of the way which they had trodden. wearied them with the conceit of the tedious return. Therefore he was driven, being vet in Cicilia, to feek excutes, telling them. that Abrocomas, one of the Kings principal Captains, and his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them

the Pissdians, apeople of Asia the less, not to assist him. By such devices, and excessive nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in trial of a plain battel. Abrocomas, who with three hundred thousand men, had undertaken to make good the Streights of Syria, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other The tumult which his coming brought defences of nature and art, which made the place to feem impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the Kings forces, not daring to look Cyrus in the face; who despairing to find any way by Land, had procured the Lacedamonian Fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported his Army. I do not find that this cowardife

> Therefore Artaxerxes was upon the point courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing fo fafe, as to be far diftant from his enemies.

#### ø. IV.

The Battel between Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

HE Army of Cyrus having overcome many difficulties of evil waies, and fearcity of victuals, was much incouraged the advanced with the hundred Horfe, and by perceiving this great fear of Artaxerxes; gave fovaliant a charge upon a squadron of and being palt this Trench, marched care- fix thousand, which lay before the King. and being pare disorder, having bestowed that he brake it, slaying the Captain there their Armsin Carts; and upon Beafts of car- of Artagerses, with his own hands, and outriage; when on the sudden one of their ting all the rest to slight. Hereupon his whole Vancurrors, brought news of the Kings company of fix hundred, very tew excepted, approach. Hereupon with great tumult they began to follow the chafe, leaving Cpres amed themselves, and had ranged their too ill attended, who perceiving where the Battels in good order upon the fide of the King stood in troop, uncertain whether to River Euphrates, where they waited for the fight, or leave the field, could not contain coming of their enemies, whom they faw himself, but said, I fee the man: and prenot till it was afternoon. But when they fently, with a small handful of men about faw the cloud of dust raised by the feet of him, ran upon his Brother, whom he strake

that huge multitude, which the King drew through the Curace, and wounded in the after him, and perceived by their near ap- breast. Having given this stroke, which was proach how well they were marshalled, his last, he received immediately the satal coming on very orderly in silence, whereas blow, which gave period at once to his aminab been expected, that rushing violently bition and life, being wounded under the with loud clamors, they should have spent eye with a Dart, thrown by a base sellow. all their force upon the first brunt; and when wherewith astonied, he fell dead from his it appeared that the fronts of the two Ar- horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to mies were sounequal in distent, being all have recovered him, though all which were embattelled in one body and square, that with him, did their best for his safety; not ca-Cyrus taking his place (as was the Persian ring afterwards for their own lives, when manner) in the midst of his own, did not once they perceived that Cyrus their Master with the corner, and utmost point thereof, was slain. Artaxerxes caused the head and reach to the half breadth of Artaxerxes his right hand of his Brother to be forthwith battel, who carried a front proportionable stricken off, and shewed to his people, who to his number, exceeding nine times that of now pursuing them, fled apace, calling upon Crrus: then did the Greeks begin to distrust the name of Cyrus, and desiring him to partheir own manhood, which was not accu- don them. But when this great accident had fromed to make proof of it felf, upon fuch breathed new courage into the Kings excessive odds. It was almost incredible, troops, and utterly dismaid such Persian Capthat so great an Army should be so easily tains, as were now, even in their own eyes, chased. Nevertheles, it quickly appeared, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the that these Persans, having learned (contrary to their custom) to give charge upon their chemics with silence, had not learned (for king all speed, arrived quickly at the quarters with silence. it was contrary to their nature) to receive a ter of the Greeks, which was about three firong charge with courage. Upon the very miles from the place where Cyrus fell. There ry first offer of an on-set, made by the he met with Tiffaphernes, who having made Greeks, all that beaftly rabble of cowards way through the Battel of the Greeks, was fled amain, without abiding the stroke, or ready now to joyn with his Master in spoilstaying till they were within reach of a dart. ling their Tents. Had not the news, which The Chariots armed with hooks and fithes Artaxerxes brought with him of his Brothers (whereof Artaxerxes had two hundred, and death, been sufficient to countervail all dis-Cyrus not twenty) did small hurt that day, afters received, the exploit of Tiffaphernes because the drivers of them leaping down, in breaking through the Greeks, would have fled away on foot. This base demeanour of yielded little comfort. For Tiffaphernes his enemies gave so much confidence to Cy- had not slain any one man of the Greeks, but me and his Followers, that such as were contrariwise, when he came upon them, about him forthwith adored him as King. they opening their Battel, drave him with And certainly, the Title had been assured great slaughter through them, in such wise, unto him that day, had not he fought how that he rather escaped as out of an hard pasto declare himself worthy of it, ere yet he | fage, than forced his way through the squahad obtained it. For perceiving that Artax- dron of the Greeks. Hereof the King being erxes, who found that part of the field which informed by him, and that the Greeks, as lay before him void, was about to encompass | Masters of the field, gave chase to all that the Greeks, and to set upon them in the rear, came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after who had beheld the shameful demeanor of thefe Greek, intending to fet upon them in his Army, should live to carry tidings home, there orear, intending to tect upon taken in the care. But the good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head againft him; who not introduced the resolution of tending to feek honour with danger of his whereby he might bring them to deftructilife, wheeled about and fled, being purfued on, and not let one cleape to carry tidings unto a certain Village, that lay under a hill, of that which he had feen: to which puron the top whereof he made a ftand, rather pose he fent them a brave message the next in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt morning; charging them to deliver up their upon these bold fellows any further. For Arms, and come to his Gates, to await there he knew well that his brothers death had upon his Mercy. It feems that he was in fecured his cftate, whom he would feem good hope to have found their high couto have flain with his own hand, thinking rages broken, upon report of his brothers that fact alone sufficient to give reputati- death: but he was greatly deceived in that on to his valour; and this reputation he thought. For the Greek being advertised thought that he might now preferve well that morning from Arisus, a principal Conenough, shewing a manly look half a mile mander under Cyrus, that his Master being off. On the top of this Hill therefore he Ilain, he had retired himfelf to the place of advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle dif- their last encamping, about eight miles from plaid on the top of a Spear. This enfigu thence, whence intending to return into lomight have encouraged his people, had nia, his meaning was to dislodge the next not some of the Greeks espiedit, who not day, awaiting for them so long if they would meaning that he should abide so near them, joyn with him, but resolving to stay no lonwith all their power marched toward ger: they fent answer back to Arieus, that him. The King discovering their approach, having beaten the King out of the field, and fled upon the four: fo that none remained in finding none that durst resist them, they the place of battel, fave only the Greeks, who would place Arieus himfelf in the Kings had lost that day not one man, nor taken Throne, if he would joyn with them, and any other harm, than that one of them pursuethevictory. Before they received any was hurt with an arrow. Much they won- reply to this answer, the Messengers of Ardred that they heard no news of C; rus, but taxerxes arrived at the Camp, whose errand thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they seemed to the Captains very insolent: One thought it was fittest for them, having that told them, that it was not for the Vanquishday done enough, to return to their quarter, ers to yield their Weapons; another, that he and take their Supper, to which they had would dye ere he yielded to such a motion: good appetite, because the expectation of a third asked, whether the King, as having the Kings coming had given them no lei- the victory, required their Weapons; iffo, fure to dine.

.ø. V.

made them yield unto bim.

with them, found their Camp spoiled, little them such numbers of men, as they wanted or nothing being left that might serve for strength to kill if they would hold up their food: fo that wanting victuals to fatisfie throats; for which cause he accounted them their hunger, they refreshed their weary his prisoners. These words, to them, who bodies with sleep. In the mean scason Ar-knew themselves to be free, were nothing taxerxes returning to his Camp, which he pleasant. Therefore, one told Phalinus, that gave him affurance, that if any of these own. Hereat Phalinus laughed, saying;

why did he not fetch them? or, whether he defired them in a way of friendship; forthen would they first know, with what courtese he meant to requite their kindness. To this The hard estate of the Grecks after the fight; question Phalinus a Grecian, waiting upon and how Artaxerxes in vain Jought to have Tiffaphernes, answered, That the King having flain Cyrus, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middest T was now about the fetting of the whereof he held them fast enclosed with Sun, and they bringing home dark night great Rivers, being able to bring against entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the having nothing left, but their Arms and Vapleasure of his good fortune entire, because lour, whilest they kept their Arms, their Vahe perceived that the baseness of his people, lour would be serviceable; but thould they and weatiness of his Empire, was now yield them, it was to be doubted, that plainly discovered to the Greek: which their bodies would not long remain their This young man the feeth at this deep they been kindly used, it may well be and made a pretty speech; but that his deep they been kindly used, it may well be and made a precty precursor to be very shall thought that some of them should have aclow, it he thought with his Arms and Valour to prevail against the great King. It to draw in the relt. Ariam being of too base four top revail against the Break and a temper, and birth, to think upon feeking feems that Phalinso being a Courtier, and a temper, and birth, to think upon feeking teems that a business of importance, the Kingdom for himself, with such assimplyed in a business of importance, mproyer in a control of states-man, thought himfelf too profound a States-man, thought himfelf too profound a States-man, thought himfelf too profound a States-man, thought him et al., with their authors the state of the state tobe checkt in his Embaffage by a bookith very well pleased to make covenant with dicourier. But his wildom herein failed them for mutual afficance unto the laft: him. For whatfoever he himfelf was (of Whereunto both parts having fworn, he adnm. rot whattoever the minutes when he wifed them to take another way homeward, whom no more is known, than that he wifed them to take another way homeward, whom no more is among the same with the same with the same way noneward, brought an unhoneft meflage to his own which should be somewhat longer, yet safer Country-men, perswading them basely to and fitter to relieve them with victuals, than surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the that by which they came. The next day, merciles Barbarians) this young Scholar by having made a wearisome march, and tired him despited, was that great Xenophon, who, the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army when all the principal Commanders were furprised by treachery of the Persians, being a private Gentleman, and having never feen the wars before, undertook the conduct of the Army, which he brought fafe into Greece, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than Phalinus could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithful to the King, as they had been to Cyrus, offering their service in Egipt, where they thought Artaxerxes might have use of them. But the final answer was, That without Weapons they could neither do the King good as Friends, nor defend themselves from ed thence; Whereunto he required their answer. Clearchus the General told him They likedit. How (faith Phalinus) must I understand you? As choosing peace if we Embaffadour? To whom Clearchus (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doingstell you; and so dismissed him, no wifer than he came. All that day the Greeks were fain to feed upon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with Arrows, Darts, and wooden Targets, thrown away by the Enemies.

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ø. VI.

How the Greeks began to return homewards.

T night they took their way towards Arieus, to whom they came at midnight; being for saken by four hundred foot, and forty horse, all Thracians, who fled over to the King; by whom how they were entertained, I do not find. Like enough

This young man did feem a Philosopher, it is that they were cut in pieces, for had which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which Clearchus made directly, because he would not seem by declining them, to shew fear, or weakness. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the Gracians, being weary and hungry, andlying among enemies in an unknown Countrey, should be very fearful:but it is almost past belief, that the noise which was heard of these poor men, calling one to another tumultuoufly, as the present condition the Kings further pleafure, which was to inforced them to do, should make the Perfigrant them Truce, whilft they abode where and fly out of their Camp, and so affright the they then were denouncing War if they ftirnext day very early came messengers from Artaxerxes, defiring free access for Embassadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that fuch particulars do best open the quality of whether war or peace, quoth this politique the persons, by whom things were managed, neral passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkable, That when Clearchus had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battel, because the Greeks (as he laid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to hear of truce till their bellies were full; Artaxerxes dissembling the indignity, was contented fweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

6. VII.

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traved all the Captains of the Greeks.

own virtue, had rather advanced their on the contrary perswaded them, to rest affairs, than brought themselves into any contented whilst they were well, and not to traights or terms of disadvantage. But now cast themselves again into those difficulties. came unto them the fubril Fox Tiffapher- out of which they were newly freed by the nes, who circumventing the Chief Com- late Treaty; reciting withall their own manders by fine fleights, did mischievously wants, and the Kings means, but especially entrap them, to the extreme danger of the the Oathes mutually given and taken. Army. He told them, that his Province, wherewith he saw no reason why the enelying near unto Greece, had caused him my should have clogged himself if he meant greatly to defire, that their deliverance mischief, having power enough to do them might be wrought by his procurement; harmby a fair and open War. knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrymen at home, (if honour may be valued by greatness and would not be unthankful for fuch a bene- place in Court) which caused his Oath to fit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse be the more esteemed; for as much as no the great fervice that he had done to his inforcement, or base respect, was like to have Master, being the first that advertised him drawn it from him. But his falshood was of Cyrus his intent, and having not only such, both in substance and in success. as brought him a good strength of men, but in may fitly expound that faying, which prothe day of battel shewed his face to the ceeded from the fountain of Truth, I hate a Greeks, when all others turned their backs: rich man alyar. A lye may find excuse when that he, together with the King, didenter it grows out of fear: for that passion hath their Camp, and gave chase to the Barbarians his original from weakness. But when Pothat stood on the part of Cyrus. All this wer, which is a Character of the Almighty, (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, en- shall be made the supporter of untruth, the treating that he would give me leave to fallhood is most abominable; for the offenconduct you fafe into Greece; in which fute ider, like proud Lucifer, advancing his own I have good hope to speed, if you will fend strength against the Divine Justice, doth a mild answer to him, who hath willed me commit that fin with an high hand, which to ask you, for what cause ye have born commonly produceth lamentable effects, Arms against me. The Captains hearing and is followed with sure vengeance. It was this, were contented to give gentle words, not long ere Tifaphernes found means to dewhich Tillaphernes relating to the King, pro- ftroy all the Captains, whom he subtilly got cured (though very hardly, as he faid)that into his power by a train; making the Genepeace should be granted: the conditions ral Clearchus himself the mean to draw in whereof were; That they should pass free- all the rest. The business was contrived

allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the Greeks than formerly he had been. How Tiffaphernes, under colour of peace, be- This caused many to advise Clearchus, rather to pais forward as well as he might, than to rely upon covenants, and fit still whilst the Thereto the Greeks, relying upon their King layed fnares to entrap them. But he

CHAP. X

MAP. X.

Tiffaphernes was a very honourable man ly through all the Kings Dominions, paying thus : Having travelled fome days together for that they took, and committing no spoil: in such wise, that the Persians did not encamp yet that it thould be lawful for them to take with the Greeks, who were very jealous of victuals by force, in any place that refuled the great familiarity appearing between to afford them an open Market. Hercupon Tiffaphernes and Ariaus; Clearchus thought both parties having fworn, the League was it convenient to root out of Tiffaphernes his concluded; and Tijlaphernes, returning to the brains all causes of distrust, whereof many King to take leave, and end all business had grown in that short time. To which came unto them again after twenty dayes, purpose obtaining private conference with and then they fet forward. This interim of him, he rehearfed the Oath of Confederacy, twenty days, which Tiffaphernes did spend which had past between them, shewing how at the Court, ministred great occasion of religiously he would keep it; and, repeating mistrust to his new Consederates. For better the benefits, which the Greek did receive by fides his long absence, which alone sufficed the help of Tiffaphernes, he promised that to breed doubt, the Brethren, the Kindred their love should appear to him not unfruitof Arieus, repairing daily to him, and other ful, if he would make use of their service Perfians to his Souldiers, did work him and against the Myfians or Pisidians, who were them to with affurance of pardon, and other accustomed to infest his Provinces; or against the Egyptians, who were then Rebelsto the his own Brother, And Ariam, followed the egyptimes, followed for Great King. For which cause he desired him, with three hundred Horse, who called for that whereas all divine and humane respects the principal men in the Army, saying, That had linked them together, he would not they brought a mellage from the King, which nan macutation of the property of the property of the place to any close acculation of fulpicion, whereby might grow fudden inconvergate but having broken his faith, and the on, whereby might status, and the nience to either of them, upon no just league made, was justly rewarded with ground. The faithless Persian was very much death; that Mnemon and Proxenus, two other delighted with this speech, which ministred of the five Collonels, for detecting his fair occasion to the execution of his purpose. treachery, were highly honoured; and fi-Therefore he told Clearchus, that all this nally, that the King required them to furwas by him wifely confidered, withing him render their arms, which were due to him, further to call to mind how many waies as having belonged unto his fervant Crrss. he could have used to bring them to con- When some altercation had followed upon fulion, without peril to himself; especithis mellage, Xenophon told the Emballaally by burning the Country, through dors, that if Clearchus had in such fort offenwhich they were to pass, whereby they must ded, it was well that he was in such fort ouneeds have perished by meer famine. For nished: but he willed them to send back Meneeds have perished by meer famine. which cause he said, that it had been great non and Proxenus, whom they had so greatfolly, to feek by perjury, odious to God and ly honoured, that by them, as by common Man, the destruction of such as were already friends to both Nations, the Greeke might be inhis hands. But the truth was, that his own advised how to answer the Persian. Hereunto love to them had moved him to work their the Embassadors knew not how to frame any fafety, not only for those ends which Clear- reply, and therefore departed without the had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the King, by their other four were sent to Artaxerxer, by whose affiltance; but for that he might by their commandment their headswere ftricken off. friendlihip, hope to obtain what cyrus had I hold it not amis to prevent the order of mist. Finally, he invited the credulous time, annexing to this perfidiousness of Tis-Gentleman to Supper, and fent him away fo faphernes, the reward which he afterward well affured of his good will, that he promi- received. He faw his Province wasted by the fed to bring all the Captains with him to the Greeks, against whom receiving from his Mafame place, where, in presence of them all, ster convenient aid of men and mony, he did Tiffaphernes likewise promised to tell open fo ill manage his affairs, that neither subtilly, which of them had by fecret information ty, nor perjury (to which he failed not to bands of Perstan Horsemen scoured the chief upon the whole Army. field, killing as many Greeks as they met, and riding up to the very Camp of the Gracians, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, How Xenophon bearined the Greeks, and in escaping forely wounded, informed them of all that had been done. Hereupon the Greeke took Arms in hafte, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have affailed their Seemy would forthwith have a seemy would forthwith have a seemy would forthwith have a seemy would be affailed their Seemy would forthwith have a seemy would be affailed their Seemy would be affa

fought to raise diffention between them. have recourse) availed him; finally, the King Clearchus himself being thus deceived, with was jealous of his cunning head, and sent a great importunity drew all the chief Com- new Lieutenant into those parts, who took manders, and many of the inferiour Leaders it from his shoulders. Such was the recomto repair with him to the Camp of Tissapher- pence of his treachery, which made him to nes, whither followed them about two mistrusted at home, that the service which hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had he could not do, he was thought upon pribeen to some common Fair. But being vate ends to neglect; and so hated abroad, there arrived, Clearchus, with other the five that he knew not which way to fly from the principal Collonels, were called into the stroke, all the world being that against Tent, the rest staying without, where they him. But now let us return to the prosperihad not waited long ere a fign was given, ty, wherein he triumphed without great upon which they within were apprehended, cause, having betrayed braver men than and the residue slain. Forthwith certain himself, and intending to bring the like mis-

o. VIII.

despight of Tillaphernes went off safely.

Camp. Anon they might perceive the Em- and no less their fear of the evil hanging baffadors of Tiffaphernes, among whom were over their heads, which they knew not well whose learning supplied his want of experifiend the Country, as granted by the enemy ence, finding the deep sadness of the whole himself to be theirs; others to make more Army, to be such as hindred them from ta- fires, if so perhaps the Persans might be king any course of preventing the danger at ashamed to do that which was the defire of hand, began to advise the under-officers of such as made passage in hostile manner; But Proxenus his Companies, whose familiar these were faint comforts. The best counsel friend he had been, to bethink themselves of was, that being near unto the Carduchi, a fome mean, whereby their latety might be people enemy to the Persian, they should wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: enter into their Country, passing over some fetting before their eyes whatfoever might high mountains which lay between them. ferve for to give them hope, and above all, This course they followed, which could not perswading themin no wise to yield to the have availed them, if Tissaphernes had begun mercy of their barbarous enemies.

him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the fame night calling up fuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were flain, or taken. This being done, and order fet down for disburdening the Army of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselves for the loss of Tiffaphernes his alli-Stance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheap than he had been wont to fell them; To which purpose they intended to force to defend themselves against the huge take up their lodging two or three miles fur- Armies of the Persian, were no way inferither, among some plentiful Villages, and so our to the Greeks indaring, but only in the to proceed, marching towards the heads of Art of War. They were very light of foot, those great Rivers, which lay in their way, skilful Archers, and used the Shing well; and to pass them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them try were of much use against these poor traby Tiffapherners, whom they, ferving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harm they spent in that passage, far more than all which they received by the Persan Archers, the power of the Great King had done. Bewho shot at a farther distance than the tween the Territory of these Carduchi, and Greeks could reach. For this cause did Xeno- the parts of Armenia confining them, ran phon provide slings, wherewith he over-centrites, a great River, upon which the reached the enemy; and finding some horses Greek refreshed themselves one day, rejoyfit for service; that were employed among cing that they had so well escaped these danthe carriages, he fet men upon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compas, prove easie. But the next morning they saw who had been accustomed to the point-certain troops of Horse, that lay to sorbid blank. By these means did he bear off the their passage. These were levied by the Perstans, who assailed him; and sometimes Kings Deputies in those parts; Tiffaphernes gave them chair with that band of fifty and his Companies having taken their way Horse, which being well backt with a firm towards Ionia. The River was broad and

how to avoid. Among the rest, Xenophon, | hope of victuals cut off. Some advised to desooner to cut off their victuals, rather than Hereupon they defired him to take upon to feek to force, or circumvent them by his fine wit.

#### ø. IX.

The difficulties which the Greek Army found in palling thorow the Land of the Carduchi.

Ntring upon the Land of the Carduchi, L they were encountred with many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by which weapons in that mountainous Counvellers, afflicting them in seven daies which body of footmen, and seconded with troops deep, so that it was not possible for such as of the light-armed shot and slingers, com- would enter it, to make resistance against pelled the enemy to lye aloof. Tiffaphernes those which kept the opposite banks. To not daring to come to handy gripes with increase these dangers, the Carduchi, followthefere olute men, did possess the tops of ing upon them, lay on the side of a Mounmountains, and places of advantage, by tain, within less than a mile of the waterwhich they were to pass. But finally, when But it was their good hap to discover a their valour made way through all fuch dif- Foord, by which the greater number of ficulties, he betook himfelf to that course, them passing over, did easily chase away the which was indeed the fureft, of burning the Subjects of the Persian, and then sending Country. With great forrow did the Greeks back the most expedite men, gave succour behold the Villagesonfire, and thereby all to the Rear-ward, against which the CarTowns, and Places, mentioned by Xenowhich may indure the feverity of a Critick. graphers, add small light to this Expedition: garta, springing out of Niphates, and running by the Town of Sardeva in Gordene, a Province of Armenia the Great, wherein the Greeks having passed Centrites did arrive.

#### 6. X.

How Teribafus Governour of Armenia, feek ing to entrap the Greeks with terms of feigned peace, was disappointed, and shame fully beaten.

THe Army finding in Armenia good 1 provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or threescore miles to the heads of the River Tygris, and passing over them, travelled as far further without refistance, till they were encountred by Teribazus, at the River Teleboa, which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though small, but Ptolemy and others omit it. Teribaxus

So without impediment they came to the governed that Country for the Persian, and

River Phasis, near whereunto the peowas in great favour with Artaxerxes, whose ple called Phasiani, Tacchi, and Chalybes he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his down the rocks, the very women throwing

duchi being flightly armed, could not on that was taken pritoner, the whole plot was plain ground make refiltance hand to hand revealed. Hereupon the Greekt, taking this Mountains of Niphates, which are not far out; and coming upon his Camp, did to af from the Spring of Tygris, though Ptolemy fright him, that before the whole Army could place them far more to the East upon the arrive there, the shout which was rasted by River of Cyrus in Media; wherein he differs the Van-currors, chaired him away. They much from Kenophon, whose relation being took his Pavillion, wherein (befides many grounded upon his own knowledge, doth slaves, that were Artificers of voluptuousbestinthis case deserve credit. Of the Ri- ness) very rich furniture was lest by the ver Centrites (as of many other Rivers, treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went phon) I will not labour to make a conjecture, Northward, and passing Euphrates, not far below the fprings thereof, travelled with For Ptolemy, and the whole Nation of Geo-much difficulty through deep Snow, being followed aloof by the enemy, who durft only of this last, I think it the same which not approach them, but did cut off such as falleth into Tygris, not much above Artasi- they found stragling behind. The landsttants of the Country, thorow which they marched, had their wintering houses under ground, wherein was found great plenty of Victuals, and of Cattel, which likewife did winter in the fame Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the na erable journey, which had confumed many of them with extreme cold ; they departed leading with them many bond-flaves, and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattel) fome Colts that were bred up for the Great

#### o. XI.

The passage of the Army to Trabyzond, thorow the Countries bordering upon the River of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

Court may feem to have been a School, were feated. These Nations joyned togewhere the Art of falshood was taught as ther, and occupying the tops of a ledge of wildom. He desired peace of the Greeks, Mountains, which the Greeks were to pass, which was made upon this condition, That made countenance of war: but fome Comthey should take what they pleased, but not panies being sent by night to seize upon burn down the Towns and Villages in their a place of equal height to that whereon the way. As foon as he had made this league, enemies lay, making good the piece of helevied an Army, & besetting the streights ground which they had taken, secured of certain Mountains which they were to the ascent of the rest; which caused these pass, hoped well to make such benefit of peopleto thye, every one retiring to the their fecurity, as might give him the com- defence of his own. The first upon whose mendation of being no less craftily different Country the Greek did enter, were the than Tillaphernes. Yet his cunning failed of Tacchi, who conveying all their provition of fuccess. For a great Snow fell, which caused victuals into strong holds, brought the Arthe Greek to make many fires, and scatter my into much want, until with hard labour themselves abroad in the Villages. Teribazus one place was forced, wherein great store also made many fires, and some of his men of Cattel were taken; the people, to avoid wandred about feeking relief. By the fires captivity, threw themselves head-long

CHAP. X.

down first their ownchildren, and then cast- means of Anaxibus the Lacedamonian Ading themselves upon them. Here was taken miral, who was his friend, that he would agreat booty of Cattel, which ferved to feed provide Vessels to embark them. Having them, travelling through the Land of the thus concluded, they likewife took order Chalpber, of whom they got nothing but for the staying of such thips as should pask ftrokes. The Chalibes were a very frout Na- that way, meaning to use them for their tion, wellarmed at all points, and exceed- Navigation. Left all this provision should be ing fierce. They encountred the Greeks hand found insufficient for the transportation of to hand, killing as many as they took pri- the whole Army, Xenophon perswaded the foners, and cutting off their heads, which Cities adjoyning to clear the wayes, and they carried away, finging and dancing, to make an ealie passage for them by Land; the great grief of their companions living; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwho were glad, when after seven dayes willing to give car, being desirous to return journey they escaped from those continual by Sea: but the Country, fearing whatinskirmilhes, wherewith they had been vexed convenience might grow by their long flay, by these Barbarians. Hence travelling did readily condescend to Xenophons rethrough a good corn-Country, inhabited by quest. Two ships they borrowed of the an obscure Nation called the Scythini, they Trapezuntians, which they manned and fent came to a rich Town, the Lord whereof, and to Sea: the one of them failed directly into of the Region adjoyning, used them friend- Greece, for saking their Companions, who had ly, and promifed to guide them to a Moun- put them in trust to bring ships into the Port tain, whence they might discover the Eux- of Trabizand: the other took Merchants ine Sea. From Gymnius (which was the name and passengers, whose goods were safely of his Town) he led them through the Ter- kept for the owners, but the Vessels were ritory of his enemies, defiring them to waste stayed to increase the fleet. After long it with sword and fire. After five dayes abode, when victuals began to fail, by reason march, they came to a Mountain called that all the Land of the Colchi, near unto the Teches, being (as I think) a part of the Camp, was already quite wasted, they were Mountains called Molchici, whence their fain to embark their fick men, with the woguide shewed them the Sea; towards men, children, and such of the baggage as which they bent their course: and passing might best be spared, in those few ships friendly through the Region of the Masrones, (with whom by means of an inter- of the Army took their way by Land to Cepreter, found among themselves, who born rasus, a Greek Town, where the Fleet likein that place had been fold into Greece, they wife arrived. Here the Army being mu-Land of Cholchos, wherein stands the City of \* Trabisond, called then Trapezus, a Colo-Colony of them with hostility, were requited with the the Greek, them with nothinty, were required with the caufed them to joyn them with the weaker friends like; for the Army having now good leifure caufed them to joyn them with the weaker are. the bottom to repose themselves among their friends whom they left Masters of all. of the Eu sin Sta the Trapezuntians, did spoil the Country request.

#### ø. XII.

How the Army began at Trabizond to provide any house. Hereuponthe Souldiers entred

which they had already provided. The rest made a good peace) they arrived in the stered, was found to confist of eight thoufand and fix hundred men. From hence they passed through the Country of the 'Moss. ny of the Greeks. The Colchi entertaining naci, who were divided into factions. The Main stronger party despising their friendship, of Portal

The next place of their abode was Coty-beans thirty dayes together, forbearing only the ora, a Greek Town likewife, and a Colony of Town Borderers upon Trabizond, at the Citizens the Synopians, as Trapezus and Cerasus were; in im but the entertainment which here they Region. found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the fick men that were among them admitted into a Fleet, wherewith to return home by sea: the Town by force, and (committing no bow they came into the Territory of Synope, outrage bestiowed those which were sickin and there prosecuted the same purpose. convenient lodgings taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision Aving now found an Haven-Town, the for the Army they made by strong hand, Souldiers were defirous to take ship- partly out of the Territory of the Paphlago-c Simple ping, and change their tedious Land-jour- mians, partly out of the Lands belonging to a Pernies into an easie Navigation. To which the Town. These news were unwelcome to Long, putpose Cherisophus a Lacedemonian, one of the principal Commanders, promised by the Camp, who complaining of these deal when

lings, and threatning to joyn with the Pa- flerved his money carefully, was defirous to phlagenians, if redress could not otherwife be be foon at home, that he might freely enjoy had, were roundly answered by Xenophon, his gettings. By him the purpose of Xenophon That meer necessity had enforced the Army was divulged, which was interpreted acto teach those of Cotyora good manners in fo cording to the divertity of mens opinions 5 had a method: letting them know, that he fome approving the motion, but the greater feared not to deal with them and the Pa- part rejecting it. They of Single and Heraphlagonian at once 5 though perhaps the Pa-clea, being informed of this confaitation, phlagonian would be glad to take simple it were fore afraid, I ft the soverey of the tells to which, if cau'e were given, they Souldiers, who had not where with to mainwould they not put from the fliore.

## ø. XIII.

how it was embarked.

would lend affiltance. Upon this answer the tain themselves at home, should give success Embaffadours grew better advised, promito the project. Which to prevent they profing all friendihip that the State of sinope mifed to fupply the Army with a furncient could thew, and commanding the Town of Fleet, and likewife offered mony of ome of corrora to relieve the Souldiers as well as the Captains, who thereupon undertook to they might. Further, they promifed to give the Souldiers pay, if they would preaffift them with thipping, letting them un- fently fet fail for Greec. One of these Capderstand how difficult the pallage by Land tains being a banished man, defired them to would prove, in regard of the many and follow him into Trous; another offered to great Rivers, as thermodon, Iris, Halyr, and lead them into Cherronesus. Xenethon, who Porthenius, which croffed their way. This defined only the common good, was pleafed good counfel, and the fair promites accom- greatly with thefe proportions, and profescanving it, were kindly accepted by the Ar- fed openly that he would have them to fet my, which well perceived, that the City of forward, and hold together in any cafe, pu-Simples, ould frare for no coft, to be freed nithing him as a Traytor that thould for fake from such a neighbourhood. It was there- the Army, before such time as they were arfore decreed that they would pass the rest rived at their journeys end. silanus the of the way by Sca ; provided, that if there South-fayer, who had uttered Xenophons flould want fuch number of Veilels as might purpose, was hereby stayed from out-runferve to imbark every one of them, then ming his fellows, and driven to abide with his wealth among poor men, longer than ftood with his good liking. Also the other Captains were much troubled and affraid, when they perceived, that thips were prepaof diffention, which arose in the Army, and red sufficient for their Navigation, but that the mony promifed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of Hitherto the danger of Enemies, and Sinope and Heruelea, knowing that the Army miferies of weather and wants, had was now refolved for the voyage, and that kept the company in firm unity ; which now Kenophon whom they feared, had perswaded began to diffolve and to thaw, by the neight them to this refolution, thought it the wirest bouring air of Greece, warming their heads way to furnish them with a Navy, whilst with private respects to their several ends they were in good readiness, to depart, but and purposes. Whilst they, who were sent to keep the mony to themselves. The Capas Agents from the Camp, remained at &i- tains therefore, who being disappointed by nope; Xenophon confidering the strength and these Towns, found themselves in great danvalour of his men, and the opportunity of ger of their men, whom they had deceived the coast whereon they lay, thought it with fair hopes, repented much of their fair would be an honorable work to build a offers, and fignifying as much to Xenophon, City in those parts, which were soon like to prayed him to make proposition to the Arprove great and wealthy, in regard both of my, of taking the thips, and failing to Phasis, their own puillance, and of the great rep ir where they might feize upon Lands, and of the Greeks into that quarter. For this plant themselves in such wife as should stand cause he made facrifice, according to the su-best with their good liking. But finding perfection of his time and Country, divining him cold in the butiness, they began to work of his fuccess by the entrails of beafts. The the principal of their own followers, hoping South-fayer whom he imployed, had receiv- by them to draw in all the rest. These ed a great reward of Cyrus, for conjecturing news becoming publick, bred a suspition of aright, that Artaxerxes would not give but | Xenophon, as if he had won the rest of the tel intendays: he therefore, having pre- Captains to his purpole, and meant now

THAP. X.

CHAPY

to carry the Army quite another way from Camp, and been very beneficial unto them their ownhome. Wherefore affembling the in lending this for their transportation. Two Companies, begave them fatisfaction, and daies they had failed by the coaft of Afia, withal complained of some disorders, which when being past those great Rivers, which withat compare to the same enough system would have given impediment to their jourquificion was likewite made of offences com- ny by Land, they touched at Heraelea, where mit, ed fince the death of Cyrm; which be confulting how to take their way onwards, ing punified, all things were in quiet, whether by Land or Sea, one feditious man Shordy a ter came Embaffadors from co-began to jut them in mind of feeking to get rylus, Lord of the rapilingoniums, who fend-romewhat for themselves stelling them that ing presents, desired peace of the Greek: all their provision would be spent in three the Embatladors were triendly entertain- dayes, and that being now come out of the ed, and peace concluded, which needed no enemies Country, victuals and other necefto have been fought, for that the Greeks, finites could not be had without money; for having now their fleet in a readine's, did which cause he gave advice tofend mellenfoon weigh Anchors, and fer fail for Harm ne gers into the Town of Heraclea, giving the the Port of Sinope, whither Cherifophus came. bringing with him a few Gallies from the were, and demanding of them three thou-Admiral Anaxilius, who promited to give rand pieces of meny, called Cyzicens, which the Army pay as toen as they came into the pares of Greece.

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## s. XIV.

Another great disjention and distraction of the Army. How the mutmers were beaten by the Barbarians, and referred by Xenophon.

The nearer that they approached to Greece, the greater was their defire to make provision for themselves, that they might not return home empty-handed. fent; who in such wife delivered their info-Wherefore trufting well that if the charge of the Army were abfolutely committed to deliber as up on their r quest, brought what one fufficient man, he might the more conreniently procure the good of themall, they and the tring the Gates, did forthwith man determined to make Xenophon fole Com- the Wasis. When the Souldiers perceived mander of all; in whose favour as well the themselves to be disappointed of their rave-Captains as the common Souldiers were very nous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, earnest and violent. But he, either fearing That their Leaders had betrayed them: and to displease the Lacedemonians, who were being for the more part of them Arcadians jealous of him already (being incented by and Acheans, they for fook immediately chethat fugitive who for look the Army at Tra- rifophus and Xenophon, chufing new Leaders bizond tiying with one of their two thips) or out of their own number. Above four thoumoved by tome tokens appearing to him in fund and five hundred they were, all heavithe intrails that threatned ill fuccess to his ly armed, who electing ten captains, failed Government, procured with vehement con- into the Port of Calphas, which is in the midtention, that this honour was laid upon Che- way between Heraclea and Byzantium, with risophus a Lacedemonian. It scems that Xenopion, confidering the vexation incident to den. With Cherisophus there abode two the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting thousand and one hundred, of whom one Eay, did wifely in yielding to fuch tokens as thousand and four hundred were atmed forbad him to accept it : especially, knowing weightily : Xenophon had two thousand foot, fo well their desire, which was, by right or three hundred whereof were lightly armed, by wrong, to get wealth wherefoever it and forty horse; which small band had done might be found, without all regard of friend good fervice already, and could not have or foe. Cherisophus had been General but fix been spared now. Cherisophus had agreed or feven days, when he was deposed; for with Cleander Governor of Byzantium, to having been unwilling to rob the Town of meet him at the mouth of the River Calpbas, having been unwilling to rob the Town of meet nimat the mount of the tolerand forme Heracles, which had fent presents to the whither Cleander promised to bring some Gallies

Cotizens to understand what their wants rum amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound fterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raifed to ten thousand cyzicens at least; which to require, they thought Cherisophus, as being General, the fittest man; othershad more define to fend Xenophon, but in vain, for they both retuled it, and renounced the action as aithoneft. Left therefore either of thefe thould fail in managing the burness which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and less discretion were lent manage that the Citizens taking timeto purpose to assail the Bythinians on the sudhad; who passing some part of the way by Sea landed upon the confines of Heraclea, and Thrafia Afiatica, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the Fropost. The Mutiners who had landed at Calvantage the Thracians had, that being all to dif-joyn the Army, should suffer death. light armed, they could at pleasure make retrait from these Arcadians and Acheans, who wanting the affiftance of horse, and having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with greatdanger, and many wounds received, the Darts and Arrows of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, and enforced to crave parly. What soever the Articles of composition were, the Thracians yielded to all;but pledges for affurance they would give

Gallies to convey him over into Greece; for on a light flame, to the great terrour or the which cause he took his way thither by enemies, who thought that some huge Army Land, leaving to Xenophon fuch thipping as he and approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five miles of the Arcadians, encreating still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon phar by night, with purpofe to take spoils in them in the dark, which caused them in all pharty in the next morning splinits, divided themselves into ten Com- haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning and the next morning panies, every Captain leading his own Re- Xenophon coming thither in very good orpames, into some Village, five or fix miles der, to have given battel, found that his defrom the Sea 3 in the greater Towns were vice, to affright the Thracians, had taken full rom Regiments quartered: and fo was that effect; but he matvelled that the Greeke part of the Country furprised on the fudden, were also departed, concerning whom he and facked all at one time. The place of learned by enquiry, that they removed at and acceptance of the state of where some of them arrived, finding no difurbance; others, not without much trou phas, in which journey he overtook them. ble and danger: two Companies were bro They embraced him and his, with great joy: hen and defeated, only eight men escaped, consessing that they themselves had thought the reft were all put to the fword. For the Thracians which had flipt at first out of the that he should have come by night; wherein Souldiers hands, did raile the Country; and finding themselves deceived, they were affinding the Greeks loaden with booty, took fraid left he had for laken them, and therethe advantage of their diforder, cutting in fore haftened away to overtake him, and pieces those two Regiments: which done, joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven they attempted the reft, encompaffing the of Calphas, where it was decreed, That whohill whereon they encamped. One great ad- foever from thenceforth made any motion

#### ø. X V.

of divers pieces of service done by Xenophon 5 and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasions of the War between the Lacedemonians and the Persians.

THE Haven of Calphas lay under a goodly Head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kind of Grain and Fruits, except Olives. There was none, without which the Greek well knew, also Timber for building and shipping, and that all promifes of such people, especially so a very convenient Sea for a great City. All incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean which commodities that might have allured time Xenophon holding his way quietly the Souldiers to ftay there, and to plant, through the In-land Region, did enquire of caused them to haste away, fearing lest fome Travellers, whether they knew ought | Xenophon should find some device to have of any Grecian Army, passing along those settled himself and them in that place. For parts: and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receiving by them true information and receive to have settled himself and them in that place. For the parts of the p tion of the desperate case into which these live at home; neither did they so much for Gallants had foolifuly thrown themselves, he hope of gain follow Cyrm in that War, as in marched directly towards the place where regard of his Honour, and the love which they lay, taking with him for guides, them they bare unto him: the poorer fort were who gave him theintelligence. His horfemen such as left their Parents, Wives and Chilhe fent before to discover, and to scour the dren to whom (though failing of the riches ways; the light armed footmen took the which they had hoped to purchase) they all tops on either hand, all of them fetting were now defirous to return. But whether it fire on whatfoever they found combuftible were fo that Xenophon found advantage by whereby the whole Country seemed to be their own superstition, to make them stay,

which they greatly inspected; or whether iftain them in the place, and ships to carry the figns appearing in the entrails, did in them away? Wherefore he willed them deed forbid their departure; folong they rather to fight well that day, having eaten were inforced to abide in the place till vi- their dinners, than another day falling; and Guals failed: neither would the Captains not to regard the uneafie return, which ctuals rathed; neither would the Capitalia inor to regard the uneathe return, which lead them forth to forrage the Country, under the Sacrifices should promite good fuccels, clarifythm was dead of an Ague, and his thips were gone, being returned to the Hera. These persuadions were followed with fo cleans, of whom they were borrowed. His valiant execution, that both Persians and Brfollowers were joyned to the rest of the Ar- thinians being chased out of the field, abanmy, which the greater it was, the more pro-doned the Country forthwith, removing vision it needed,& the sooner felt want For their Families, and leaving all that could which cause he that was chosen Colonelin- not suddenly be conveighed away, to the to the place of Cherisophus, would needs ad- discretion of the Greeks, who had good leisure venture to gratifie the Souldiers with the gathered the Harvest of these bad Neighfpoil of seme Villages that stood near at bours fields. This was the last fight which hand; in which enterprize he found ill fue- they had on the fide of Afia. For they were cefs, the whole Country lying in wait to in- not only suffered quietly to enjoy the sooil trap him, and an Army of Horse being fet by of the Country, but when the opinion grew Pharnabazus the Satrapa, or Vice-rey of Phry- common in those parts, that it was the intent gia, to the affiltance of these Eptimian Thra-of Xenophon to plant a Colony on the Portof cians, which troops falling upon the Greeks Calpas, Embassadours were sent from the that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, Neigbour people, to desire friendship, and flew five hundred of them, and chased the make offer of their best assistance. But the rest to a certain Mountain thereby. The Souldiers had no mind to stay. Wherefore news of this overthrow coming to Xenophon, entring further into Bythinia, they took a he led forth a part of the Army, to the rescue great booty, which they carried away unto of those that survived, and brought them Chrysopolis, a City near unto Chalcedon, fafe to the Campsupon which the Bythinians where they fold it. Pharnabazus, Lieutemade an offer that night, and breaking a nant in Phrygis to Artaxerxes, did greatly Corps du guarde, flew some, pursuing the rest fear, lest their long stay in that Country to the very Tents. This new courage of the might breed in them a defire to visit his enemy, together with the present condition Province, where they might have found of the Army, so disheartned and unfurnished great wealth, and little power to guard it. of necessaries, caused the Greeks to remove Therefore he sent to the Lacedemonian Adtheir Camp to a place of more strength; miral, intreating him with much instance which having intrenched, and committed to and large promifes to wast them over into the defence of such as were least able to en-dure travel. Xenophon with the firmest and condescending, promised to give the Souldibest able men went forth, both to bury those ers pay, as soon as they arrived at Byzantiwhich were lately flain, and to abate the um. So were they carried out of Alia at their

pride of the Thrafians, and their affiftants. treaty of the Persian, who in the height of his In this journey his demeanor was very ho- pride had thought them so surely imprisonnourable. For having given burial to the ed with mighty Rivers, that he not only dedead, the enemy was discovered, lying on nied to permit their quiet departure, but the tops of the hills adjoyning, to whom willed them to furrender their Arms into (notwithstanding that the way was very his hands, and so to yield their lives to his rough & troublesome, so that some thought discretion. How discourteously they were it a matter of too great danger, to leave at intreated by Anaxibius, and how, to requite their backs a wood scarce passable) he his injurious dealings, they seized upon Bymarched directly, telling his men plainly, zantium, which by Xenophons perswasion that he had rather follow the enemy with they forbare to fack; I hold it superfluous half the number, than turn his back to them to relate. For the refidue of their doings with twice as many; and letting them further appertain little to the general course of know, that if they did not charge the Barbathings. But this expedition, as in all ages rians, he would not fail with the greater re- it was glorious, so did it both discover the folution to pursue themsfrom whom if they fecrets of Asia, and stir up the Greeks to could fafely retire to the camp, yet what think upon greater enterprizes, than ever should they do there, wanting victuals to su- their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise time afforded. For the Roman Wars did his fafer, than to fail into the hands of Tifapherthere extend no further than to the next next, who was now appointed Lieutenant, neighbouring Towns of Haly; and in Greece both of last old Province, and of all that all things were quiet, the Lacedsmonians ru- had belonged to Grus. Wherefore the Ismling infolently, but without diffurbance. and belought the Lucalemeters to tend Trucitis, that the feeds of the War shortly following, which the Lucedemonians ty, and obtained their request. For a power nign countries of sided with young Cyrus the Cities, and their Fields, but norto make against Tissaphernes, if not against the Great any offensive War.

it was the only remarkable action which the King; prepared to rebely which they thought by tonowing, which the Laccagnonian ty, and obtained their request. For a power made upon Artaxerxer, were already fown, was fant over, under conduct of Thombro a before these Companies returned out of the spartan, who befowed his men in such high Countries of Asta. For the Towns of Towns as had already revoked, to secure

CHAP. XI.

Of the Affairs of Greece, whilst they were managed by the Lacedemonians.

How the Lacedamonians took courage by example of Xenophons Army, to make War upon

well perceive in how ill part Artax- Agefilant having both the same, and far great-Lexes took their favour shewed unto er forces, could have wrought proportionhis Brother, and yet were timorous in able effects. Sure it is, that in the whole beginning an open War against him, think- space of two years, which he spent in Asia, ing it sufficient to take all care that no his deeds procured more commendation of advantage might flip, which could ferveto magnanimity and fair behaviour, than of freugthen their Estate, by finding the Per- front courage, and great or prolitable atfin work beyond the Sea. But when Keno- chievements For how highly loever it pleaplons Army had revealed the baseness of sed Kenophon, who was his friend, and folthose effeminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed lower in this, and in other Wars, to extol his the many Victories which they themselves virtue; his exploits being onely a few incurhad gotten, upon terms of extreme disadvantage; then was all Greece filled with defire of undertaking upon this huge unweildy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt-forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Susa, whereof one handful hadopened the pailage to Babylon; and further, finding no power that was able to give four and thirty thousand two hundred and his Wars in Asa and Greece, we shall speak fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourscore and one, a very painful march of one year and threemonths. Nevertheless, the civil distraction, wherewith Greece was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the Theban War, which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth suddenly into a great flame, all such as were willing to revolt from the drew back out of Affa the power of the La- Persian, who were many, and some of them cedemonians, to the defence of their own | fuch, as had been highly beholding to the

T feems that the Lacedemonians did Estate; leaving it questionable, whether carrying no proportion to Xenophons own journey, which I know not whether any Age hath parallel'd: the famous retrait of Conon the Briton with fix thousand men from Aqualeia, to his own Country, through all the breadth of Italy, and length of France, in despite of the Emperor Theodosius, being them refultance, in all that long journey of rather like it than equal. But of Ageflaus and

ø. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the War in Asia.

THimbro receiving Xenophons men, began to take in Towns, and to entertain

Kingswho feem to have had no other cause of bood out four daies (against the will of the discontent than that they were to live under Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Government of Tissphernes, whom all the Governor striving in vain to have kept others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Mafter did love him. The managing of the War begun by Thimro, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to Dereyllidas a spartan, who behaved dors to Dereyllidas, defiring leave to speak himself as a good man or War, and a wife Commander. For whereas the Rule of the on the delivery of which, he islued out of low-Countries of Afia was divided between Pharnabazus and Tojaphernes, who did ill zorce. Tharnabazus being the Worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chief command inthose Wars against the Greeks; Dercylli das, who did bear a private hatred to Pharnabazus (knowing well that Tissiphernes was of a milehievous nature, and would not be in vain to strive against the Army, and the forry to fee his Corrival throughly beaten, though to the Kings lois) made an appointhe brought into his own power.

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fame time fuffered a violent alteration, him, earneftly entreating that he might be which gave easie success to the attempts of suffered to retain Gergethe: but coming to Dercyllidas. Zenis a Dardanian had been the Gates, he was bidden to command Deputy to Pharnabazus in those parts; after his Souldiers that they should be opened; whose death his Wife Mania procured his for (quoth Dercyllidas) I must here likewise Office, wherein the behaved her felf fo well, do a facrifice to Minerva. The Traytor not that the not only was beloved of the people daring to make denial, caused his Merceunder her Government, but enlarged her naries to open the Gates, whereby Dercyl-Territory, by the conquest of certain Towns lidas, taking possession of the place tendred

t to the use of Pharnabazus. Now remain. ed only two Cities, Gergethe and Sceplis which the Traytor held; who fearing all men, as being loved of none, fent Embaffawith him, and pledges for his fecurity : up-Sceplis, and coming into the Camp, made offer to joyn with the Greeks upon fuch conditions as might feem reasonable. But he was plainly told by Dercyllidas, that other condition there was none, than to fer he Citizens freely at liberty. And presently upon these words they marched toward Sceplis. When Atidias perceived that it was Townsmen, who were all of one mind: he quietly went along with Dercyllidas, who ment with Tiffaphernes and forthwith entred remaining but a few hours in the City, dida Asir, which was under the jurisdiction of acrifice to Minerva, and then leading away Pharnabazus, which Province in few daies, the Garrison of Midias, he left the City free, and departed toward Gergethe. Midian That Country of Alie had about the did not forfake his company, but followed adjoyning; and fundry times gave affiftance pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to to Pharnabazus in his Wars against the My- serve under his Ensigns. This done, all the fians and Perfians. For the had in pay fome goods of Mania were feized upon, as belong-Companies of Greeks, whose valour by her ling to one that had been subject to Phargood usage, did her great service. But some | nabazus, who was enemy to the Greeks: and what before the arrival of Dercyllidas in fo the murderous Wretch was fent away those parts, a Son in law of hers, called Mi- naked, not knowing in what part of the dias, whom she trusted and loved much, be- World he might find any place to hide his ing blinded with ambition, found means to detested head. Dercyllidas having in eight stille her, and kill her Son of seventeen years daies taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease old; which done, he seized upon two of of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to her principal Towns, wherein her treasure which end he took Truce with Pharnabalay, hoping to have been admitted into pof- zw, who had not any defire of War. That fession of her whole Estate. Being denied en- Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the trance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, Truce being continued, held; in which time, he fent Messengers with Presents to Phar- besides the wasting of Bythinia, the neck of nabazus, defiring him to make him Gover- Land joyning Cherronea to the Main, was nour in the place of Mania. His Presents fortified, being four or five miles in breadth; were not only rejected by Pharnabazus, but by which means eleven Towns, with much revenge of his foul treason threatned, where- good Land belonging to them, were freed by the wicked villain was driven into terms from the incursions of the wilde Thracians, of almost utter desperation. In the mean and made fit and able to victual the Camp. time came Dercyllidas, to whom the Towns Likewise the City of Atarne was taken, of Mania, that held against Midias, did which was of great strength, and very well quickly open their gates. One only Town stored with provision. After this, Dercyllidas Warinto cara, thereby it was thought damonians thould depart ata. and bever port uncasse to recoverall the Towns of lost the Towns to the Kings plea unable. Percey not uncome to Admiral of the fleet (which was of none effect conly is ferved to five the was yearly office) being appointed to joyn Greeks from the prefert donner was a gain was a years one cycleng appropriately that time unto Tifaphen s, who deared to a condition with him. Though it was manifely that time unto Tifaphen s, who deared to a condition and respected that neglected Pharmabazus in the War by procrattination, which bearet rimed necellity; yet washe not in his own not adventure to finish by tryal of a battel. danger requited with the like. For Pharna-Lizin, having respect to the Kings service, came to affift his private enemy Tillaphercame to annt ms private enemy apparate the state of the Laced minimum stock revenge upon net, and so passing into Caria, they thrust the Laced minimum stock revenge upon Carritons into all places or itreng h, which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to find the Towns ill manned for refiftance. As the e Perfians were defirous to keep the War from their own doors, fo was Dercylliand willing to free his Confederates the in Greece, began to call the Eleans to ac-Lanians from the spoil and danger of the compt for tome differences received by them War, by transferring it into Caria. For which during the late Wars, when leiture was cause he palled the River of Meinder 5 and wanting to the requiral of fach petty innot looking to have been to foon encoun juries. These Eleans being Pretalents of tred, marched carelelly through the Coun the Olympian Games, had let a fine upon try: when on the very fudden the whole Ar the Cuy of spart is for Non-payment of my of Tiff sphernes and Pharnabazus was difee | which, they torbad them to come to the vered, confifting of Perstans, Carians, and tome Solemnity; and publickly which one of Mercenary Greeks, who were all marihalled them that was of nove, for pre-uning to in very good order to present battel. The contend against their Deer e. Likewise edds was too apparent, both in numbers they hindred Age King of Sparta from doof men, and in readine is, as also in advantage ing facrince to jupiter; and in all points of ground: for the Persans had a great mul- used great contempt toward the spartans, titude of Horse, the Greeks very few and who now had no business that could himfieble, being to fight in an open plain, der them from taking revenge: and there-Therefore all the Ionians, together with the fore tent a peremptory melling to the life-

had command from sparta to divert the enjoy than own liberty and Laws observed had command the was the feat of Tiffattrariwite on the other fice. That the three Warinto Caria, where was the feat of Tiffattrariwite on the other fice.

ø. III.

tents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.

N the mean feafon the Lauedamonians, who found none able to withfrand them llanders and others, of fuch places as bor- ans, commanding them to least liberty me dered upon the Kings Dominions, did either Cities which they held in tubication. This betake them elves to prefent tiight; or was the usual pretence, which they made abiding a while for shame, did plainly dif- the ground of all their Wars: though litcover by their looks, hat they meant not the they cared for the liberty of fuch Towns, tobe more bold than wife. Only Dercyl which they caused afterwards to become lidar with his Peloponn: frant, regarding their followers, and little better than meer Vallals honour, prepared to endure the fight, of the Lacedamonians. In their late Wars which must needs have brought them to with Albers, the strong opposition which destruction, if the counsel of Pharnabazus they found, caused this goodly Title of hhad been followed; who perceiving the op- berty to work very flowly: but having now portunity of fo great a victory, was not wil- to do with a State of great fririt and small ling to let it flip. But Tiffaphernes, who na- force, it gave present succes to their desires. turally was a coward, feeing that counte- Two years together they fent an Army innance of refistance was made, began to con- to the Country of the Eleans : the first year sider, what strange defence the Souldiers of an Earthquake (held in those times a pro-Kenophon had shewed, and thinking that all digious sign, and which did always forbid the Greeks were of the like resolution, held the prosecution of any enterprize in hand) it the wifest way to crave parley; the con- caused them to retire : the second year, all clusion of which was, That a Truce should the Towns of the Eleans did halfily revolt, be made, to last until Tisapherner might re- and the City it felf was driven to submitceive answer from the King, and Dercyllidas sions consenting both to tuffer their old subfrom sparta, concerning the demands pro- jects treely to enjoy their liberty, and to pounded in the Treaty; which were, on the have her own Walls thrown down. Only one part, That all the Greeks in Asia might the Presidentship of the Olympian Games

might have been avoided: as not loving to

doubted that they would in time coming malice, that fending fome Companies of are modely, anding themselves to frond at horse, they threw down his facrifice from the material sparta. In this expedition all the Altar. It was not then convenient time the Great were additing to the Lacedamo-the Great were additing to the Lacedamo-the Great were additing to the Lacedamo-the Great were the Commission and Eco-Country in a new War; therefore waiting times, whose and having been of as much better opportunity of revenge, he quietly importance in the late Pelep nn. fran War, as Iwallowed the contumely, and followed his the force of sparta it telt, they could not main intendment. Having landed his men at from their dal ke of their unequal divi- Ephefus, he was enterrained by Tillathernee from following the victory: which gave to with a Treaty of peace, wherein Apellous Spata the commons of all Greece; to Theber peremptorily requiring that the Perfue and Corinib. onely fecurity against Athens , thould reftore to liberty all the Greek Towns but such a fecurity as was worse than the in Asia, was promised that the King, being first danger. For when the equal greatees of informed or his demand, should fend answer two mit hav Litate, did counterpolic each to his good liking, if he would in the mean the other, it was in the power of these New while make Truce. Truce was therefore trai Common-weak to adhere to either, a made, which Tifaphernes had fought, only the condition of their aliairs required; but to win time of making provision for the when to revenge injuries, they had by mor- War, and getting tupply of men and money tal harred projecuted the War to extremity from Arraneixes, whillt Acefilaus was buffer leaving the one City tok doi yower and in feeling the citates of his confederate Cifriends, the other mightly increased in lies on that fide of the Sea. The end of this both a trives then (if not necessary to obey long racation from war was at the coming the greatnets which them elves had made, down o, there Forces which drigging vet) (ooliaa and dangarous to provoke it had fent; at what time Agefilant received a Nevertheles, it was not the purpose of the plain mess ge from Tissaphernes, that either sy reams, to take occasion of any quarrel, he must forthwith depart out of Alia, or which they could not finish at pleasure, till make good his abode by strong hand. Agesfuch time as they had by victory or compo- law returning word, that he was glad to hear fitton made some good end with the Persian, that his enemies had by perjury deserved toward whom they bent all their care and vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade forces.

The refiner of Agelilaus into Alia. His War nes believe, that his intent was to invade that good.

A was definous to have the honour of the into that Countrey which was fittelf for victory, which not without cause, he ex- their service but the Greeks left him waiting pected upon those of Asia; and therefore these in vain, and marched directly into procuring a great Army to joyn with that Phrygia, where they took great spoil withof Dercyllidar, he took his way in great out relistance, till such time as the Horsepomp to Aulis in Beotia, a Haven lying or-men of Pharmabazus met him, who in a posite to the lland of Eubea; in which small skirmish having the better of the place Agamemnon (leading the power of all Greeks, were the occasion that Agefilam te-Greece to the War against Iron many Ages turned to Ephesis. Although in this last before) had imbarked his men. In imitation fight only twelve men were loft, yet Agefo sgamemon, he meant alio to do facrilans perceiving by that tryal how hardit fice in Aniss, which the Thebans, Lords of that Countrey, would not perm t, but fayof the field, without a greater strength of ing, that the performance of such CeremoHorfs, took all possible care to increate that mes in that place, belonged unto their Offi- part of his forces. By which means having

was left unto them, which it was not to be cers; they were foundble to conceal their them; and fending word to all the Towns which lay between him and Caria, that they should provide victuals and other necessaries for his Army, did eafily make Tiffapherwith Tillaphernes. How Tillaphernes was Province wherein Tillaphernes dwelt, and put to death; and the War diverted into which was unfit for Horse, in which part another Province, through perjuasien and of his Forces the Persian had most configifts of Tithrautics his successor. How care- dence. Therefore Tissaphernes bestowing lefs the Perlian Lientenants were of the Kings all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his Horic into the plains of Meander, hoping thereby to flop the passage of a Gestlaus newly made King of Sparta, heavy foot-army, not suffering them to pass

willed Limielf, whilit Winter lasted, he lithraustes, who bought his departure with carred upon the Country of Liffaphernes, as thirty Talents.

to no the feafen of the year would permit, This was a strange manner of War, both and not only took a great booty, but finding on the offentive, and the defensive part. the Horse-men of Tiffaphernes in the plain of For Agefilans having entertained great hopes Mender, without allistance of their infan- of vanquishing the great King, was contenttery, he gave them battel, and had a great ed to forbear his feveral Provinces, at the Victory, taking their Camp, in which he entreaty of the Lieutenants and those Lieufound great riches. The blame of this lofs tenants being employed by the King to mainfall heavy upon Tiffaphernes, who either up- tain his Estate, against all enemies, wherein ten and ablented himfelffrom the if they failed, they knew that their heads bottel, or following some other butiness, might eatily be taken from their shoulders) was then at Sardis. For which cause his were little offended at any loss that fell on Abler having him in diffruft, and thinking their next Neighbon-Prince, which were the prace might be the fooner had, which subject likewise to the same Crown of Perfia, he much defired, if the man, so odious to the so long as their own Government could be while Nation of the Greeks, were taken out preferved from walle and danger. The cause the way; he fent into those parts Tithran- of this diforder on the Persian side, I can Less Perfean, to cut off the head of Tiffapher-ascribe to nothing to deservedly, as to the not, and fucceed him in the Government. corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Euand was the end of this bale and cowardly nuchs, Concubines, and ministers of plea-Politician, who little caring to offend Fica-fure, were able, by partial conftruction, to ven when by perjury he could advance his countenance, or difgrace, the actions of such purpoles on Earth, failed at the last, through as had the managing of things abroad; and too much over-weening of his own wil-to that foolith manner of the Kings (which dom, even in that part of cunning wherein was fo ufual that it might be called a rule) he thought himself most perfect; for sup- to reward or punish the Provincial Goverpoling, that by his great skill in fubtile ne- nour, according to the benefit or loss, which gotiation he should one way or other cir- the Country, given in charge unto each of cumvent the Greeks, and make them weary them, received, during the time of his rule. of Alia; he did not feek to finish the War, Whereby it came to pa's, that as every one and according to his Mafters wifh, bring all was defirous to make his own territory yield things speedily to quiet, but rather to tem- a large increase to the Kings treasure, so no potize, till he might find some opportunity man was carefull to askit his borderers, if of making fuch end as might best stand with loss or danger might thereby grow to himthe Kings honour and his own. Wherein felf and his ; but fate still as an idle beholdit feems that he much miftook his Princes er, when perhaps by joyning their forces, disposition, who though he had highly re- it had not been unealie to recompence the warded him for the aid which he did bring spoil of one Country, by conquering anoin his time of danger, yet would be much ther, or defending a third from far greater more gladly have taken it, if he could have miferies. foundfuch means whereby the danger it felf

have War, whilst by any conditions (honourable, or not) he might obtain peace. The War and Treaty between Agefilaus and And this appeared well by the course which Pharnabazus.

Tithraustes took at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he fent Embaffadours to Agefilans, in very friendly fort letting him A Tithranfles, entred Phrygia, burning know, that the man who had been Authour and wasting the Country without resistance. of the War, was now taken out of the way; He took the Palace of Pharnabazus, and by and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the his Lieutenant drave him out of the Camp. Greeks enjoy their own laws and liberty, These Actions, together with his honourupon condition, that they should pay him able behaviour, which added much to the tribute accustomed, and the Army be their lustre, were more glorious than proforthwith dismissed. The answer to this pro- fitable. For he did not win Cities and polition, was by Agellaus referred to the Places of strength, which might have en-Council of Sparta; in the mean feason he creased his power, and given assurance to was content to transfer the War into the the rest of his proceedings: but purchased Province of Pharnabazus, at the request of fame and high reputation, by which he drew CHAP. XI.

CHAP. VI

unto him fome that were difcontented and frood upon bad terms with the great King; whom he loft again as cafily, by means of some slight injury dene to them by his under Captains. Pharnabazus did not enclote himself in any Town, for fear of being beneged, but kept the field, lying as neer as he could fately to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpole to fight, but to make tome good end by composition, which he found not uncase to do. For the pleafores, by himtormariy done to the State of to look to her own, and give over her sparta, in the times of their most necessity, had been to speat, that when he (obtaining parley delifer before their eyes ten by many late victories, and faw her his beauty towards them, and his love, (which had be in such, that befides many bounds of her own Tetritory. Hefent inctior has date on his perion, he had for the refere of their tree, when it was driven ployed in railing war against the Lacedemoto tun a flore of librdus, adventured to nians, which treature was by the subtle pratible acto the Sam as far as he could find crice of him that was put in trust with it in any ground, and light on Horfe-back fuch wife diperfedamong the principal men against the Alexans) together with his of the Therans, Argives, and Corinthians, that faith which had never been violated in all thore Effates having formerly born enet word or deed: they knew not how to hate to that of sparta, were now definous excute their ingratitude, otherwise than of nothing so much, as of open war. And by telling him, That having War with left this great heat of the incenfed multihis Mafter, they were intorced against their tude thould for want of present exercise bewill to offendhim. Agesslaus did make a fair gin to faint and vanish away in idle words, offer to him, that if he would revolt from occasion was found out to thrust the Lacehis forces out of those parts, were not he had not invaded for want of more ne-Countrey would yield great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankfulness with full revenge.

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6. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Perfian.

IN the mean while Tithrauftes, perceiving that Agefilius meant nothing less than to return into Grace, and let Artaxerxes reft quietly in Affa. took a wife courfe, whereby the City of sparta was not only driven great hopes of fubvering the Empire; but was beaten out of all that had been got-Dominion refrained unto the narrow to Greece fifty talents of filver, to be imthe King to them, they would maintain demonians into Arms, that they themselves him against the Persian, and establish him anight seem Authors of the quarrel. Some free Prince of the Countrey wherein he land there was in the tenure of the Locrius, was at that time only Deputy to Artax to which the Thebars had in former timelaid erxes. But Tharnabazus told him plain- claim; but the Phocians either having the ly, That if the King his Mafter did put better title or finding the greaterfavour, had him in trust to make war against them, it adjudged unto them, and received yearly he would not fail to do the best that he money for it. This money the Locrians were could as their enemy; if the charge were either hiredor perswaded to pay now to the taken out of his hand, and he commanded Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Photo obey another, he would then shift side, crans not meaning so to lose their Rent, made and betake himself to their alliance. The a dittress by strong hand, recovering a iffue of this parley was, That the Army great deal more than their own; which the should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor Thebans (as in protection of their new Teagain return into it, whilest employment | nants ) requited with an invasion made upon could be found elsewhere. The excuse Phocis, waiting that Countrey in the manner made by agefilaus, and the withdrawing of of open war. Such were the beginnings of protelled hostility between Thebes & Sparts, fufficient to appeale Pharnabazus, whom & the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, been ceffary business elsewhere; but because his concealed. For when the Phocian Embassiadors came to sparta, complaining of the violence done by the Thebani & requesting sucthe Lacedemonians changed an honourable cour, they had very favourable audience, & ready consent to their suit, it being the manner of the Lacedamonians to defer the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offer'd, &thento difcover their indignation in cold blood. At this time they hadvery good opportunity towork furb them in Greece, and hearing out of Afia advance the business in hand, came to Halino news that could offend or trouble them, artus, where, though Paulanias did not meet Wherefore they sent Lyfander to raise all the him, as had been appointed, yet he attem-Countries about Phocis, and with such forces pted the Town, and was slain in fight by the as he could levy, to attend the coming of Thebans, who came hastily to the rescue. Pausanias King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath As this victory did incourage the Thebans, been shewed before, had two Kings) who so the coming of Paulaniar with his great thould follow him with the strength of Pelo- Army did again amaze them, with present ponnes. Lyfander did as he was appointed, tation of extreme danger; but their foirits and being of great reputation in those parts, were soon revived by the strong succour he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from which was brought from Athens, in conli-Thebes. Pansanias likewise raised all Pelopon- deration of which, and of the late battel, nelus, except the Corinthians (who refused, Pausanias durst not hazzard a new fight to affift him in that enterprise) meaning to with them, but receiving the bodies of those joyn with Lyfander, and make a speedy end that were slain, by composition, departed of the war. The confideration of so great a out of their Territory; for which, either danger, approaching fo swiftly, caused the cowardise or indifferetion, he was at his re-Thebans to feek what help they could turn to Sparta condemned as a Traitor, and abroad, forasmuch as their own strength driven to file unto Teges, where he ended his was far too little to make resistance against dayes in banishment. fuch mighty preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedamonians were otherwise affected in heart, than they durst utter in countenance 5 How Agesilaus was called out of Asia to help but the good wishes of such people were little available, confidering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which manner of tergiversation, the Corinthians did at that present cast themthe no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it

their own wills, having no other war to di- being desirous to do somewhat that might

#### «. VII.

bis Countrey. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian affifted by Pharnabazus, overcomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recovers the mastery of the Seas, and re-builds the walls of Athens.

felves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to His good success, and the confederacy made with Athens, gave luch reputawas thought the fafest course to procure the tion to the I bebans, that the Argives, Corinassistance of some Estate that might present- thians, Enbeans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, ly declare it felf on their fide, which would did forthwith fide with them, and raifing cause many others to follow the example, a strong Army, determined to give battel and make their party strong. To this end to the Lacedemonians as near as they might, they sent Embassadours to athers, excusing to their own doors; Considering that the old offences, as either not committed by force of sparta it self was not great, but publick allowance, or done in time of the grew more and more by the adjunction of general war, and recompenced with friend-their Confederates. The Magistrates of flip lately flewn in their refusal of affisting sparta perceiving the danger, sent for agerausanias, when he came in behalf of the silans, who readily obeyed them, and prothirty Tyrants against the good Citizens of miling his friends in Afia to return speedi-Athens. In regard of which, and for their ly to their affiftance, patied the Streights of own Honour Take, they requested them of Hellespons into Europe. In the mean time, aid in the present war, offering to do the the Cities of the new league had given batbest that they could for the restoring of tel to the Lacedemonians, and the remain-Athens to her former estate and dignity. der of their Associates, but with ill success. For Thrashbulus and his Friends, who, perfecuted when the right wing of each part had gotten by the Thirty, had been well entertained at the better hand, the Argives and Thebans re-Thebes, procured now the City to make a turning from the chale in some disorder, large requital of the courtefic which they were broken and defeated by the Lacedahad received. For it was decreed, that the monians, who meeting them in good order. State of Athens should not only refuse to won from them the Honour which they had aid the Lacedamonians in this War; but that gotten by forcing the left wing of the Laceit should assist the Thebans, and engage it self demonians, and made the victory of that day intheir cause. Whilst Pausanias lay still wait- entirely their own. The reporters of this bating the arrival of his Confederates; Lysander tell meeting Agefilaus at Amphipolis, were by CHAP. XI.

him fent over into Afia, wherein it is not many losses, much defaced. For the Thebane likely that they brought much contain did in the battel of Coronea vanquish the unto his friend, who had fince his deper- Orchomenians, who stood opposite unto ture feen the Spartan Fleet beaten, and Ir fander the Admiral flain. The same in a, whose endeavour had brought the Ato A ans into order by advancing the Sea-forces fute. Likewife Gylis was flain with a great of the Lacedemonians with money, and all part of his Army by the Locrians; and some manner of fupplies, was now the occasion that the power of Athens grew strong at 10 med against the Corinthians, were repay-Sea, when the City was despoyled of her old reputation and learcely able to maintain parts adjoyning; many Towns being eafily an Army by Land for her defence. Pharabazus confidering how much it imported the King his Mafter, to have the Greeks divided into fuch factions as might utterly disable waven of Corinth, to sue for peace, but could them from undettaking abroad, thought it not get audience, till fuch time as the news the fafeit way for him elf, during thefe came of a great victory obtained by Iphicra broils, to take fuch order, that he should les, General of the Athenian forces at Lethanot need any more to leek peace by intreaty | um; whereupon the Theban Embassadors and commemoration of old benefits, at their being fent for, and willed to do their mefhands, who unprovoked, had fold his love for lage, required only in fcorn, to have a fafe thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnish- conduct given them, that they might enter ed Conon the Athenian with eight fhips, who had escaped when the Fleet of Athens was furprized by Lyander at Egos-Potamos; ons, wherein the Acheans, Confederates of giving him the command of a great Navy, wherewith he requited the loss received at . £gos-Potamos, by repaying the Laceacmonians with the like destruction of their fleet Gold, as encouraged the Athenians to reupon recovering the Signiory which they had loft.

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#### 6. VIII.

Of fundry [mall victories gotten on each part. The Lacedemonians lose all in Asia; the Athenians recover some part of their old

some years the honour of their Estate, enhorse-men from the Thessalians, who were Athens. accounted the best riders in Greece. He wasted Bætia, and fought a great battel at Coronea against the Thebans and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshall Gylis forraged the Countrey of Locris: which done, he returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, and the reputation of them was, by

them, and retired unbroken to Mount Helicon, opening way perforce when Applilate charged them in the return from the purother exploits by the Lacedamonians pered with equal dammage, received in the aken and as eafily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was fuch, that the Thebans themselves were drawn by the loss of the into Corinth. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incursi-Sparta, felt much loss, their whole State being endaugered by the Acarnanians; who held with the contrary fide, until Agefilaus repayed these invaders with equal, or greater calaat Cnidus. After this victory Conon failed to mities, brought upon their own Lands, which Athens, bringing with him, partly as the libe- did to afflict the Acarnans, that they were rality of Pharnabazus, partly as the fruit of driven to fue for peace. But the affairs at his victory, to itrong a Navy, and fo much Sea were of most consequence, upon which the fuccess of all depended. For when the build their Walls, and think more hopefully Towns of Afia perceived that the Lacedemonians were not only intangled in a hard War at home, but almost disabled to pass the Seas, having loft their Fleet at Cnidus; they foon gave ear to Pharnabazus, who promised to allow that they should use their own laws, if they would expell the spartan Governours. Only the City of Abydus did ftand firm, wherein Dercyllidas lay, who did his best to contain all the Towns about Hellespont, in the Alliance of the Nevertheles, the Lacedemonians, by malustration because the Athenian Fleet under Thrashus. Lacedamonians; which he could not do, lus, took in Bizantium, Chalcedon, and other dangered very greatly by this loss at Sea. places thereabout, reducing the Isle of Lef-For Agesilans obtained the better with his bos to their ancient acknowledgment of

5. IX. The

6. IX.

other passages in the War. The Peace of Anralcidas.

A perceive how uneafie a thing it would from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was Ilain by be, to maintain the War against men as good the way at Aspendus. The City of Rhodes had os themselves, affisted with the treasures of long before joyned with the Lacedamoni-Persia: wherefore they craved peace of ans, who erected there (as was their man-Artaxerxes, most basely offering not only ner) an Aristocratie, or the Government of a to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and few the principal Citizens; whereas contrato leave them to the Kings disposition; but riwise the Athenians were accustomed to put withall to fet the Islanders, and every Town the Soveraignty into the hands of the peoin Greece, as well the little as the great, at ple, each of themseeking to assure themselves full and absolute liberty, whereby they said by erecting in the Town of their Confedethat all their principal Estates of their Coun- rates a Government like unto their own: try would be so weakened, that no one, nor which doing (where more especial caute did all of them should be able to stir against the not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour Great King. And fure it was, that the power | Sparta, and the Commons to incline to of the Country being to broken and rent Athens. The people of Agina roved upon the into many small pieces, could neither have coast of Attica which caused the Athenians disquieted the Persian, by an offensive War, to land an Army in Egina, and besiege their nor have made any good defence against Town: but this siege being raised by the afhim, but would have left it easie for him in sistance of the Licedemonian Fleet the Islancontinuance of time to have taken the Ci- ders began a-new to molett Attica, which ties one after another, till he had made him- caused the Athenians to man their thips felf Master of all. The spartans were not again, that returned beaten, having lost tour ignorant of this, but were fo carried with of thirteen. The loss of these ships was soon great actions worthy of remembrance. Thim- away into Cyprus a greater force than his

bro was flain by Strutbas, and in his place Diphridas was fent, who demeaned himfelf The base conditions offered unto the Persian by more warily. Dercyllidas was removed from the Lacedamonian. Of Jundry fights and his charge at Abjdus, because he had not impeached Thrasybulus in his enterprizes about Hellespont ; Anaxibius, who succeeded him. was furprized and flain in a skirmish by Ipri-Bout this time the Spartans began to crates the Athenian. Thras bulus departing envy, that perceiving how the dominion of recompenced by a victory which Chabrias the the Seas was like to return to Athens, they Athenian General had in Leina, whereupchose rather to give all from themselves and on the Islanders were fain to keep home, and others, and make all alike weak, than to per- leave to the Athenians the Seas free. It may mit that any of their own Nation should welfeem strange that the City of Athens. hagrowstronger than themselves, who solately ving but newly raised her walls, having not had commanded all. Yet this great offer by any fortunate and important Battel lecuwas not at the first accepted; both in regard | red her estate from dangers by Land; but that the other Estates of Greece, who had in only depending upon the assistance of such the Kings behalf joyned together against Confederates, as, carried unto different ends, the Lacedemonians, did by their several Em- had often discovered themselves irresolute balladors oppose themselves unto it; and in the common cause, would send a Fleet and for that it was thought fafeit for Artaxerxes an Army to Cyprus, in defence of Evigoras. rather to weaken the Lacedamonians yet when the Mastery of the Seas was so ill afmore, than by interposing himself to bring sured, that an Island in the eye of Pyraeus, friends and foes on the fudden to an equali- had ability to vex the coast of Attica. But as ty. Especially Struthas, whom Artaxerxes the over-weening of that City did canseit had fent as his Lieutenant into the low- usually to embrace more than it could com-Countries, did feek to repay the harmdone passiothe insolency and shameless injustice by Agefilans in those parts: which his in- of the people, had now bred in the chief tent appearing plain, and all hope of the Commanders, a defire to keep themselves peace being thereby cut off, Thimbro was sent far out of fight, and to seek employments at into Afia to make War upon Struthas; and fuch distance as might secure them from the others were appointed to other places: eyes of the envious, and from publick judgwhereby the War being scattered about, ments, out of which few or none escaped. For all the Isles and Towns on the firm Land, which cause Timotheus did pass away much grew almost to the manner of Pyracy and part of his time in the Isle of Lesbos; Iphicra-Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few tes in Thrace; and Chabrias now did carry Country Country could well have spared: with which | risons, for which they wanted money ; and hereturned not when the business in Cyprus other States by the miseries of the war. came to an end, but fought new adventures whereof they faw no end; that all (excepting in Egipt; whereby arole neither thanks to the Thebant) did confent unto these Articles. hinleff, nor profit to his City, though ho- This was called the peace of Antalcidar: nour both to him and it. The Athenians be- whereof the Lacedamonians taking upon ing thus careless of things at hand, had a no-themselves the execution, did not only comtable blow given unto them, shortly after pell the Argives to depart out of Corinth. that Chabrias was gone to Cyprus, even with- ( which, under pretence of defending, they in their own Haven. For Teleutiar, a Lacede- held by Garrifons, lately thrust into it, notas monian, being made Governour of Agina, Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to conceived a strong hope of surprizing the leave Baotia free, of which Province Thebre Navy of Athens, asit lay in Pirans, thinking had alwayes held the Government, the Thearight, that it was a harder matter to en- bans themselves being also comprehended counterwithten ships prepared for the fight, under the name of the Baotians; but caused than with twenty lying in harbour, whose the Mantineans to throw down their own Mariners were alleep in their Cabbins, or City, and to dwell in Villages: alledging that drinking in Taverns. Wherefore he failed they had formerly been accustomed to to by night into the mouth of the Port, which do, though purpoling indeed to chastise entring at the break of day, he found (ac-them, as having been ill-affected to Sparta in cording to his expectation) most of the men the late War. By these courses the Lacedeon shore, and few or none left aboard to monians did hope that all the small Towns make refultance: by which means he took in Greece would, when occasion should remany ships laden with merchandizes, many quire it, willingly follow them in their wars, fisher-men, passengers, and other Veslels, as Authors of their liberty; and that the also three or four Gallies; having sunk or great Cities having lost all their dependants. broken, and made unserviceable, as many of would be unable to make opposition. the rest as the time would suffer. About this time Pharnabazus, the Lieutenant of Phrygia, had one of the Kings Daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about The War which the Lacedamonians made upthe Court; and many Officers that favoured the Lacedamonians, were placed in the lower Afia; by whose assistance the Fleet of Sparta grew victorious about Hellespont; in fuch wife, that perhaps they should not have out either victory or profit, consuneeded the peace, which they themselvs pro- med the riches and power of Greece, the Cicured by Antalcidas, from the Great King, the ty of Olynthus in Thrace was grown fo mighconditions whereof were fuch as are men-ty, that she did not only command her tioned before, giving freedom to all the Ci-neighbour-Towns, but was also become terties of Greece, and dividing the Country in- rible to places far removed, and to Spartait

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#### 6. X.

on Olynthus. They take Thebes by treafon; and Olynthus by Famine.

to as many several States as were petty Bo- self. Great part of Macedonia, together roughs in it. Thus Artaxexes having bought with Pella, the principal City of that Kinghis own peace with mony, did likewise by dom, was taken by the Olynthians, who folhis mony become Arbitrator and decider of lowing the usual pretence of the Lacedamo-Controversies between the Greeks, disposing nians, to set at liberty the places over which of their business in such wise, as stood best King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now with his own good. The Tenor of Artax-driven him out of his Dominions, and taken erxes his Decree was, That all Asia and Cy- all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus, prus should be his own; the Isles of Lemnos, and of Apollonia, being nearest unto the dan-Imbrus, and scirus, be subject to Athens; all ger of those incroaching neighbours, acother Greek Towns, as well the little as the quainted the Lacedamonians with their fear, great, be let at liberty 5 and that wholoever affirming that this Dominion of the Olynthishould refuse this peace, upon them the ap- ans, would be too strong for all Greece, if provers of it should make war, the King af- continuance of time should give it reputafifting them by Land and Sea, with men, and tion, which only it wanted: wherefore they ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so requested affistance, but in such terms as did discouraged by their losses at Sea; the Lace- found of compulsion, protesting that either damonians by revolt of their confederates, they must war upon Olynthus, or become and the necessity of maintaining many Gar subject unto her, and fight in her defence-Hereupon Hereupon was made a hafty levy of men, into the confereacy. The day following, a the thousand being tent prefently away, folemn fealt being then held in the City, with fromife to be reconded by a greater Phyllidas promifed the Governo 18, who Agraning to the war, as egreed with their convey unto them that night the mott beauthey compelled at length by tamine to ren der it telf unto their obedience.

#### s. XI.

How the Thebans recovered their liberty, dri ving out the Lacedemonian Garrison.

ron, whom Phyllids rhe Scribe had drawn taken from the Lacedemonians, and not a

Araw. Whift thefetwo thou land gave such were in olent and bufful men, that he would real number, the body of the Army follow-titul Dames of the Town, with whom they though them, furnized the Cittacel of Theber. Though take their pleafure. Having cheared them with fuch hope, and plenty of good where was herrayed into the hand of Platie them with fuch hope, and plenty of good drive leaged committee, by fome of the Magi. Wine, he told them when the time of perirrate, who fought to ftrengthen their fa- formance (which they urged) came, that he Gorby the flavery of their Country. The gould not make good his promite, unless Giorgy the index; stated of sparts, but had they we uld offinis their to lowers because ret in any point violated the peace lately the Gentlevonen, who attended wit our made in tween them; which caused the Le she Chamber, would not endure that my or estamonians to doubt, whether this act of the fervants frould fee their face. Upon Tresides were more worthy of reward of this occasion the attendants were dismitted, regimes were more worthy or revealt of this occasion meattens attendants were demanded, or pen illiment. In conclusion, profit fo far and the Confiprators, attitud like La iss or resigned honefty, that the deed was and their Maios, brought into the places exproved, many principal Citizens of thebar who taking advantage of the Governors condemn d to death, many driven into bar loofe behaviour, flew the mail con the inctiliment, and the Traitors rewarded with den with Daggers, which they brought heathe Government of the City: by who'e au den under their garments. Then prefently troity, and the force of the Carrifon, the casting off their difguife, they went to other The art were compelled to terve the Lace- places, where feigning themselves to come demonstrati, in all, and more than all that they to the Governours upon business, they got could require. This access of power having admittance, and likewise flew those which trengthened the Lacedamorians, cauled were of the Lacedemorian faction. By the then to entertain the greater forces about like device they brake into the Prifon, flew Opullus, (which not with Ita: ding the loss of the Gaeler, and fet at liberty fach as they one great Battel, and some other disafters) thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed liberty, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Caprain of the Caftle hearing the fueden Froclamation, thought the Rebels to be itronger than indeed they were : the Citizens contrariwife mistrusted, has it was a practice ro discover such as would b forward upon occasion of revolting. But as 100n as day-A Fter this Olynthian War, which endured light revealed the plaintruth all the people A almost three years, it seemed that no took Arms and belieged the Cattle, sending Effate in Greece was able to make head hastily to Athens for succour. The Garriton against that of Sparta: but it was not long all o tent for aid unto the Towns adjoyning, tre the Thebans found a means to thake off whence a few broken troops coming to the their yoak, and gave both example and refeue, were defeated on the way by the means to others to do the like. One of the horfe-men of Thebes. On the other tide, the banisht men found by conference with a banished Thebans did not only make speed Scribe of the Theban Magistrates, coming to to assist their Country-men, but procured Athens, that the tyranny wherewith his some Athensans to joyn with them, & there-Country was oppressed, pleased him no bet- by came so strong into the City, that the ter than it did those, who for fear of it were Castle was yielded, more through fear than fed from home. Whereupon a plet was laid any neteflity, upon condition that the Soulbetween their two, that foon found very diers might quietly depart with their Arms; good success, being managed thus. Seven of for which composition, the Captain at his the banished men forlook Athens privily, return to sparta was put to death. When and entred by night into the fields of Thobes; the news of the doings at Thebes, and the where spending the next day secreely, they successarived at Sparta, an Army was raised came lare in the evening to the Gates like forthwith and all things prepared as earnelthusband-men returned from work, and fo ly for the recovering of that City, as it some palied undiscovered unto the house of Cha- part of their ancient Inheritance had been

Athenians

red to her own liberty. Cleombrotus, one of attempt upon the Haven of Athens; which the Kings, was fent on this Expedition, who failing to take, he wasted the Country adhaving wearied his followers with a toilfom joyning, and drave away Cattel, caufing by Winters journey, returned home without this outrage the Athenians to enter with all the Thebans 3 who doing them fome displea- they might possibly withdraw themselves.

Town perfidioufly usurped by them, resto-fures, made large amends by a foolish any good or harm done; leaving sphodries, their power into the war, out of which they with part of his Army, at Thefpres, to infeft were before very carefully feeking how

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CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing Estate of Thebes, from the Battel of Leuctra, to the Battel of Mantinaa.

ø. I.

How Thebes and Athens joyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The Battel of Leuctra. and beginning of the Theban greatness.

difinonourable Rule they held, That Alkens, and finding themselves, whilest earl respects with standing the commodity of gaged in such a War, unable to relieve Sparta were to be neglected; the practice their complaining friends, refolved to fettle of which Doctrine, even by the best and wi- the assairs of Greece, by renewing that form fest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: of peace which antalcides had brought but when it was put in execution by infuf- from the Persian. Wherefore they sent ficient over-weening men, it feldom failed Messengers to Thebes, peremptorily signito bring upon them, instead of profit un-justly expected, both shame and loss. And the War, to which purpose they willed to it belell them in these enterprizes of the Thebans to send Embassadors along Thebidas, upon the Castle of Thebes, and with them to Sparta; who readily consphodriss upon the Piraus. For, howfoever descended, fearing otherwise that they Acestland did spoil the Country about Thebes, should be left out of the Treaty of Peace: ftronger than they were at the first.

abroad, failing to the Isle of Coregra, where did foon agree; but when the Thebans offerthey ordered things at their pleasure, and ed to swear to the Articles in the name of having in some fights at Sea prevailed, be- the Baotians, Agestlaus required them to gan, as in the Peloponnesian War, to surround swear in their own name, and to leave the Peloponnesus with a Navy; afflicting so the Beotians free, whom they had lately redu-Lacedamonians, that, had not the Thebans by cedunder their obedience. Whereunto Epatheir infolency wearied their friends, and minondas made answer, That the City of great Estates) left the City of sparta as but was heard with no patience: for Agest-

He Lacedamonians were men of great perceiving how Thebes encroached every refolution, and of much gravity day upon her weak Meighbours, not spain all their proceedings; but one ring fuch as had been dependants upon in which he spent two Summers, yet the which came to pass, being so wrought by diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who the couragious wisdom of Epaminondas, who by the good fuccess of some attempts, grew understood it far better than his Countrymen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this The Athenians likewife began to look Treaty the Lacedamonians and Athenians caused them to seek for peace, it had been sparts should give example to Thebes by setvery likely that the end of this War, should ting the Laconians free; for that the Signiohave foon come to a good end, which ry of Buotia did by as good right appertain nevertheless, being profecuted by the The- to the Thebans; as that of Laconia to the bans (who opposed at once both these two spartans. This was well and truly spoken; much dejected, as the beginnings found it laws bearing a vehement hatred unto those proud and tyrannous. But the Athenians of Thebes, by whom he was drawn back out of Aliainto Greece, and disappointed of all rated at Athens; where the general liberty the glory which he had hoped to atchieve of all Towns, as well fmall as great, was by the Persian War, did now passionately ratified under the stile of the Athenians, and errethat point of fetting the Beotians at li- their affociates. Hereupon began fresh garherry; and finding it as obstinately refused, boils. The Mantineans, claiming power by hedalht the name of the Thebans out of the this Decree to order their affairs at their league. At the fame time Cleombrotus the own pleasure, did (asit were) in despight of the Thebans with all his power; which he affected to Sparta. The Arcadians, a strong and effeminate.

ø. 11.

arising. Epaminondas invadeth and wafeth the Territory of Lacedamon.

bled the Deputies of all the estates confede- ponnesm, they received speedy assistance; the

other King of Sparta, lay in Proces, who rethe spartans, who had enforced them to raze ceived command from the Governors of their Town, re-edificit, and allie themselves Sparts forthwith to enter upon the Land of with such of the Arcadians as stood worlt did, and was there flain at Leudra, and with Nation, confifting of many Cities, were him the Flower of his Army. This Battel of distracted with factions; some desiring to Leuttra, being one of the most famous that hold good correspondency with the Lacedeever were fought between the Greeks, was monians; some to weaken and keep them not fo notable for any circumstance fore-low; yet all pretending other ends. The going it, or for the managing of the fight it Lucedamonians durit not give impeachment felf, as for the death of the King, and many to the Mantineans, nor take upon them to Citizens of Sparta; but especially, for that correct their ill-willers among the Arcaafter this Battel (between which and the dians, till such time as the factions brake out conclusion of the general Peace, there passed into violence, and each party called in but twenty days ) the Lacedamonians were foreign help. Then was an Army fent from never able to recover the strength and re- sparta, as it were in defence of the people putation which had formerly made them re- of Tegea, against the Muntineans, but indoubted far and near: whereas contrariwife deed against them both. Agelilaus had the the The bans, whose greatest ambition had in leading of it, but effected nothing. The former times confined it felf unto the little Thebans had by this time subdued the Pho-Region of Beotia, did now begin to under- cians, and were become head of the Lotake the leading and command of many crians, Acarnanians, Eubwans, and many people and estates, in such wise, that soon others; with the power of which Countries after they brought an Army of threescore they entred Peloponnesus in favour of the and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of Arcadians, who had, up on expectation of Sparta. So much do the afflictions of an their coming, abstained from giving Battel hard War, valiantly endured, advance the to Agesslaws. The Army of the spartans beaffairs of the diffrested, and guide theminto ing dismissed, and Epaminondas joyned with the way of Conquest, by stiffening that re- the Arcadians, the Region of Laconia was infolution with a manly temper, which wealth vaded and spoiled : a thing to strange, that no and ease had through luxury, retchlesness, Oracle could have found belief it any had and many other vices or vanities, made rufty to retold it. Almost 600 years were spent, lince the Dorians, under the posterity of Hercules, had feized upon Laconia; in all which time the found of an Enemies Trumpet was not heard in that Country. Ten years were How the Athenians took upon them to maintain not fully past, since all Greece was at the dethe Peace of Greece. New troubles hence votion of the Spartans : but now the Region which neither Xerxes with his huge Army could once look upon, nor the mighty forces of Athens, and other enemy-States had THe Athenians refuting to take advan- dared to set foot on, saving by stealth, was all 1 tage of this overthrow fallen upon on a light fire, the very smoak whereof the their old Enemies, and new Confederates women of sparta were ashamed to behold. the Lacedemonians, did nevertheless finely All which indignity notwithstanding, the give them to understand, that their Domi- Lacedamonians did not issue out of sparta to nion was expired, and therefore their pride fight, but fought how to preserve the Town, might well be laid away. For taking upon fetting at liberty as many of their Heilotes themselves the maintenance of the Peace or Slaves, as were willing to bear Arms in lately concluded, which Agefilaus (perhaps defence of the State, and Iomewhat pitifully of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that entreated the Athenians, to give them sucmight arise) had left unperfect, they affem- cour. From Corinth, and some Towns of Pelohaving rebuilded the City of Mossen, and numbers which they brought into the field, peopled it a new by calling home the ancient Inhabitants, whom the Lacedamonians many ages before had chated away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themfelves.

# 6. III.

The Composition between Athens and Spartfor command in War against the Thebans who again moade and spoil Teloponnesus The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

This journey therefore utterly defaced the regutation of the Spartans, in fuch wife, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, which was to be raifed, nor any manner of precedence: but fending Emballadors from Sparta, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto Athens, they offered to yield the Admiralty to the Athenians, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had been a composition well agreeing with the fituation and quality of those two Cities but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be employed at Sea, were men of no mark or eltimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, whereof the Land-Army was compounded who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of sittens, were to have ferved under the Lacedemonians. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authority should be divided by tim the Athenians ruling five days, the Laceda monians other five, and fo fuccessively that each of them should have command of all. both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest. that in this conclusion vain ambition was more regarded than the common profit; which must of necessity be very slowly advanced, where consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a fecond invasion of Feloponn fus, wherein the Thebans found their enemies fo unable to impeach them, that having fortified Isthmus from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against Xerxes, they were driven out of their strength by Epaminondas, who forraged the Country without resistance. But as the Articles of by dividing the conduct in such manner,

Athenians came forward more flowly, fo filling the enemies heads with the like vanithat Epimanondis returned without battel, ty. For the Arcadians conlidering their own and having found by many tryals that their reople were not inferiour to others in trength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the Government, with their friends the Thebans; and not alwayes continue followers of others, by increating whose greatness they hould strengthen their own yoke. Hereupon they began to demean themselves very infolently, whereby they grew hateful to their Neighbours, and suspected of the Thebans in an ill time. For, a motion of general peace having been made (which took not effect, because the City Mellene was not abandoned to the Lacedemonians) the next enterprize of the spertans and their friends was upon these Areadians, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battel, their calamity being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

## ø. IV.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embasfages of the Greeks to the Pertian, with the reasons why he most favou ed the Thebans. Troubles in the Pertian Empire. The fruitlessifine of the Embassages.

Tile Thebans, especially rejoyced at the Arcaciuns mistortune, considering, hat without their aid, the success of all enerrizes proved to ill; whereas they themfelves had by their own power accomplished very well whatfoever they took in hand, and were become not only victorious over the Laceda nonians, but Patrons over the Theffalonians, and moderators of great quarrels that had rifen in Macedonia; where compounding the differences about that Kingdom, as pleased them best, they carried Philip the Son of Amyntas, and father of Alexander the Great, as an Hostage unto Thebes. Having therefore obtained fuch reputation, that little feemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they fought means of alliance with the Persian King, to whom they sent Embasfador the great and famous Captain Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxerxes to this league between Athens and Sparta did, grant unto the Thebans all that they defired; whereof two especial points were, That disable the Society, and make it insufficient Messene should remain free from the Lacede to thole ends for which it was concluded; fo monians, and that the Athenians should forthe example of it wrought their good, by bear to fend their hips of War to Sea; only

CHAP. XII. the latter of these two was somewhat quali-these times; in that great rebellion of all the field with reference to further advice. The Maritimate Provinces. For had then the other States of Greece did also fend their affairs of Greece been so composed, that any Imballadors at the fame time, of whom few one City might without empeachment of on none received much contentment. For the the reft have transported an Army to affilt King having found by long experience, how the revolting Satrape, or Vice-roses of Caria. first concerned him to maintain a fure par- Phrygia, Lydia, Mylia, Lydia, Fifidia, Pamphyry in Greece, did upon many weighty coali- lia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phanicia; humane derations resolveto bind the Thebans firmly reason can hardly find the means, by which unto him 3 justly expecting, that their great- the Empire could have been preferred from ness should be on that side his own security. that ruine, which the Divine Counsel had The Athenians had been ancient Enemies to deferred unto the days of Alexander. But his Crown; and having turned the profit of this great Conspiracy of so many large and their victories upon the Perfians to the pur- wealthy Provinces, wanting a firm body of chase of a great Estate in Greece, maintained good and hardy Souldiers, was in thort space their Signiory in such puissant manner, that discussed, and vanished like a mist, without (fundry grievous misfortunes notwith- effect: these effeminate Asiatiques, wearied flanding) they had endured a terrible War, quickly with the travels and dangers inciwherein the Lacedamonians being followed dent to War, for taking the common cause, by most of the Greeke, and supplied with and each man striving to be the first, that by treasure, and all forts of aid by Darius No- treason to his company should both redeem thus, were not able to vanquish them till the former treason to his Prince, and purtheir own indiferetion brought them on chase withal his own promotion with eatheir knees. The Lacedemonians being victo- crease of riches. Of this commotion, which rious over Athens, had no sooner established in course of time followed some actions not their Dominion at home, than they under- as yet related, I have rather chosen to make took the Conquest of Asia, from which short mention in this place, than hereaster though by the commotion raifed in Greece to interrupt the Narration of things more with Persian gold, they were called back, yet important; but for that it was like a sudden having renewed their power, and letled ftorm, rashly commenced, idly followed, things in Greece, it was not unlikely, that and foolishly laid down, having made a they should upon the next advantage have puriod the same enterprize, had not they reference to any other action agreeable; as been empeached by this Theban War. But also because in the whole reign of Artaxthe Thebans contratiwise had always disco- erxes, from the War of Cyrus to the invasion vered a good affection to the Crown of Per- of Egypt, I find nothing (this insurrection, fis. They had sided with Xerxes in his inva- and a truitless journey against the Cadulians lion of Greece; with Darius and the Lacede excepted) worthy of any mention, much less monians against Athens: And finally, having of digression from the course of the business offered much contumely to Agefilian when in Greece. All, or the most of his time passed he put to Sea, they drew him home by ma away fo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleaking War on the Confederates of Sparta. fures which an Empire fo great and wealthy beneficial to the Estate of Persia shortly after things were to be measured and adjudged

Besides all these their good deservings, they could afford unto such an absolute Lord, with wereno Seamen, and therefore unlikely to little disturbance. The troubles which he look abroad; whereupon if perchance they found were only, or chiefly, Domestical; should have any defire; yet were they dii-growing out of the hatred which Parylatic abled by the want of good Haven-Towns; the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife Stawhich they could not feize upon without irra, and to fuch as had been the greatest open breach of that peace, whereof they in- enemies to her Son Cyrus, or gloried in his tended to become the Executors, giving li- death: upon whom, when by poylon and berty to all Cities that had at any time been mischievous practices she had satisfied her free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did wholly teminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth condescend unto the requests of Pelopidas, as she wholly applied herself to the Kings diffarforth as he might, without giving open polition, cherishing in him the lewd defire of defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that marrying his own Daughter, and filling him mean he purchased his own quiet, being ne- with the perswasion, which Princes not enver afterward molested by that Nation in dued with an especial grace, do readily enthe lower Asia. The ill means which the tertain; That his own will was the supreme Greeks had to disturb Artaxerxes, was very law of his subjects, and the rule by which all Kkkk 2

to be good or evil. In this imaginary hap- Estates of these two Cities, was brought very pine's Peleridas, and the other Embaliadors low, did now conjoyn their forces against of Greece, buth found and left him; but left the Thebans, who fought to make themselves him by to much more affured than they Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, and found him, by how much the conclusion of Achaians, followed the party of these ancient this Treaty with them, being altogether to Governing Cities; either for the old reputales own a watage, did feem to promie, if tion of them, and benefits received, or in ros the perpetuity, a long endurance of the diffike of those, who by strong hand were tions felicity to him and his, or (at the leaft) ready to become Rulers, to which authority a fill security of danger from Greec, whence they could not fuddenly afpire without fome only could any danger be feated. But fuch injury and much envy. The City of Theles tour ations or eternity hid by mortal men abounding with men, whom necessity had in this transitory world, like the Tower of made warlike, and many Victories in few Lidel, are other shaken from heaven, or years had filled with greatspirits; and being prace vain and unprolimble, ere the frame to mighty independents, that the had reducan be taited to full height, by confusion of ced all the continent of Greece without Pelotargues among the builders. Hereof was ponnelus (the Region of Attica, and very littound a good example in the Thebant, and the part belide, excepted) under fuch acother idiates of Greece that had fent Embal-knowledgement, as wanted not much of faiors to the Person. For whereas it had meer Vasiallage, did hope to bring all Peloben concluded, that all Towns, as well the ponness to the like obedience, wherein allattle as the great, should be fet at liberty, ready she had set good footing by her conand the Thehans made Protectors of this junction with the States of Argos, and of Acommon peace, who thereby should become cadia. The Argives had been always bad the Judges of all Controversies that might Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they arite, and Leaders in War of all that would thought themselves in ancient Nobility Suenter into this Confederacy 5 the Kings let- periors, but were far under them in valour, tersbeing tolerally publithed at Thebes; in having been often beaten out of the field by the presence of Embassadors drawn thi- them, and put in danger of losing all: which ther from all parts of Greece: when an oath caused them to suspect and envy nothing was required for observation of the form of more than the greatness and honour of peace therein fet down, a dilatory answer sparta, taking truce with her when the was was made by the Emballadors, who faid, at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole that they were fent to hear the articles, not force against them ; but firmly joyning with to fwear unto them. Hereby the Thebans were driven to fend unto each of the Cities rangled in a difficult War. As the Argines to require the Oath ; but in vain. For when the Corinthians had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to do the like, difapto whom this negotiation with Artaxerxes gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatness, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own fwords.

ø. V.

Athenians and Lacedemonians on the one fide, and Thebans on the other. of the great tumults arising in Arcadia.

ers into a cruel and intestine War, by which found that howsoever these Arcadians were the whole Country, and especially the enemies to the Lacedemonians, they should

her enemies whensoever they found her enwere, in hatred of Sparta, fure friends of Thebes, fo the Arcadians, transported with a great opinion of their own worthiness, had formerly renounced and provoked against pointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, them their old Confederates and Leaders, the Lacedamonians, and were now become very doubtful adherents to the Thebans. In which regard, it was thought convenientby Epaminondas and the State of Thebes, to fend an Army into Peloponnesus, before fuch time as these wavering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutral, or, which was How all Greece was divided between the to be feared, open enemies. And furely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens, which was very strange, and seemed no less He condition of things in Greece at to the Athenians themselves, who holding a that time did stand thus. athens and firm league with sparta at the same time Sparta, which in former times had com- when the Arcadians treated with them, did manded all that Nation, and each upon envy nevertheless accept this new Confederacy, of the others greatness drawn all their follow not relinquishing the old, because they of the History of the World.

Corinth, which lay upon the Ifthmus, and had

been adverse to Thebes, was now, by mise-

Neutral) took occasion hereby, and by

fome diforders among the Arcadians, to vifit

hereby be drawn fomewhat further from other hope of fecuring their own Effare their alliance with Theber, which without could not be thought upon) did now very them was unlikely to invade Peloponness gently yield to the Arcadians, that the conwith a strong Army. But this did rather ha- mand of the Army in chief, should be given tien, than by any means ftay the coming of forthe time to that City in whole Territory Framinondas; who finding the way fome- it lav. what more clear for him (because the City of

ø. VI.

pecul autorities of this grievous War, driven to become A terrible Invasion of Peloponnesus by Eparics of this grievous War, driven to become minoudas.

tome anothers among the meaning of all releponness with an Army, confisting of all the power of Thebes. A great tumult had did at that time require a very firm rifen in Arcadia about consecrated money, consent, and uniform care of the common which many principal men among them had fafety. For, befide the great forces raifed out which many principal men among them had ladely rol, being the greatforces raised out laid hands on, under pretence of employ- of the other parts of Greece, the Argives and ingit to publick uses. In compounding the Messenger with all their strength differences grown upon this occasion, such to joyn with Epaminondas; who having as had least will to render account of the lyen a while at Nemea, to intercept the Ather money which had come into their hands, pro- nians, received their intelligence, that the cured the Captain of fome Theban Souldiers, Army coming from Athens would pass by lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to their Countrymen, as people desirous of in- Tegea, which City, and the most of all Areanovation. This was done, but the uproar dia besides, forthwith declared themselves thereby caused was so great, that the priso- his. The common opinion was, that the first ners were forthwith enlarged, and the Arca- attempt of the Thebans, would be upon such dians, who had in great numbers taken of the Arcadians as had revolted; which Arms, with much ado scarce pacified. When caused the Lacedamonian Captains to forticomplaint of the Captains proceedings came fie Mantinea with all diligence, and to fend to Thebes, Epimanondas turned all the blame for Agestians to Sparta, that he bringing with upon them, who had made the peace with him all that small force of able men which Albens, letting them know, that he would remained in the Town, they might be ftrong be shortly among them to judge of their enough to abide Epaminondas there. But fidelity, by the affiltance which they should Epaminondas held so good espial upon his givehim, in that War which he intended to Enemies, that, had not an unknown fellow make in Peloponnesus. These Lordly words brought hasty advertisement of his purpose did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who to Agestians, who was then well onward in needing not the aid of fo mighty a power as the way to Mantines, the City of Sparta he drew along with him, did vehemently had suddenly been taken. For thither with suspect that great preparation to be made all speed and secrecy did the Thebans march, against themselves. Hereupon such of them who had surely carried the City, notwithas had before sought means to settle the af- standing any defence that could have been fairs of their Country, by drawing things to made by that handful of men remaining fome good conclusion of peace, did now withinit, but that Agesilans in all flying hafte forthwith fend to Athens for help, and with all dispatched some of the principal among Army of his Confederates followed thither them as Embassadors to Sparta, by whom to the rescue as fast it was able. The arrival they offered themselves to the common de- of the Lacedamonians and their friends, as it fence of Peloponnesus, now ready to be inva- cut off all hope from Epaminondas, of taking ded. This Embassage brought much comfort | Sparta, so it presented him with a fair advanto the Lacedemonians, who feared nothing tage upon Mantinea. It was the time of Harmore than the coming of Epaminondas, well, which made it very likely, that the against whom they well knew, that all their Mantineans, finding the War to be carried forces, and best provisions, would be no more from their walls into another quarter, would than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing use the commodity of that vacation, by therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they tetching in their Corn, and turning out their (who had been accustomed unto such a su- Cattel into the fields, whilst no enemy was Premacy, as they would in no wife communear, that might impeach them. Wherefore nicate with the powerful City of Athens, till he turned away from sparta to Mantinas,

CHAP.XII

fending his horsemen before him, to seize, courage in their first growth, and leave some upon all that might be found without the memorable character of his Expedition, re-City. The Mantineans (according to the folved to give them Battel, whereby he reaexpectation of Epaminondas) were feattered fonably hoped both to fettle the doubtful abroad in the Country, far more intent up- affections of his own Affociates, and to leave on their Harvest business, than upon the war, the Spartans as weak in spirit and ability, as whereof they were secure, as thinking them- he found them, if not wholly to bring them felves out of distance. By which pretumpti- into subjection. Having therefore warned on it fell out, that great numbers of them, his men to prepare for that Battel, wherein and all their Cattel, being unable to reco- Victory thould be rewarded with Lording ver the Town, were in a desperate case; and of all Greece; and finding the alacrity of his the Town it felf in no great likelihood of Souldiers to be such as promised the accomholding out, when the enemy thould have plithment of his own defire 3 he made flew takenall their provition of victuals, with fo of declining the enemy, and entrenching many of the people as had not over-dearly himself in a place of more advantage, that lo been redeemed, by that Cities returning to by taking from them all expectation of fociety with Theber. But at the same time, fighting that day, he might allay the heat of the Athenians coming to the succour of their their valour, and afterward strike their Confederates, whom they thought to have fenses with amazement, when he should found at Mantinea were very earnestly en- come upon them unexpected. This opinion treated by the Citizens to rescue their deceived him not. For with very much tugoods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious adventure to deliver those who other wife were given as loft. The Thebans were known at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the Greeks, and the commendation of good Horsemanship had always the Laccilemonians and their friends were been given to the Theffalians, as excelling in short or this number, both in horse and in that quality all other Nations; yet the re- foot, by a third part. The Mantineans (begard of honour fo wrought upon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their City, which had entred into this War upon no necessity of her own, but only in defire of the Acheans, Eleans, and others of less acrelieving her diffressed friend, they issued forth of Mantines, not abiding so long as to Thebans stood in the left wing of their own refresh themselves, or their Horses, with Battel, opposite to the Lacedamonians, hameat; and giving a lufty charge upon the ving by them the Arcadians, the Eubwans, enemy, who as bravely received them, after Locrians, Sicyonians, Meffenians, and Thefaa long and hot fight, they remained Masters lians, with others, compounding the main of the field, giving by this Victory a fafe Battel; the Argives held the right wing, the and easie retrait to all that were without horsemen on each part were placed in the the walls. The whole power of the Bactians arrived in the place foon after this Battel, rear. Before the footmen could joyn, the whom the Lacedemonians and their affiftants were not far behind.

### ø. VII.

by some notable act he should abate their tel in the rear, they brake upon them, routed

mult, as in so great and sudden a danger, the enemy ran to Arms, necessity enforcing their refolution and the confequence of that days fervice, urging them to do as well as they might. The theban Army confifted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; cause the War was in their Country) stood in the right wing, and with them the Lacedemonians; the Athenians had the left wing; count, filled the body of the Army. The flanks, only a troop of the Eleans were in the encounter of the horfe on both fides was very rough, wherein finally the Thebans prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant refistance of the Athenians: who, not yielding to the enemy either in courage or skill, were The great Battel of Mantina: The honourable overlaid with numbers, and so beaten upon death of Epimanondas, with bis commenda- by Theffalian flings, that they were driven to forfake the place, and leave their infantery naked. But this retrait was the less disgrace-Paminondas, considering that his Com- ful, because they kept themselves together, mission was almost now expired, and and did not fall back upon their own footthat his attempts of surprizing sparta and ment; but finding the Theban horse to have Mantinea having failed, the impression of given them over, and withal discovering terror which his name had wrought in the lome Companies of foot, which had been fent Peloponnesians, would soon vanquish, unless about by Epimanondas, to charge their Batthem, and hewed them all in pieces. In the two of Fpimanondas, who being in the head them, and newed circuit and the Athenians had of that Warlike troop of men, which broke mean learon the batter of the Arginer, but was the Lacedemonians squadron, and forced it and only to do with Theban Hortemen, in to give back in diffaray, was furfoully charharmy picace by the first the begun to open, and was reasonable fundamentally, was ruriounly char-nech wife that it begun to open, and was reasonable fundamentally, was ruriounly charhechwhethat it began to open, and had to get of the spartans, who all at once threw their dy to turn back, when the Elean iquadron of the spartans, who all at once threw their dy to turn back, when the relief of it, and refto-Her ecame up to the relief of it, and refto-Hor exame up to the largerester vio- ny wounds, he nevertheless, with a lingular red anon true particles, with a fingular lence did the Lacedamonians and Thebans courage, manitained the fight, using against leace did the Laceston for Dominion, the the enemies many or their Dare, which he meet, there concerning to their ancient drew out of his own body; till at length by other for that equal courage, and equal a Spartin, called interates, he received to honour, to that equal the hope and appear violent a stroke with a Darr, that the wood lots on outcomes and their equally doubt- of it brake, leaving the iron and piece of ranceor victor, to the Lacedamonians being the trunchion in his breaft. Hereup in he hat; unicos persons and treem the more like-funk down, and was foon conveyed out of very min access, and bearing born the first brunt the fight by his friends; having by his fall by toprevails as maring over the on-fet, which was not hi-fomewhat animated the spartam, who fain and may of the control and being framed by dif-would have got his body) but much were inthere remittee and being manner of the flamed with revengeful indignation, the becipane, as it were the Thebans, by practice of a bans, who raging at his heavy mileh me. did nence, where cannot be thought to have got with great flaughter compel their diforderten shabit to ture and general. But Epami- ed enemies to leave the field; though long tenantion to title and solitinate stiffness of they followed not the chase, being wearied the Exemies to be fuch, as neither the bad more withthe fadness of this di after, than the Englands of their own horse, nor all the force with all the travel of the day. Examinondas nuccersor their Army, could abate fo far, as being brought into his Tent, was told by the to make them give one foor of ground sta- Physicians, that when the head of the Dart to make them give one fitte moit able men, should be drawn out of his body, he must whom he cast into the form of a Wedge, or needs dye. Hearing this, he called for his Diamond, by the advantage of that figure thield, which to have loft, was held a great against a squadron, and by his own exceed-dishonor: It was brought unto him. He again a iquation, and by its the great bade them tell him, which part had the Viing virtue, accompanies which fol- ctory; answer wasmide, that the Bestians behind their Army, and the retaining of Leudra and Mantinas were two fair daughtheir dead bodies; it was a ceremony re- ters, in whomhis memory should live. gardable only among the Greeks, and served So died Epaminondar, the worthiest man meerly for oftentation, thewing that by the that ever was bredin that Nation of Greece, fight they had obtained fomewhat, which and hardly to be matched in any Age or the enemy could not get from them other- Countrey: for he equalled all others in the wife than by request. But the Thebans arri- several virtues, which in each of them were vedat the general immediate end of the bat- fingular. His Justice and Sincerity, his Temtel; nonedaring to abide them in the field perance, Wildom, and high Magnanimity, whereof a manitest confession is expressed were no way inferiour to his Military virfrom them, who forfook the place which tue; in every part whereof he fo excelled, they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent that he could not properly be called a Wafor trial of their ability and prowess. This ry, a Valiant, a Politick, a Bountiful, or an was the laft work of the incomparable vir- Industrious, and a Provident Captain, Nei-

of the History of the World.

lowedhim, did open their ranks, and cleave had won the field. Then faid he, It is a fair the whole Battel in despight of all resistance. time for me to dye; and withal sent for Thus was the honour of that day won by Iolidas and Diophontes, two principal men of the Thebans, who may justly be faid to have War, that were both Ilain: which being told carried the Victory, feeing that they remain him he advised the Thebans to make peace, ed Mafters of the ground whereon the Bat- whilst with advantage they might, for that tel was fought, having driven the Enemy to they had none left that was able to dicharge lodge farther off. For that which was al- the office of a General. Herewithal he willedged by the Atheniums, as a token that the led, that the head of the weapon should be Vidory was partly theirs, the flaughter of drawn out of his body, comforting his those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted triends that lamented his death, and want of by chance in their own flight, finding them iffue, by telling them, that the Victorics of

ther was his private conversation unanswer-, offend her Neigbours, and therefore might able to those high parts, which gave him well be allowed to shew that anger in cepraise abroad. For he was Grave, and yet remonies, which had no power to declare it very Affable and Courteous; resolute in pub- self in execution. This Peace, as it gave lick butiness, but in his own particular ea- ome breath and refreshing to all the Counfie, and of much mildness: a lover of his try, so to the Cities of Athens and Sparta it people, bearing with mens infirmities, witty afforded leifure to feek after wealth by foand pleatant in speech, far from intolence. reign employment in Egypt, whither Agelilams Mafter of his own affections, and furnished was sent with some small Forces to assist, or with all qualities that might win and keep indeed as a Mercenary, to ferve under Tachos love. To these graces were added great King of Egypt in his War upon Syria. Chabriability of body, and much Eloquence, and as the Atheman, who had before commandvery deep knowledge in all parts of Philoso ed under Acoris King of Egypt, went now as phy and Learning, wherewith his mind being enlightened, refled not in the sweetness raise, by entreaty, and offer of good pay to of Contemplation, but brake forth into fuch the same service. These Egyptian Kings deeffects as gave unto Theber, which had ever- cended from Amyrtam of Sais, who rebelmore been an underling, a dreadful repu- led against Darius Nothus, having retained tation among all people adjoyning, and the the Country, notwithstanding all intestine highest command in Greece.

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#### 6. VIII.

Of the Peace concluded in Greece after the Buttel of Mantinæa. The Voyage of Agefilaus into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made between him and Pompey the Ro-

His Battel of Mantinga was the greateft that had ever been fought in that Countrey between the Naturals; and the last. For at Maranthon, and Platea, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard trial to the Grecian valour; neither were the practice of good of his own Countrey, though it feem Arms and Art Military, fo perfect in the be- rather, that he grudged because the King ginnings of the Peloponnesian War, as long took upon himself the conduct of the Army, continuance, and daily exercise had now using his service only as Lieutenant, who had made them. The times following produced made full account of being appointed the no actions of worth or moment, those excep- General. Howsoever it came to pass, Tated, which were undertaken against foreign chos being shamefully betrayed by them, in enemies, proving for the most part unfortu- whom he had reposed his chief confidence, nate. But in this last fight all Greece was in- fled unto the Persian, who upon his submis-

a Voluntary, with fuch Forces as he could diffentions, and foreign invafions, during three Generations of their own race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the Greeks, that by their help (cally procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not only to affure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the Persian. What the issue of this great enterprize might have been, hadit not fallen by Domestical Rebellion, it is uncertain. But very likely it is, that the Rebel-I on it felf had foon come to nothing, if Agefilans had not proved a falle Traytor, joyning with Nettanebus, who role against his Prince, and helping the Rebel with that Army which the money of Tachos had waged. This falshood Agefilass excused, as tending to the tereffed, which never had more able fouldiers fion gave him gentle entertainment; and and brave Commanders, nor ever contended Nettanebu (who feems to have been the Nefor Victory with greater care of the success, phew of Tachos) reigned in his stead. At or more obstinate resolution. All which, the same time the Citizens of Mendes had set notwithstanding, the issue being such as hath up another King; to whom all, or most of been related, it was found best for every the Egyptians yielded their obedience. But particular Estate, that a general Peace descitain fighting with him in places of adshould be established, every one retaining vantage, prevailed so far, that he left Nedawhat he presently had, and none being for- nebus in quiet possession of the Kingdom; ced to depend upon another. The Messenians who in recompence of his Treason to the wereby name comprized in this new league; former King Tachos, and good service done which caused the Lacedemonians not to en- to himself, rewarded him with two hundred ter into it. Their standing out hindred not and thirty Talents of silver, with which the rest from proceeding to conclusion, con- booty sailing homewards, he died by the fidering that sparta was now too weak to way. He was a Prince very temperate, and from coveronines, and not reproached with Town in Greece, had made a War in Alia. any blemin of Juit; which praites are the and medled in the butiness of the Feyptians, any declarable in him, for that the discipline in which variety he went beyond all his of sparta was fuch as did endue every one of Predecellors: yet not winning any Counof sparia was near assisted away by the vio-tice Gaucas (not carried away by the vio-ticat forcam of anill nature) with all, or the chart of these good qualities. He was ne-chart of these good qualities. He was neverthelels very arrogant, perverse, unjust them was the last great Captain which his and vain-glorious, measuring all things by Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and hoom will, and obstinately profecuting each of them ruined the liberty of his Counhistoric courses, whose ends were beyond try by his own Lordly wiltulness. We may hope. The Expedition of Xenophon had fil-therefore well fay, Similia magis omnia quam hallim with an opinion, that by his hand paria; the resemblance was nearer than the the empire of Persia should be overthrown; equality. Indeed the freedom of Rome was with which conceit being transported, and lost with Pompey, falling into the hands of finding his proceedings interrupted by the cafar, whom he had intorced to take Arms; Thebans and their Allies, he did ever after yet the Roman Empire stood, the form of hear fuch hatred unto Thebes, as compelled Government only being changed: But the were before him; so Agestlaus had at one things, in any other Nation.

valuate, and a good teader in War, free time or other fome quarrel with every that Estate by meer necessity to grow war- liberty of Greece, or Sparta it self, was not like, and able, to the utter diffionour of forfeited unto the Thebans, whom Agefilans sp.nta, and the irrepayarble loss of all her had compelled to enter into a Victorious former greatness. The commendations given War; yet the Signiory, and ancient renown to him by Xenophon his good friend, have of Sparta was prefently loft; and the freecauled Plutarch to lay his name in the bal- dom of all Greece being wounded in the Thelance against Pompey the great; whose acti- ban War, and after much blood lost, ill healons (the folemn gravity of carriage except- ed by the Peace enfuing, did very foon, uped) are very diffroportionble. Yet we on the death of Agefilans, give up the ghoft, may truly fay, That as Pompey made great and the Lordinip of the whole Country was Wars under fundry Climates, and in all the feized by Philip King of Macedon, whose Provinces of the Roman Empire, exceeding actions are now on foot, and more to be rein the multitude of employments all that garded than the Contemporary passages of

Finis Libri Tertia.

LIII

THE



# THE FIRST PART OF THE OF THE

Intreating of the Times from the Reign of Philip of Macedon, to the Establishing of that Kingdom in the Race of Antigonus.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip the Father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

6. I. What Kings Reigned in Macedon before Philip.



vain contention for supe- them withall. riority, do still, as in for-

tion or each other.

fo little regarded what might come from have ferved them for a strong argument of

HE Greeks of whom weithem, who had so often forfeited the repuhave already made large tation of their Forces, as what soever could discourse, not as yet weat be spared from their own distraction at ried with intestine War, nor made wise by their font, as sufficient, to entertain and buse

CHARI

But, as it commonly falleth out with evemertimes, continue the invalion and valta- ry man of mark in the world, that they underfal, and perish by the hands and harms Against Xerxes, the greatest Monarch of which they least fear ; so fared it at this time that part of the world, they defended their with the Greeks. For of Philip of Macedon liberty, with ashappy fuccess as ever Nation had, and with no less honour, than hath ever been acquired by deeds of Arms. And violent in devouring each other, when the having had a tryal and experience more fast-growing greatness of such a Neighbour-than fortunate, against those Nations, they King; should, in regard of their own safeties,

CHAP. I. pered and made proud, raught them to neg-held it eight and twenty years. Cenus fuelett an inations but the power and purpoics of the Micedonians, because those and twenty years. Kings and States, which fate nearer them between them and this inundation, than by Perdiccas. feek to rampire and re-enforce their own fields, which by the Level of reason they ruled eight and twenty years. neight have found to have lien under it. It Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight 14/3.16 was therefore well concluded by Orofius: and twenty years. was therefore went concluded by copins. A Eropus tollowed Philip, and governed fix imperium omnes perdiderunt; The Cities of and twenty years: in whose infancy the them to command all.

faly and Epirus.

Media; Caranus of Argos, commanded by an Arustion. The like is reported by Aimo- 6 81. Oracle to lead a Colony into Macedon, de- nius of Clotarius the fon of Fredegunda. parted thence with many people: and as he Alcetas succeeded Æropus, and ruled nine was marching through that Countrey, the and twenty years. weather being rainy and tempestuous, he Ampitas the first, succeeded Alcetas, and reigned a great herd of Goats, which sled reigned sifty years; He lived a such time the storm as fast as they could, halting them as Darius Hystaspes, after his unprosperous totheir known place of covert. Whereupon return out of Segibia, fent Megabazus with Caranus, calling to mind, that he had also an Army into Europe, who in Darius name by another Oracle been directed, to follow required Amyntas to acknowledge him for 6the first troop of beasts, that should either his Supream Lord, by yielding unto him lead him, or flie before him; he purfued Earth and Water. But his Embassadors, as thee Goats to the Gates of Edalfa, and being you have heard before, were for their info-City without resistance, and possess it. Soon was the son of Amyutas, and his Successor.

union and accord. But the glory of their after this, by the overthrow of Ciffeus, Cara-range union and accord. But the giory of their mist client, by the overthrow of cijent, Cara-rent perfus victories, wherewith they were pam-nus became Lord of the relt of Macedon, and Canada an let all Nations but themselves, and the ra-

Perdiccas the first, the fon of Tyrimas 20than they did, had in the time of Anyntas, the one and fifty years: a Prince, for the father of *Philip*, so much weakned them, his great valour and many other virtues, and won upon them, that they were not (as much renowned: Solimus, Pliny, Juftine, Eu. salata and won upon them, million and febius, Theophilus, Antiochenus, and others, Philipsis at the Greetans perswaded themselves) in any febius, Theophilus, Antiochenus, and others, Philipsis the Greetans periwated themselves, in any period, aniocomms, and others, can, one age, likely to recover their own, much affirm, that he appointed a place of burial c. 10. one age, taken to detect against their bor- for himself, and for all the Kings of Alacedeters. And, indeed, it was not in their Phideters. And, notices, it was not in their Fire looping to confider, That all great alterations are, ftorm-like, fudden and violent; and his Line and Race, as they continued to lay ons are, norm-nke, number and violence, and the land reace, as they continued to lay that it is then over-late to repair the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are it is faid, that because Alexander the Great one fwollen, fast-running, and inraged. No, failed, therefore the posterity of the Temethe Greeky did rather imploy themselves, in nede failed in him: a thing rather devised breaking down those defences which stood after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold

Argans succeeded unto Perdiceas, and

mperium vanes persuand, by firiting each of Illyrians invaded Macedon, and having obtained a great victory, they purfued the same The Kingdomof Macedon, fo called of to the great danger of that State. Whereup-Macedon, the fonof Ofra, or, as other Au- on the Macedonians, gathering new forces, thors affirm, of Jupiter and Æthra, is the next and resolving either to recover their former Region towards the North which border- loss or to lose at once both their Kingdom eth Greece It hath to the East, the Ege- and their King, they carried him with them an Sea; it is bounded on the North and in his cradle into the field, and returned North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians; victorious; for they were either consident and on the South and South-west by These that their Nation could not be beaten, (their King being present ) or rather they Their Kings wereof the family of Temenue, of the race of Hercules, and by Nation man so void of honour and compassion, as rys, far Argivers who are lifted as followeth. About to abandon their natural Lord, being an In-3th Ana. Argives; who are litted as followeth. About to abandon their natural Lord, being an in-sia, and fome fix years after the translation of the fant, and no way (but by the hands of his sia, so, or, Affrian Empire, Ambaces then governing fervants) able to defend himself from de-Amarica.

undifcovered by the Inhabitants, by reason lent behaviour toward the Macedonian La-HOLESS. of the darkness of the air, he entred their dies, flain by the direction of alexander, who father Amental, governed Macedon three and for- his return from the Afian expedition, to pass ty years. He did not only appeale the wrath by the way of Macedon into Greece. of Magazaw, for the flaughter of the Ferfin Embediadors by giving Gran his Sifter, Argans, and Alexander. Panjanias succeeded to Enlares of the blood of Perfia; but his father Eropus, and having reigned one by that match he grew fo great in Xer- year, he was driven out by Amyntas the fon act grace, as he obtained all that Region of Thilip, the fon of the first Perdiceas, the between the Mountains of Olympus and He- fon of Alexander the Rich; which Philip was to be united to the Kingdom of Mace was then preserved, when Archelans the don. Yet could not these benefits buy his Bastard flew his Brother Ferdiceas; his Uncle affection from the Greeks. For Kerxes being returned into Afa, and Mardonius made tas reigned (though very unquietly) four General of the Persan Army; Alexander and ewenty years; for he was not only infefors, Terdicar, dietar, and Thilip.

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lived in the time of the Peloponnesian Wat, the other fide, the Olynthians, his Neighand reigned in all eight and twenty years. bours near the Agean Sea, made themselves The wars which he made were not much for a while Malters of Pella, the chief City remarkable: the Story of them is found of M. cedon. here and there by pieces in Thurydides his Amyntas the fecond, had by his wife Enfirst tix Locks. He left behind him two rydice the Illyrian, three fons ; Alexander fons; Perdiceas, who was very young; and the fecond, Perdiceas the third, and Philip

Archelans, who was base-born.

the custody and care of Archelaus, was at se- He had also by his second wife Gyeen, three ven years of age cast into a well and drown- Sons; Archelaus, Argaus, and Menelaus, afed by his false Guardian : who excusing terward flain by their Brother Philip. He this fact to Gleopatra the Mother of the had more by a Concubine, Ftolomy firnamed young King, faid, That the child in following | Alorites, of the City of Alorus, whereinhe a Goole haltily, fell thereinto by miladven- was born. ture. But Archelaus stayed not here : for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew above one year, in which time he was invaboth his Uncle Alcetas the fon of Alexan- ded by Paufanias, the fon of Eropus, but der the Irich, and Alexander the fon of this defended by Iphicrates the Athenian, while Alcetas, his Coufin Germain, and enjoyed he was at that time about Amphipolis. He the Kingdom of Macedon himfelf four and was also constrained (for the payment of twenty years.

Aristotle make mention, though he made who had subjected his Father Amyntas to himself King by wicked murder, yet per- the payment of tribute. After this, Alexanformed many things greatly to the profit der being invited by the Alevade against of his Nation. It is faid, That he fought by Alexander the Tyrant of Pheres in Theffaly, all means to draw Socrates unto him, and having redeemed his brother Philips to draw that he greatly loved and honoured Eury- the Thebans to his affiltance, entred into Conpides the Tragedian. He had two fons, federacy with Pelopidas being at that time in Archelaus and Oreltes.

Archelaus the fecond succeeded his Father; and having reigned feven years, he was for the gage of his promifes to Pelopidas. flain in hunting, either by chance, or of But Eurydice his Mother falling in Jove with purpole, by Crataus.

years: the same who denied passage to Perdiccas the brother of Alexander. Diodore

Alexander funamed the Rich, the fon of Agofilaus King of sparia, who defired, after

This Uliuper left three fons, Paulanias, 102 alcetas, and his fon Alexander. This Amn. acquainted the Graks with all his intents Ited by Panfanias, affifted by the Thracians. and supplies against them. He had three and by his Erother Argans, incouraged by the Illyrians; and by the faid Argans, for Perdicus the second, the fun of Alexander, two years dispossest of Macedon: but on

the fecond, Father of Alexander the Great: Perdiecas the third, being delivered to and one Daughter called Euryone or Exione.

Alexander the second reigned not much great fum or mony) to leave his youngest This Archelaus, of whom both Plato and brother Philip in Holtage with the Illyrians, the same Countrey, with whom he also left Philip with divers other principal persons, her Son in Law, who had married her Orefies his younger fon was committed Daughter Euryone or Exione, practifed the to the education of Eropus of the Royal death of Alexander her son, with a purpose blood of Macedon, and had the same mea- to confer the Kingdom on her Paramour, fure which Archelaus had measured to his which Ptolomy Alorites did put in execution: Pupil; for Eropus murthered him and usur- by means whereof, he held Macedon for ped the Kingdom, which he held some fix three years, but was soon after slain by hath it otherwise of Philip being made and that the Athenians with a Florit nata it otherwise of a day nath his Father by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by pleages and faith. That day nath his Father by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by pienges, and tand, hoftage to the Illyrians, Land under Alantias, did beat upon homen by whom he was conveyed to Thebes, there all fides and quarters of his Country: vet to be kept: others report that Philip (while after he had practifed the men of War of to be kept. Concertifying) was first ingaged Pannonia, and corrupted them with gits: to the Thebans, and delivered for hoftage a and had also bought the King of these from second time by Alexander his brother. stories his bale Brother, governed Macedon the first, he prevented their recovery of tre years, and was then flain in a Battel Amphipolis, a City on the frontier of Macagainst the Illyrians, according to Diodorus; don: and did then purfue Argans, the 10a but jufin affirmeth, that he perished by the of Aropus, fet against him by the Athenider did.

CHAP. I.

C HAP.L

ø. II.

The beginning of Philip's Reign: and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it intangled.

irrufted in all knowledge requifite unto the Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded Government of a Kingdom, in that excellent between him and the Athensans for that education which he had under Epaminon pre ent, and for this elemency he was greatdu, making an escape from Thebes, returned by renowned and honoured by all the minto Macedon, in the first year of the hun- Greeks. dred and fitth Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourfcore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the King- The good success which Philip had in many endom was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for Perdiccas left a fon, though but aning (or terminal letters) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of War. Ow had Philip leiture to look North-ward, and to attend the Officians and Yet his fruitful ambition foon over-grew his Providers, his irreconcileable Enemies and modefty, and he was eafily perfeaded by borderers: both which he invaded with for the people to accept both the title of King, prosperous success, as he slew Excelling. King and withall, the absolute rule of the King- of the Illyrians, with seven thousand of his dom. And, to fay the truth, the necessity of Nation, and thereby recovered all those the State of Macedon at that time required places which the Illipians held in Macedon: a King both prudent and active. For, be- and withal, upon the death of the king of fides the incurfions of the Illyrians and Pan- Pannonia, he piere'd that Country, and effect fon of the late Uturper, Eropus: each of than (without flaying to take longer the labouring to place in Macedon a King breath) he halted speedily towards Lariffs, destroying all before them in Macedon; of Thrace, lest while he invaded Theefaly and

Paufanias, he forthwith made heal against perdices the third, after he had flain the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for practice of Eurydice his Mother, as alexan- ans, and followed him fo hard at the heels, in his retrait from Ages, that he forced him to abide the battel: which Argaus loft, having the greatest part of his Army flain in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained unbroken, took the advantage of a firong piece of ground at hand, which though they could nor long defend, yet avoiding thereby the prefent Philip the second, the youngest fon of sury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the Vanquillers life and liberty to return into

ć. III.

terprizes.

nonians, the King of Thrace did fet up in op- a main Victory obtained, he enforced them polition, Panjania; the Athenians, Argens; to pay him tribute. This was no fooner done, of their own election. These heavy burdens upon the River Peneus in Thessaly, of which when Philip could not well bear, he bought Town he foon made himfelf Mafter; and off the weightieft by mony, and by fair pro-thereby he got good footing in that Counmiles unloaded himfelf of fo many of the try, whereof he made use in time following. reit, as he ran under the remainder happily Now although he refolved either to subdue enough. For, notwithstanding that his the Thessalians, or to make them his own brother Perdicess had his death accompani | against all others, because the horse men of ed with four thousand Macedonians, beside that Country were the best, and most reared those that were wounded and taken pri- in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most foners; and that the Pannonians were for his fafety to close up the entrances out

Greece towards the South, those ample Na- only teach Philip how he might with half a tions lying towards the North, should either hand wrest the swordout of their fingers; withdraw him, or over-run Macedon, as in but the Greeks themselves, beating down former times. He therefore attempted Am their own defences, to give him an easie pasphipolis, scated on the samous river of stri- sage; and beating themselves, to give him Crowns.

Pynda with the territory, meaning nothing lawful to invade, and destroy themat their less than that they should enjoy it, or their pleasures. own Estate, many years.

ground upon the Greeks, he took the fair same dice of hazard that Cafar after many occasion to deliver the City of Pheres in Ages following did; but had not the same The flaty, from the Tyrants Lycophron and chance. Yet they dealt well enough with Tiliphonus: who, after they had conspired all the enemies of their own Nation. And with Thebe the wife of Alexander, who usur- the better to bear out an ungracious quarped upon the liberty of that State, they rel, of which there was left no hope of comthemselves (Alexander being murdered) held position, they resolved to sack the Temple it also by the same strong hand and oppress it self. For seeing that for the ploughing of from that Alexander did, till by the affiltance a piece of Apollo's ground, they had so much of Philip they were beaten out, and Pheres offended their Neighbour-god, and their restored to her former liberty. Which act Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not be the state of the st of Philip did for ever after falten the Thef- fal them than already was intended; they Calians unto him, and, to his exceeding great resolved to take the gold with the ground, advantage, binde them to his fervice.

ø. IV.

into Greece.

Ochus, began that War, called Sacred. Now, long over the Rocks. as all occasions concur towards the executias an occanonic forward for the state of the ceding preparation, though not at the first them, and to draw others into their quarrel, easily discerned; so did this revengeful rendred themselves to the Athenians. Philip hatred by the Thebans, The falians, and Locri prepareth to get them into his hands, and at

men, which partieth Thrace from Macedon; Victory without peril; left nothingunperand won it. He also recovered Pynda, and formed towards their own flavery, faving (to the North of Amphipolis) the City of the title and imposition. Of this War the Crenides (sometime Datus) and called it af- Thebans (made over-proud by their Victory ter his name, Philippi: to the people where at Leudra) were the inflamers. For at the of. Saint Paul afterward directed one of his Council of the Amphydiones, or of the ge-Epiftles This place, wherein Philippi stood, neral Estates of Greece, in which at that time is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, they swayed most, they caused both the Lagreatly to the advancement of Philips af-cedamonians and Phocians to be condemned fairs, he drew yearly a thousand talents, in greater sums of money than they could which make fix hundred thousand French well bear; the one for surprizing the Castle of Cadmea in the time of peace, the other for And that he might with the more ease ploughing up a piece of ground belonging difburden the Thracian shores of the Atheni- to the Temple of Delphos. The Phocians an Garrisons, to which he had given a great being resolved not to obey this Edict, were blow by the taking in of Amphipolis, he en- secretly set on, and encouraged by the Lacetred into league with his Fathers malicious damonians: and for refusal were exposed enemies, the Olynthians; whom the better as Sacrilegers, and accurfed to all their to falten unto him, he gave them the City of neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then

The Phocians perfwaded thereunto by Now that he might by degrees win Philomelus, a Captain of their own, cast the and either to perish for all, or to prevail against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they took out of the Temple in the beginning of the Of the Phocian War which first drew Philip War, was ten thousand talents, which in those days served them to wage a great many men; and such was their successin the A Bout this time, to wit, in the second beginning of the War, as they won three year of the hundred and sixth Olympi- great battels against the Thebans, Thessalians ad, eight years after the Battel of Mantinea, and Locrians; but being beaten in the fourth, and about the eighth year of Artaxerxes their Leader Philomelus cast himself head-

In the mean while the Cities of chersoneans, conceived against the Phocians, not the siege of Methone lost one of his eyes. It is CHAP. I. direct in all on the shaft thereof: After Philippo; both braved and beaten the Macedonians. written on the mate the test of the was called that gave It is faid, that Philip having put to death find the would. This City he evened with Archelaus his half brother (for Amyntus had

while runny was building ingaged in the dead, he determined to rid himself a foot thrace, and the language with new Forces, the reft) the two younger held themselves holy War, entred the themselves the reft that the second th holy war, entreed and the first state of the two younger held themselves being affilted by Onomarchus, Commander within Olynthus; and that the receiving of of the Procian Army, in place of Philomelus. them by the Olynthians was the cause of the of the rection in the phocians hoped to to enter- War, Justine affirmeth. Just quarrels are ror nereby the metals at home, as they should ballanced by just Princes, but to this King and the designation at the state of the stat not that the feeded time called into Thessar turn; all his affections, and passions, how b; but both the Thessalians and Macedoni-divers soever in other men, were in his amby; but both the Anguard were utterly over-bition swallowed up, and thereinto convertthrown by Onomarchus, and great numbers ed. For he neither forbare the murder of of both Nations lost. From Theffaly, One- his own brothers, the breach of faith, the of both Nations ion. From Englary, on this own protiers, the breach of faith, the marchine drew speedily towards Beeria, and buying of other mens sidelity: he esteemed fix thousand tlain, and three thousand tathat fied, were in part received by the Athecommanded by Cares; but the greatest therein devoured ere they recovered them. Jaly, and Pheres made free as before.

ø. V.

Of the Olynthian War. The ambitious pradices of Philip.

Rom hence Philip resolved to invade Phocis it felf, but the Athenians did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the help of the Lacedamonians, they retrench'd his passage at the long before he had wooed to his alliance, spain:). So when in the contention between

laid, That he that inot him, did purpofely [and bought his peace of them. For the olynaid, I nat ne that mot aim, and that it was thians were very frong, and had evermore direct his arrow toward him, and that it was thians were very frong, and had evermore The Tyrant Lycophron before mentioned, and three other fons by Gyge.1: but Philips while philip was builted on the border of elder Brother by the fame Mother being marchus arew specially can Army brake the no place ftrong where his Ais loaden with with the lame victorious star, and took from them gold might enter; nor any City or State unforces of the Beoliani, and took from them their City of Coronea. But Philip, impatient conquerable, where a rew of the greatest, to of hislate misadventure, after he had re-en-be made greater, could lose the sense of or instance annual transport of the formed his Army, returned with all fpeed in other mens for row and fubjection. And betorced his Aimy, recall and again the honour cause he thought it vain to practise the winto suegary, there to shad was the fecond ning of Osynthus, till he had inclosed all the when ne laterly lott. and was the technology and opinions, till ne had incloded all the time encountred by Onomarchus, who power they had within their own walls, he brought into the field twenty thousand entred their Territory, and by the advantage of the control of the contr brought into the held eventy thousand parties their territory, and by the advantage, and five hundred horse. All this great tage of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of a well-compounded and trained Article their tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of the tages of tages of the tages of tag root, and live influence note. The case gives have the gave them two overthrows ere he was by Philip turmounted, both in numbers late down before the City it felf: which was by runny and in good fortune, his Army overturned, done, he bought Euthicrates and Lafthenes from their people, and from the lervice of ken: of which number himfelf being one, their Countrey and Common-weale, by was among others hanged by *Philip*. Thole whose treason he entred the Town, slew his nim Gallies, which failed along the coaft, bitants for flaves by the drum. By the spoil number of those that took the Sea, were had treasure sufficient to buy-in other Cities withal, which he daily did. For fo was he Lycophron was now again driven out of Thef advised by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, That he should make his affinits with filver spears: Whereupon Horacc well and truly faid,

> \_\_ Diffidit Urbium Portas vir Macedo, & Subruit amulos Reges muneribus .--

By gifts the Macedon clave Gates afunder, And Kings envying his estate brought under.

Har Cur.

(ti. 16.

And it is true, that he won more by cor-Streits of Thermopplis. Whereupon he re-ruption and fraud, than he did by force. For turned into Macedon, and after the taking ashe had in all the principal Cities of Greece ot Micherne, Torone, and other Towns, he his fecret workers (which way of Conquest quarrelled with the Olynthians, whom not was well followed by Philip the second of

CHAP

the Competitors had Arbitrator; he came not the superintendency of the Pytian games. to the Council accompanied with Piety and forfeited by the Corinthians, by being par-Justice, but with a powerful Army, and takers in the Phocian facrilege. having beaten and flain both Kings, gave fentence for himfelf, and made the Kingdom

# How Philip ended the Phocian War.

Phecian and the Allociates of the hothe Illyrians and Dardanians, and brought ly War: the Bustians, finding the mielves the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of unable to fubilit without iems greatent aid, all their Revenues. But his next enterprize feed wro their or fuce ut, who willingly against the Perinthians stayed his fury. Perinvicided to their necellities, and fent them thus was a City of Thrace, feated upon Prefuch approportion of men, as were neither tuf- pontis, in the mid-way between Seffor and ficient to matter their enemies, nor to affure byzantium, a place of great strength, and themselves; but yet to enable them to con- a people resolved to defend their liberty timuethe War, and to waite the strength of against Philip, where the Athenians incou-Greece. They also fent to Artaxerxes Ochus raged and affifted them. Philip fate downbefor fupply of treasure, who lent them thirty fore it with a puissant Army, made many fair talents, which makes a hundred and four- breaches, gave many furious affaults, built fcorethoujand Crowns:but when with these many over-topping and commanding Towfupplies they had ftill the worst against the res about it. But he was repelled with equal Thosium, who held from them three of the violence. For whereas Philip thought by his ftrongest Cities within Baotia it felf, they continual affauls to weary them, and waste then belought Philip of Macedon that he both their men and munition, they were would affilt themin person, to whom they supplied, not only from the Person with would give an entrance into their Territo- men and money, and succoured from Byzanry, and in all things obey his Command- tium, which stood upon the same Sea-coast, ments in War.

he knew himself in state to give the law to whatsoever was wanting to their necessity. both, and so quitting all his other purposes But because those of Byzantium by reason of towards the North, he marched with a spee- their neighbourhood, and easie passage by dy pace towards Baotia, where being arriv- water, gave them often and ready help, Phied, Phailechus who commanded the Phocian lip removed the one half of his Army, and Army, tearing to shock with this victorious belieged it, leaving fifteen thousand foot King, made his own peace, and withdrew before Perinthus, to force it if they could: himself with a Regiment of eight thousand But, to be short, he failed in both attempts,

the Competitors for the Kingdom of Thrace, Amphylliones which the Phocians had, with

# ø. VII.

How Philip with ill success attempted upon Perinthus, Evzantium, and the Scythians.

Philip, after his triumphant return into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Army He War still continued between the Parmenco, slaughtered many thousands of but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Now had Philip what he longed for ; for Rhodes, by the conduction of Phocion, with Souldiers into Peloponnesus, leaving the Pho- (as all Princes commonly do that undertake cians to the mercy of the Conqueror; and diversenterprizes at one time) and returnfor conclusion he had the glory of that War ed into Macedon with no less dishonor than called Sucred, which the Greesans with so loss: whereupon he made an overture of many mutual flaughters had continued for ten years; and, befides the glory, he posset with the Albenians, and greatly defired thinsfell of Orchomene, Coronea, and Corsa, in all he could, and that by the occasion offerthe Country of the Evotians; who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He dittions; yet Demossible with his eloquence brought the Phocians into servitude, and prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, waited their Cities, and gave them but their Philip having digested his late affront, and Villages to inhabit, referving unto himself supplied his expence, by the taking of an the yearly tribute of threescore talents, hundred threescore and ten Merchants ships, which make fix and thirty thousand French he gathered new forces, and being accom-Crowns. He also hereby (besides the same of panied with his son Alexander, led them inpiety for service of the gods) obtained the to Scothia: but he was also unprosperous in fame double voice in the Council of the that enterprize : For the Triballi, a people of

13.4. fet on him in his return, wounded time in diffrace, and not imployed; in fo 100 m. and took from him the greatest part of much as when the Armies of Philip and the the ipoils which he had gathered.

# ø. VIII.

Great of Greece. The death of Philip.

he spentome eight years; and in the ninth (in despite of all the Nations interjacent) fatiguitions espain scales, and the Holy War, he in Perfix, India, and Egypt; so it cut to the this great advantage, invited ground, and gave end and date to all the and gave end and date to all the spin by the Gracians to their affiliation of Gracian glory; Yea their liberty (faith for the Citizens of Amphiliation of Amph ed the decree of Amphydiones, in which with fo many difficulties, continued for to ed the accree of Amproposition 5 in which with 10 many ameunics, continued for 10 many Ages, and 10 often defended against for that the Thebans and Locrians gave the greatest Kings, was now lost in a mothat the and aid to the Amphiffonians, ment, and for ever lolt. the reference and of themselves able to Now this advised King (never passionate the ren were not belonght Philip to come to his ditadvantage) to the end he might obis person to their affiltance. Now you tain the Soveraignty over all Greece, and be not think that Philip was not long in re- acknowledged for their Captain-C and here there was the enterprites he needed against the Persiant, without any further fairing upon this enterprises he needed against the verifant, without any fartuer bearing on, whom nothing could keep hazzard or trouble, was content to let go had rou other diffusion than a maftering the Athenians that were taken at this barted of Cheroman, as he also farbare to attempt the first being compounded of thirty thou for Fort and two thousand Horse's and triumphed over the rest; he loaged a Gar-Ach a much expedition as could be made, rifon of Macedonians. And being toon acter into ted Letton all that Region.

their Oratours eloquence cost them dear, and was in like fort mistaken in the ex-It is true, that he could far more eafily mind polition. them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than strength of a contrary faction he was at this heinvited all his Friends and Allies, with the

thousands of the Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the Thebans died with them; yet the want philip everthrowing the Greeks in the of the worthy men on that fide to hold up and of Cheronxa, mas choire Captain-the reft, and to draw them on, and the many raged by a King of a growing fortune, as. Mong these Northern Nations (part it gave to Philip so thining a victory, that A Mong there the suppress, and part quieted alexander by the light thereof found his way

be used Paces, won vistes, and brought (according unto the long delire which he The rest, and especially the Albenians, general States at Corinth, flyled the lift ablong they had good cause to year that a Commander of all the Gracium, and congreat part of this from would fall on them tribution of men and money granted him, he the year were they office added by Demoftless from accepting fuch realmable con- under the Commandment of Assalus and ditions of peace as Philip offered, and rather Parmenio, transported the same over the malechoice (having drawn the thebans to Hellelpont into Afra, to begin the War. Of joyn with them) to leave the enjoying of his enterprise against Perfin, he fought suctheir clases and their freedom to the chance eefs from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence of one battell; than to hold it either by com- he received fuch another convertible ridrossion, or by the grace of Philip. But this dle, as Crassus did when he attempted Cyrus,

But as it is hard to difcern and withstand make them fuch as they were. He might the flatteries of our own appetites, fo did repeat unto them (with words moving paf | Philips ambitious defire to invade Perfia, fion) the wonders they wrought at Mana- abuse his judgement, so far, that the death, thon, but he could not transform the Mace- wherewith himself was threatned, he undonians into Persians, nor draw from the deritood to be delivered of his enemy, whom dead, a Militades, an Ariftides, a Themistocles, he intended presently to invade. Before or a Cimon, or any of those famous Com- his purposed departure into Asia, he prepamanders, whole great vertues they had pay- red for the marriage of his Daughter Gleoed with the greatest ingratitude that ever patra, with Alexander King of Epirus; to Nation did. A Phocion they had, but by the which feaft and pastimes thereat appointed,

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from whom he received much honour subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, and many rich Prefents: but this was which for fo many Ages had defendindeed the Feaft of his Funeral. For ed it felf against the greatest Kings of the having refased to do justice to one Pan- World, and won upon them; He left unto fanias, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom his Son, and had bred up for him, fo Attalus (greatly favoured by Philip) had many choice Commanders, as the most first made drunk, and then less to be car- of them, both for their valour and judgenally abufed by divers bate perions; this ment in the War, were no lefs wor-Panfanias grew into fo great a deteftation thy of Crowns, than himfelf was that body, in confecturing his Sword unto Apollo, to acknowledge any man Superiour to by building for him a Monument, and other themselves. like Graces.

#### s. XI.

qualities and iffue.

battel.

fic to Alexander, though more glorious, better Physitian for evil speech than they than the beginnings unto Philip, though were. less famous. For, besides the recovery His Epistles to Alexander his Son are many Maritimate Cities taken, of great the Protection during his infancy ) had

principal perfens of the Grecian Cities, ffrength and ancient freedom; and the of the Kings partiality in to foul a fact, as, ware a Crown: For it was faid of Parwhen this was patting towards the Theamenio (whom Alexander, ungratefull to ter, he drew a word from under his long fo great vertue, impioufly murthered) garment and wounded him to death, when That Parmenio had performed many things he had lived fix and forty years, and challenging eternal fame, without the reigned five and twenty. Justine reports it, King; but the King without Parmenio nethat Olympias incouraged Pausanias to mur-ver did any thing worthy of renown: as der the King her husband; which after his for the rest of his Captains, though condeath the bodily avowed, by the honour tent to obey the Son of fuch a Father, yet the did unto Panjanias, in crowning his dead did they not after Alexanders death endure

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more Vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For, besides that he was What good foundations of Alexanders great-Valiant, Wife, Learned, and Master of n fs were haid by Philip. Of his landable his Affections, he had this favour of Piety, that he rather laboured to fatisfie those that were grieved, than to suppress from the World, when he had mawe find a good example in his dealing with frered all opposition on that side of the Arcadion and Nicanor. Whom when for Sea, and had icen the fruits of his hopes, their evil speech of Philip, his familiars and labours, changing colour towards perfivaded him to put to death, he anripenels and perfection; yet he was here-in happy, that he lived to fee his confidered, whether the fault were in Son Alexander at mans eftate, and had them that gave him ill language, or in himself been an eye-witness of his refolution and lingular valour in this last mans own power to be well spoken of; and this was shortly proved; for after The foundation of whose future great- Philip relieved their necessities, there ness he had laid so soundly for him, with were none within his Kingdom that did fo plain a pattern of the Buildings him more honour than they did. Wherewhich himself meant to creet, as the per-upon he told those that had perswaded formance and finithing was far more ea- him to use violence, that he was a

of Macedon it self in competition be- remembred by Cicero and Gellius; and by tween him and the Sons of Fropus, the Dion and Chrysoftome exceedingly comone affifted by the Thracians, the other mended. His Stratagems are gathered by by the Athenians; and besides the re- Polyanus and Erontinus; his wise sayings, gaining of many places possess by the by Plutarch. And albeit he held Maco-Illyrians, the cruthing of all those Nor- don as in his own right, all the time thern Kings his Neighbours, the over- of his reign, yet was he not the true and throw of Olynthus, a State that de-next Heir thereof; for Amyntas the Son spifed the power of his Father, the of his Brother Perdiceas ( of whom he had

daughter Gna, who had by him a daughter the was afterward by her Father-in-law Ancalled Furgdice, who was married to Philip's lipater put to death. base Sun Aridous, her Unkle by the Mothers
By Cleopatra the Neece of Attains, he had fide : both which cipropats, Philip's fait Wife,
Caranus, whom others call Philip: ham Olymand Mother to Alexander the Great, put to prast the Mother of Alexander the Great. death: Aridaus by extreme torments, Eury- caused to be rosted to death in a Copper dice the strangled.

the race of Achilles ) Alexander the Great, murdered at the Mothers breit. and Coopatra. Cleopatra was married to her By Phila and Atola he had no time.

find Cina, married as is thewed before.

of theres, he had Theffalonica, whom Caffan- have much occasion to local hereafter.

the right. This Amintas he married to his der, after he had taken Pidna, married; but

Fan. Others lay his murder to Alexander Thilip had by this Olympias, the daughter himfelf. By the fame Chapatrahe had likewife of Mentelemus, King of the Adolfians (of a daughter called Europa, whom O'mpiss allo

Links Alexander, King of Frirus, and was He had also two Concubines. Arstnoc. atter her Bother Alexanders death flain whom after he had gotten with childe, he at sordis, by the commandement of Anti-married to an obscure mancalled Lyos, who hare Ptolomy Know of Feyet, called the Son of Ly Andata an Illyrian, his fecond Wife, he Lagus, bur effected the Son of Philip: by Thinina, his fecond Concubine, a publick J. Nicalipolis, the Sifter of Jason, Tyrant Dancer, he had Arden, of whom we thati

CHAP. II.

# Of ALEXANDER the Great.

#### 6. I.

A brief rehearfal of Alexanders doings, before he invaded Afia.

instructed, and inriched in all forts of Learn- to those swelling humours, which might ing and good Arts. He began his reign over speedily have endangered the health of his the Macedonians four hundred and seventeen Estate. For after revenge taken upon the years, after Rome was built, and after his Conspirators against his Father, whom h. own birth twenty years. The strange dreams slew upon his Tomb, and the celebration of of Philip his Father, and that one of the gods his Funerals, he first followed auto him his in the shape of a Snake, begat him on Olym- own Nation, by freeing them from all exapius his Mother, I omit as foolish Tales; ctions and bodily slavery, other than their but, that the Temple of Diana (a work fervice in his Wars and used fuch Kingly au-

Lexander, afterwards called the Great, years gave them hope of prevailing, and succeeded unto Philip his Father 5 his suspected severity increased courage in being a Prince no leis valiant by those, who could better resolve to die, than Nature, than by Education, we'll to live flavifuly. But Alwander gave no time the most magnificent of the World ) was sterity towards those that contemned his burnt upon the day of his birth, and that fo young years, and fuch elemency to the refr ftrange an accident was accompanied with that perfivaded themselves of the crucity of the news of three feveral Victories, obtained his disposition, as all affections being pacified by the Macedonians, it was very rmarkable, at home, he made a prefent journey into and might with the reason of those times be Peloponnesus, and so well exercised his pirits interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing among them, as by the Counsel of the States the great things by Alexander afterward of Greece, he was, according to the great deperformed. Upon the change of the King, fire of his heart, elected Captain-General the Neighbour-Nations, whom Philip had against the Persians, upon which war Philip opprest, began to consult about the reco- had not only resoved, (who had obtained very of their former liberty, and to adven- the same title of General Commander) but ture it by force of arms. Alexanders young had transported under the leading of Par-

received temp places on Mia-fide, for the again into his grace. Alexander was not lone tur. Jewest m'he wit-

tied ail absenders affections; those fair easily drawn from great purposes by such marks of blockes, Honour, and large Domini- occasions as may eafily be taken off, neither only now i start chilecping and wakings bath any King ever brought to effect any all other thoughts and inaggnations were great affair, who hath intangled himfelf in wither priesens or hatefull. But a contrary many enterprifes at once; not tending to win 'e artieth : for he receive th advertite- one and the fame certain end. mean that the Athenians, Thebans and Lacedemonrars Lad united themselves against towards the South, he resolved to affire him and, by mutance from the vertian, hoped those Nations which lay on the North-fide for the recovery of their form r freedom of Mucdon, to wit, the Thracians, Triballer. Hercunto they were p riwaded by De- Peones, Getes, Agreens, and other falvage peomelikares, hinnelf being thereto perforaded ple, which had greatly vexed with incurfiby the gold of Ferfus: the device be used ons, not only other of his Predecessors, but was more fel tile than profitable; for he even Philip his Father: with all which, after consolid to be bruited, that Alexander was divers Overthrows given them, he made thin in a bandit egainst the Triballes, and peace, or else brought them into Subjection. brought into the attentity a companion Notwithstanding this good success, he could whom he had corrupted, to affirm that him- not yet find the way out of Europe. There is is his was preferd, and wounded in the battail, nothing more natural to man than liberty: There is indeed a certain Doctrine of Poli- the Greeks had enjoyed it over-long, and loft (as Velicy is now as-days defined by falfe- it too late to forget it; they therefore hood and knavery) that devifed rumours and flacke off the yoke once again. The Thebans, iles, if they ferve the turn but for a day or who had in their Cittadell a Garrison of two, are greatly available. It is true, Com- 3000 Macedons, attempt to force it; Alexmen people are fometimes mockt by them ander haftneth to their fuccour, and presents ar Souldiers are by faife alarmins in the wars is himfelf with 30000, foot, all old Souldiers, but in all that I have obterved, I have found and 3000. Horfe, before the City, and gave the fucces as ridiculous as the invention. For the Inhabitants some days to resolve, being as those that that themselves at one time abu- even heart-sick with the defire of passing insed by factions bruits, do at other times neg- to Afia. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw less their duties, when they are upon true blood of the Gracians, by whom he hoped to 1070 ts,and 14 occasions perilous fummoned ferve himfelf elfewhere, that he offered the to all mble; so do all men in general con- Thebans remission, if they would only delidemothe Venters of such trumpery, and for verinto his hands Phanix and Prothytes, the them fear upon necessary occasion to enter- stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, op-

the lift news of his preparation. Hereup-on all flagger, and the Athenians, as they Oracian Cities. were the first that moved, so were they the | Many arguments were used by Cleadas list that fainted, feeking by their Embassa- one of the Prisoners, to perswade Alexander

menic and sitular, a part of his Army, to (dours to pacific the King, and to be received in refolving; for the Perfians perfwaded him the energial ramife the Perfin occu- to pardon the Grecians. Wife men are not

And having now quieted his borderers tain the truth it felf. I his labour unlooked poling the mounting fortune of Alexander, tor, and le is of time, was not only very griev- (which bare all reliftance before it, like the ons to slew ander, but by turning his tword breaking in of the Ocean Sea) instead of such from the ignorie and effeminate Persians, an answer, as men belieged and abandoned against which he had directed it, towards should have made, demanded Philotas and the manly and famous Gracians, of whose Antipater to be delivered unto them; as if additioned he thought himfelf affured, his Thebes alone, then layed in the ballance of present undertaking was greatly disordered. Fortune with the Kingdom of Macedon, and But he that cannot endure to strive against many other Provinces, could either have the wind, finall hardly attain the Port which evened the scale or swayed it. Therefore in he purpoleth to recover: and it no less be- the end they perished in their obstinacy. cometh the worthieft men to oppose missor | For while the Thebans oppose the Army aftunes, than it doth the weakest children to failant, they are charged at the back by the Macedonian Garrison, their City taken and He therefore made such expedition to- razed to the ground, six thousand slain, wards these Revolters, as that himself, with and thirty thousand fold for slaves, at the the Army that followed him, brought them price of four hundred and forty Talents.

perioraded of Alexander's death, they rebel- maternal Ancestor. led but against his successiour. He also be- But before he left his own coast, he put longht the King to remember, that his Fa- to death, without any offence given him, all they rivilip had his education in that City, his Mother-in-laws Kinfmen, whom Philip yea, that his Ancestour Hereules was born his Father had greatly advanced, not spatherein: but all perfivations were fruitless; ring fuch of his own as he fulpected. He also the times wherein offences are committed took with him many of his tributary Prindo greatly aggravate them. Yet for the ho- ces, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking rout he bare to learning, he pardoned all by unjuft cruelty to affure all things, both in the race of Findarss the Poet, and spared, the present and suture. Yet the end of all and let at liberty Timoclea, the Sitter of The- fell out contrary to the policy which his gares, who dyed in detence of the liberty of Ambition had commended unto him, though woman being taken by a Thracian, and by for all that he had planted, was foon after Torsian tooped to loss the mouth thereof fiddenly thrush him into the mouth thereof When the knowledge of alexander's when the knowledge of alexander's and stoned him to death.

against him unprositable : for these good opia, or some other unhealthfull part of Leaders of the Gracians betook themselves Africa. to the service of the Persian, whom after a few dayes he invaded.

the Persians upon the River of Granicus.

to forbear the deftruction of Thebes. He my, confifting of two and thirty thoufand grayed the King to believe that they were foot, and five thouland horie, all old Soulrathermif-led by giving halty credit to falle diers, near unto Trey, where he offered a reports, than any way malicious; for being folems Sacrifice upon Achilles Tomb, his

Greece against his Father Philip. This noble agreeing very well with the Justice of God; him ravished, he threatned to take her life withered, and rooted up; those, whom he mules the would confels her treasure: the most trusted, were the most trusterous; his led that Thracian to a Well, and told him, mother, friends, and enildren, fell by such that the had therein cast it: and when the another mercile's sword as his own, and all Thracian ftooped to look into the Well, the manner of confusion followed his dead bo-

Now because the Athenians had received landing on Asia side was brought to Darius, into their City fo many of the Thebans, as he fo much feorned the Army of Macedon, had escaped and fied unto them for fue- and had so contemptible an opinion of alexcour, Alexander would not grant them under himself, as having stiled him his terpeace, but upon condition to deliver into vant on a letter which he wrote unto him, his hands both their Orators which perswa- reprehending his disloyalty and audacity ded this second revolt, and their Captains; (for Darius intitled himself King of Kings, yet in the end, it being a torment unto him and the Kinsman of the gods) he gave orto retard the enterprize of Persia, he was der withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser content that the Orators should remain, Afia, that they should take Alexander alive, and accepted of the banishment of the Cap- whip him with rods, and then convey him tains; wherein he was exceeding ill-advi- to his presence: that they should sink his fed, had not his fortune, or rather the pro- thips, and fend the Asserdors taken pritovidence of God, made all the relistance ners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into Athi-

In this fort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartless multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished Macedonians: Eur the ill destinies of men bearing them to the ground, How Alexander passed into Asia, fought with by what strong considence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, and brought in one heap into the Hen all was now quieted at home, hield, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at ail. of Antipater both Greece and Macedon, in For, besides that they were men utterly unthe first of the Spring did pass the Helle- acquainted with dangers; men, wao by the font, and being ready to dif-imbark, he name and countenance of their King were threw a Dart towards the Asian thore, as wont to prevail against those of less courage a token of defiance, commanding his Soulthan themselves; men that took more care diers not to make any waste in their own how to embroider with gold and silver their Territory, or to burn, or deface those build- upper garments, as if they attended the inings which themselves were presently, and vasion but of the Sun-beams, than they in the future to possess. He landed his Ar- did to arm themselves with Iron and Steel

against the sharp pieces, twords, and darts of Commanders, Spithridates and Kusaches ; and the hardy Minedonians: I tay, bendes all that the Perfian horse-men sought with great these, even the opinion they had of their fury, though in the end scattered; and lastownnumbers of which every one in parti- ly, how those Gracians in Darius his pay, cular hopeditastic would not fall to his turn holding themselves in one body upon a to fight, filled every one of them with the piece of ground of advantage, did (after care of their own fafety, without any intent mercy was refused them) fight it out to the at all to lazard any thing but their own lait; how then doth it refemble truth, that breath and that of their Horfes, in running such reliftance having been made, yet of away. The Maccelenians, as they came to Alexander's Army there fell but twelve footfight, and thereby to enrich them eives with men, and two and twenty horse-men? the Gold and levels of Perfix, both which they needed s to the Perhans, who expected nothing in that War but blows and wounds. which they needed not, obeyed the King who had power to contrain them in alfembling themselves for his services but their own fears and cowardife, which in time of a ger had not power over them. the conly then obeyed, when their rebellion again; fot rvile a partion old juffly and violently require it. For fath Legetius. Quemadmirdum bene exercitatus miles praisum cu- thereof without a blow, fome one or two pit. ita formidat indoctus : nam [cienaum efi in jugna ufum amphibs produce quam vires. As the Nations invaded have once been beaten the well-practifed Souldier defires to come to upon a great advantage of the place, as in the water. Great refistance (faith Curtius) Victory then gotten was exceeding easie, and that the twenty thousand Persian footbosoms by relifting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horfe-men, or, after Plutarch, two thousand and five hundred horfe-men, dyed with their faces towards the Macedonians, Alexander could not have bought their lives at

# ø. III.

A dierellion concer ing the defence of bard fulfages, of things following the Battell of Granick.

THe winning of this passage did great-I ly encourage the Macedonians, and brought fuch terrour upon all those of the leffer Afia, as he obtained all the Kingdoms Towns excepted. For in all invations, where battel, fo the raw one fears it : for we must defence of Rivers Streights, and Mountains, underfined, that in fight it more avails to have they will from have perswaded themselves, been accustomed unto the like, than only to that fuch an enemy upon equal terms and have rude fireigth. What manner of men the even ground, can hardly be refitted. It Persians were, Alexander discovered in the was therefore Machiavels counsel, That he first encounter : before which time it is said, which resolveth to defend a passage, should by those that write his story, that it was hard with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. to judge, whether his daring to undertake And to tay truth, few Regions of any great the Conquest of an Empire so well peopled, circuit are so well senced, that Armies of with an handfull of men, or the fucceis he luch force as may be thought fufficient to had, were more to be wondred at. For at the conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, River of Granick, which fevereth the Terri- by the natural difficulty of the wayes. One tory of Trey from Propontis, the Perfians passage or other is commonly left unguardfought to ftop his passage, taking the higher ed: it all be defended, then must the forces ground and bank of the River to defend, of the Country be diffracted; and yet lightwhich Alexander was forced (as it were) to ly some one place will be found that is declime up unto, and scale from the Level of rended very weakly. How often have the Alpes given way to Armies, breaking into was made by the Persians, yet in the end Alex- Italy & Yea, Where shall we finde that ever ander prevailed. But it feems to me, that the they kept out an Invader? Yet are they tuch as (to speak briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travel over them; but men, faid to be llain, were rather killed in they give no fecurity to those that lye bethe back, in running away, than hurt in the hind them: for they are of too large extent. The Towns of Lombardy perswaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the Smitzers had undertaken to hinder Francis the French King from descending into the Dutchy of Milan: but whilest these Patrons of Milan, to fmall a rate, as with the loss of four and whom their own dwelling in these Mounthirty of all forts of his own. And if it were rains had made fittest of all other for such a also true, that Plutarch doth report, how fervice, were busied in custody of the Alper ; Alexander encountred two of the Persian Francis appeared in Lombardy, so much

the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by arrival. What shall we say of those Mounthins, which lock up whole Regions in fuch The Inhabitants of which, with the people faints, which lock but one Gate open 5 The of the Countrey, he received with great strights or (as they were called) the grace, suffering them to be governed by Sates of Turns in Cilicia, and those of Ther-their own Laws. For he observed it wells mplie, have feldom been attempted, per- Novum Imperium inchoantibus, utilis elemenhap because they were thought impreg-tie fama; It is commodious unto such as lay rable; but how feldom (if ever) have they the fame of being mercifull. He then by Parfree lim, the Romans, forced the entrance of menio wan Atletus, and by force maltered Thermetyle; Cyrus the younger, and after Im dexander, found the Gates of Cilicia wide open ; how ftroughy foever they had heen locked and barred, yet were those Queen, who had been cast out of all that Constrict open enough to a Fleet that the held (except the City of Alinda) by Dafrod enter on the back-fide. The defence rius his Lieutenants, prefented her felfuror havers, how hard a thing it is, we find exor des in all histories that bear good wit- cellor; which Alexander accepted in so graown disadvantage, fill the heads of his Soul- his feet. diets with an opinion, that they are in ill | While he gave order for the government cale, having their means of faicguard taken and fettling of Lycia, and Pamphylia, they from them, by the skill or valour of fuch as fent Cleander to raife some new Captains are too good for them. Certainly, if a River in Peloponnesses, and marching towards the were sufficient defence against an Army, the North, he entred Celenas, seated on the Ri-Isle of Mona, now called Anglesey, which is ver Meander, which was abandoned unto Julius Agricola. But he wanting, and not by Sea, that furely believing nothing could were very dastards.

It was therefore wifely done of Alexander, to pass the River of Granick in face of cy, by hewing it in pieces. the enemy; not marching higher to feek an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men asia the less towards the east, he took care to over it by fome fafer means. For, having clear the Sea-coalt on his back, and to thruft beaten them upon their own ground, he did the Persans out of the Islands of Lesbos, thereby cut off no less of their reputation, Chio, and Coos: the charge whereof he than of their strength, leaving no hope of committed unto two of his Captains, giving fuccour to the partakers and followers of them fuch order as he thought to be most fuch unable Protectors.

Soon after this Victory he recovered Surhow much the less they had expected his dis, Ephofus, the Cities of the Tralians, and Magnefia, which were rendred unto him. stinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into Caria, where Ada the to him, and adopted him her Son and Suc-The deepeft have many Foords; the cious part, as he left the whole Kingdom to f atest and broadest may be passed by her disposing. He then entred into Lycia, Buc, in case it be found a matter of diffi- and Pamphylia, and obtained all the Seacity to make a bridge. He that hath men coasts, and, subjecting unto him Pifidia, he tow to defend all the length of his own directed himself towards Darins (who was bank, hath alfo enow to beat his enemy; faid to be advanced towards him with a and may therefore do better to let him come marvellous Army) by the way of Phryeia: over, to his loss, than by ftriving in vain to For, all the Province of affa the lefs, borderhinder the pailage, as a matter tending to his ing upon the Sea, his first Victory laid under

divided from North-Wales by an Arm of him; the Castle only holding out, which the Sea, had been fate enough against the also after forty dayes was given up : for so Romans, invading it under the conduct of long time he gave them to attend fuecour from Darius. From Celenas he pass'd on meaning to spend the time in making Ves- through Phrygia towards the Euxine Sca, fels to transport his forces, did affay the till he came to a City called Gordium, the foords. Whereby he fo amozed the enemies Regal Scat, in former times, of King Midas. attending for ships and such like provision In this City it was, that he found the Gordian-knot, which when he knew not how to be hard or invincible to men, which came undo, he cut it afunder with his Sword. For fo minded to War, they humbly intreated there was an ancient Prophecy did promife for peace, and yielded the Island. Yet the to him that could untie it, the Lordilip of Britains were men flout enough, the Perstans all Asia ; whereupon Alexander, not respecting the manner how, to it were done, affumed to himfelf the fulfilling of the Prophe-

But before he turned from this part of convenient for that fervice 5 and delivering

unto them trity Talents to defray the lefs material, as were also the forces and clarges and withall out of his lift fpoyl power of command, by which it wrought. coven, he can threefeore Talents more to But he that would find the exact pattern of Artifician the Learnmant in Greece and Ale a noble Commander, must look upon such sedon. From George he removed to Ancira, as Fpaninondas, that encountring worthy now colled Actueri, standing on the same Re Captains, and those better followed than ver ex Sungaria, which runneth through themielves, have by their fingular vertue Gerdam: there he marketed his Army, and over-topped their valiant enemies, and ftill then cutted Paphlagenia, whose people sub-prevailed over those, that would not have mitted themicives anto hum, and obtained yielded one foot to any other. Such as there freedom of tribute: where he left Caim are, do feldom live to obtain great Empires. Covernous with one Regiment of Macdoni- For it is a work of more labour and longer ans lately arrived.

Here he underflood of the death of Memgen, Darine 1 cutenam, which neartned him and utterly subduc a multitude of fervile greatly to pals on towards him; for of this Nations, compounding the body of a groß by Captain he had more respect than of unweildy Empire. Wherefore thele Parsowithe multitude by Davius allembled, and Potentes, men that with little have done er all the Commanders he had belides. For much upon enemies of like ability, are to be the table to the spirit of some one man regarded as choice examples of worth; but excelled as le high undertaken and effected great Conquerours, to be rather admired the alteration of the greatest States and for the substance of their actions, than the Consumon weakers of crion of Monarchies, exquifice managing: exactness and greatness one Cores, and han some and Empires, concurring to feldom, that I can find no inspecially of also or a tragginal multitudes thance of both in one, take only that brave or equal reaches arrength, contrived victories Roman, Cafir. beyond the hope and discovery of reason, Having thus far digressed, it is now time convert d the fearfuil pullions of his own that we return unto our Eastern Conqueschool estimo magnaniumty, and the valour our; who is travailing halfily towards Gof his enemies into cowatolers, fach fpirits lieia, with a cei, eto recover the Streights have been firred up in fundry ages of the thereof before Darius should arrive there. world, and indivers parts thereof, to cred but full making a dispatch unto Greece, he and call down again, to establish and to de-first to those Cities, in which he reposed irroy, and to bring all things, Perfons and most trust, some of the Persian Targets States, to the same certain ends, which the which he had recovered in this first battel; infinite Spirit of the Universal, piercing, upon which, by certain inscriptions, he made moving, and governing all things, hathor- them partakers of his Victory. Herein he dained. Certainly, the things that this King well advised himself; for he that doth not did, were marvellous, and would hardly as well impart of the honour which he gains have been undertaken by any man else: and in the Wars, as he doth of the spoils, thall though his Father had determined to have never belong followed of those of the betinvaded the letter Afia, it is like enough that ter fort. For men which are either well-born, he would have contented himfelf with fome or well-bred, and have more of wealth than River of Inaus, as this man did. The swift with the purchase of glory, as the weakin courte of victory, wherewith he ran over fo tortune, and strong in courage, do with the large a portion of the World, in fo short a gain of gold and silver. fpace, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equal spirit, Alexanders coming on, left some Companies concurring with equal power against him, to keep the Streights, which were indeed Hereby it came to pais that his actions being very defenfible; and withall, as Curtius nolimited by no greater opposition, than defart teth, he began over-late to prise and put in places, and the meer length of tedious jour- execution the Counsel of Memnon: who in nies could make, were like the colojjus of the beginning of the Wars advised him to Rhodes, not so much to be admired for the waste all the provisions for Men and Horse, worthy, as for the huge bulk. For certainly and alwayes to give ground to the Invader, the things performed by Xenophon, discover till he found some such notable advantage no less enquiredly, though the effects were ing of Victory. For the fury of an invading

time to maiter the equal forces of one hardy and well-ordered State than to tread down

part thereof, and not have discovered the of reputation, do as often satisfic themselves

The Governour of Cilicia hearing of weakmanship, though therein also praise that could not be lodged in strong places, as brave a prit as Alexanders, and working as might affuredly promife him the obtaindiet, and want, eating fometimes too little, time by an orderly parfuit have been wasted and fometimes too much, fometimes repoling to nothing) constrained the black Prince themselves in beds, and more oftner on the with great fury, neer Poitiers, to joyn battel cold ground. These and the like sudden al with him: But all men know what lamentterations bring many difeases upon all Nati- able success these two French Kings found. ons out of their own Countries. Therefore Charles the fifth of France made another kind ons out of the Macedonians but a of Fabian-Warfare; and though the English while from meat and fleep, and, refusing to burnt and wasted many places, yet this Knaz give of take battel, had wearied them with held his resolution to forbeat blows, and his light horse, as the Parthians afterward followed his advice, which told him. That didthe Romans, he might perchance have the English could never get his inheritance faved his own life, and his eftate. For it was by smoak. And it is reported by Bellog and one of the greatest incouragements given by Herrault, that King Edward was wont to say Mexander, to the Macedonians, in the third of this Charles, that he wan from him the and last fatal battel, That they were to fight Dutchy of Gujen without ever putting on with all the strength of Persia at once.

fought abroad, in being beaten, loft only wife men grow thort-lived, and the charge tought abroad, in being invaded by the of things is committed unto such as either Greeks, and fighting at home, by being bea- cannot fee what is nor their good, or know ten, loft his Kingdom. Pericles though the not how to put in execution any found adten, forthis Kingaom.

Lacedemonians burnt all in Attica to the vice. The course which Memnon had pro-Gates of Ashens, yet could not be drawn to pounded, must in all appearance of reason barard a battel: for the invaded ought have brought the Macedonians to agreat perof their destruction.

the freedom of Rome, and his own life. would needs fight a battel with the French by painful travel. to his confusion, though it was told him by honorable enough.

The Constable of France made frustrate of Orange in the Low-Countries.

their General, would needs fight a battel from the place of advantage, have found fe; and King John (when the English were Alexanders coming; and as great cause

Army is belt broken, by delays, change of well-neer tired our, and would in thort his Armour.

the attempts when he invaded Greece and But where God hath a purpose to destroy. evermore to fight upon the advantage of plexity, and made him stand still a while at time and place. Because we read Histories the Streights of Cilicia, doubting whether it to inform our understanding by the exam- were more shameful to return, or dangerous ples therein found, we will give fome in to proceed. For, had Cappadocia and Paphlaples therein founds, that have perished by ad- gonia been wasted whilst Alexander was far venturing in their own Countries, to charge off; and the Streights of Cilicia been defendan invading Army. The Romans, by fighting ed by Arsenes, Governor of that Province, with Hannibal, were brought to the brink with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the trial Pompey was well advised for a while, when of all means that might be thought upon, of he gave Cefar ground; but when by the forcing that passage: or if the place could importunity of his Captains he adventured not have been maintained, yet might Cilicia, to fight at Pharsalia, he lost the battel, lost at better leisure have been so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should Ferdinand, in the Conquest of Naples, have been broken, by seeking out miseries

But Arsenes leaving a small number to dea man of found judgement, that those Counfend the Streights, took the best of his Army sels which promise surety in all things, are with him, to waste and spoil the Country; or rather, as may feem, to find himfelf fome work, by pretence of which he might hothe mighty preparation of Charles the Fifth, neftly run further away from Alexander. when he invaded Provence, by wasting the He should rather have adventured his per-Country, and forbearing to fight ; so did the ton in custody of the Streights, whereby he Duke of Alva weary the French in Naples, might perhaps have faved the Province; and and diffolve the boistrous Army of the Prince in the mean time, all that was in the fields would have been conveighed into strong The Leigers, contrary to the advice of Towns So should his Army, if it were driven with the Bourgonians, invading their Coun-good entertainment within walled Cities, try, and could not be perswaded to linger the and himself with his horsemen have had time, and stay their advantage; but they lost the less work in destroying that little which eight and twenty thousand upon the place, was left abroad. Handling the matter as he eight and twenty thousand upon the place, was left abroad. Handling the matter as he Philip of Valor set upon King Edward at Cref did, he gave the Cilicians cause to wish for C HAP. II

to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder I twelve several Nations, which the better to it. For cowards are wife in apprehending all avoid confusion, did hardly understand each forms of danger. These Guardians of the others language; and these marshall din the Streights, hearing that Arsenes made all head of the rest, being beaten, might serve hafte to joyn himlelf with Darins, burning very fitly to diforder all that followed them: down all as he went, like one despairing of in the tail of these Horses the Regiment of the defence, began to grow circumspect, and foot marched, with the Persians called Imto think that furely their General, who gave mortal, because if any died, the number was as lost the Country behind their backs, had presently supplied: and these were armed exposed themselves unto certain death, as with chains of gold, and their coats with the exposed themselves unto certain during a with the menthat were good for nothing elfe but to fame metal imbroidered, whereof the fleeves dull the Macedonian (words. Wherefore were garnished with pearl: baits, either to not affecting to dye for their Prince and catch the hungry Macedonians withal, or to Country (which honour they faw that Arle- perswade them that it were great incivility nes himself could well torbear) they speedi-to cut, and to deface such glorious garments. ly followed the foot-steps of their General, But it was well faid, Sumptuose indutus miindifcretion.

650

s. IV.

Of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius against Alexander. The unadvised courses which things following the battel of Iffus.

ed an Army of more than two hundred and lum; For these plumed crests would wound no ninety thousand Souldiers, out of divers body, and the Roman pile would bore boles in Nations; Juftine musters them at three painted and gilded shields. hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred To second this Court-like company, fit thousand Horse; Plutarch, at six hundred teen thousand were appointed more rich and thousand.

describes it, was rather like a Masker than ror) and these were honored with the Tia man of War, and like one that took more the of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came Dains provide for his own safety, perswading him- riding before his Chariot, which was support-Vantguard of their horie, compounded of cedonian blood, for fear of marring their

gleaning after his Harvest. Thus Alexander les, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet. without labour got both the entrance of Ci- cum in prælies oporteat fortitudine animi. licia, abandoned by the cowardize of his non vestimenti muniri , quoniam hostes vesti-Enemies, and thewhole Province that had bus non debellantur; Let no man think that be been alienated from the Persian fide by their exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of mind, and not by the apparel they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was perchance from the Roman Papyrius that this advice was borrowed, who, when he fought against the Samnites in that fatal battel, Darius took in this expedition. He is van- wherein they all sware either to prevail or quished at Issis; where his Mother, Wife dye, thirty thousand of them having appaand Children are made prisoners: of some relled themselves in white garments, with high crefts, and great plumes of feathers, bade the Roman Souldiers to lay aside all TN the mean season Darius approached, fear: Non enimeristas uninera facere, & per who (as Curtius reports) had compound- pilla atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pi-

outand.

The manner of his coming on, as Curtius like Women (belike to breed the moretercare to fet out his glory and riches, than to himfelf, the Gentlemen of his Guard-robe, felf, as it seemed, to beat Alexander with ed with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut pomp and sumptuous Pageants. For, before in pure gold; these the Macedonians did not the Army there was carried the holy Fire, ferve, but they ferved their turns of thele, which the Persians worthipped, attended by by changing their massie-bodies into thin, their Priests; and after them three hundred portable and currant coyn. The head of this and threefcore and five young men, answer- Chariot was set with precious stones, with ing the number of the days of the year, co- two little golden Idols, covered with an vered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of Ju- open-winged Eagle of the same metal: The piter drawn with white Horses, with their hinder part being raised high whereon Dais diders cloathed in the same colour, with us sate, had a covering of inestimable value. rods of gold in their hands; and after it, the This Chariot of the King was followed with Horse of the sun: Next after these follow ten thousand Horsemen, their Lances platen sumptuous Chariots, in-layed and gar-nisht with filver and gold; and then the which they meant not to imbrue in the Miown person, two hundred on the blood Roy- Nations; for as the needy are always adown perions as a blood, too Royal and precious to be spilt venturous, so plenty is wont to shun peril and by any valorous adventure (I amof opinion | men that have well to live, do rather study that two hundred flurdy fellows, like the how to live well, I meanwealthily than care Smileers, would have done him more to dyc (as they call it) honourable. Caroù tervice) and these were backt with thirty it ny arien agaigner que des coups, volontiers thousand toot-men, after whom again were it n'y va pas. No man makes baste to the marled four hundred thate horfes for the ket, where there is nothing to be bought but King, which it he had meant to have used, blows. he would have marfhalled fomewhat nearer

being led by sifigambie the Kings Mother, the outfides of the Perfuns, and never have and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, looked into the intrains of Bealts for fuecels. followed by a great train of Ladies their at- For leaving the description of this second tendants on horse-back, with fifteen Wa- battel (which is indeed no where well degons of the Kings children, and the wives of icribed; neither, for the confusion and hatty the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and running away of the Assaus, could it be, we fifty Concubines, and a world of Nurfes and have enough by the flaughter that was made Ennuchs, most sumptuously apparalled. By of them, and by the few that fell of the Macco which it should seem that Darius thought donians, to inform us what manner of refithat the Macedonians had been Comedians stance was made. For if it be true that threeor Tumblers ; for this troop was far fitter forethousand Persian footmen were slain in to behold those sports than to be present at this battel, with ten thousand of their horsebattels. Between these and a company of men; Or (as Curtius faith) an hundred thouflight-armed flaves, with a world of Varlets, fand to tmen, with the fame number of was the Kings treasure, charged on fix hun-horsemen, and besides this slaughter, 40000 was the Kings treature; charged on the hundred damels, taken prifoners, while of Alexanders Army brought, as it proved, to pay the Macedoni-there minearried but two hundred and tourans. In this fort came the May-game King score of all forts, of which numbers Arrianne into the field, incumbred with a most un- and other Historians cut off aimost the one necessary train of Strumpets, attended with half; I do verily believe, that this small troops of divers Nations, speaking divers number rather died with the over-travel languages, and for their numbers imposible and pains-taking in killing their enemies, to be marlhalled; and for the most part so than by any strokes received from them. And effeminate, and so rich in gold and in gar- surely if the Persian Nation (at this time dements, as the fame could not but have en- generate and the bateft of the World) had couraged the naked'ft Nation of the world had any favour remaining of the ancient vaagainst them. We find it in daily experience, sour of their fore-fathers, they would never that all discourte of Magnanimity, of Nati have fold so good cheap, and at so vile a onal Virtue, o. Religion, of Liberry, and price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, whatforver elfe hath been wont to move and and other the Kings children; had their own encourage: Virtuous men, hath no force at honour been valued by them at nothing, and all with the common Souldier, in comparithe Kings fafety and his estate at less. Darius fon of spoil and riches. The rich ships are by this time found it true, that Charidenus a boorded upon all disadvantages, the rich panished Gracian of Athens had too him, Towns are turiously assaulted, and the plen- when he made a view of his Army about Batiful Countries willingly invaded. Our Eng- bylon, to wit, That the multitude which he lift Nation have attempted many places in had affembled of divers Nations, richly atthe Indies, and run upon the Spaniards head-tired, but poorly armed, would be found long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and more terrible to the Inhabitants of the coun-Piffolets; which had they been put to it up-try, whom in passing by they would devour,

beauty. He had for the proper Guard of his faccefs, that is ordained against the richest

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his confultation with his South-Now followed the Reer-ward, the fame fayers, he would have fatisfied himself by on the like difadvantages in Ireland, or in than to the Macedonians, whom they means any poor Country, they would have turned to affail; who being all old and obedient their Pieces and Pikes against their Com- Souldiers, imbattelled in gross squadrons, manders, contesting that they had been which they call their Phalanx, well covered brought without reason to the butchery and with Armour for desence, and furnished flaughter. It is true that the War is made with weapons for offence of great advanwillingly, and for the most part with good tage, would make so little accompt of his Nnnn 2

palat, being withall ill armed, and worse acquainted with dangers, fear them not. disciplined, as except it would please him to That, Negletto periculo imminentis mali, opus entertain (having to great abundance of ipsim, quantumvis dissibile, aggrediantur; treasure to do it withal) a sufficient number They go about the business it felf, how hard so of the same Gracians, and so to encounter everit be, not standing to consider of the danthe Macedonians with men of equal cous ger, which the mischies hanging over their rage, he would repent him overlate, as heads may bring: and astruly of those that taught by the miserable success like to tol-

But this discourse was so unpleasing to Darius (who had been accustomed to nothing fo much as to his own praises, and to nothing fo little as to hear truth) as he com leone. manded that this poor Gracian should be presently flain: who while he was a fundring trait, advised Darius to retire his Army into in the Tormentors hand, used this speech to the plain of Mesopotamia, to the end that the King, That Alexander, against whom Alexander being entred into those large he had given this good counsel, should af fields and great Champians, he might have furedly revenge his death, and lay deterved invironed the Macedonians on all tides with advice.

It was the faying of a Wife man: Defperata ejus, Principis falus eft, cujus aures ita formate funt, ut affera que utilia, nec quicquam nist jucundum accepiat; That Princes Safety is in a desperate case, whose ears judge all that is nothing that is unpleasant.

effentia, qua erepta constitum evanescit.

fight in the Streights: But had they been Governours, fo as they can neither give nor ly and confused rabble, those Gracians, under their Captain Amontas, held firm, and Vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily modern, what brave retraits have been made by them, though the rest of the Army broken.

he was overturned and flain in the place. For the imbraced the Wife of the valiant Mem-

delicate Persians, loving their ease and their sit is truly said of those men, who, by being know the Wars but by hear-fay ; Quod valentes funt & pravalentes ante pericula, in ipfis tamen periculis discedunt ; They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appear; but when peril indeed comes, they get them

These Gracians also that made the repunishment upon Darius for despiting his his multitude; and withal they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battels, and have brought no greater number at once than might have been well marshalled and conducted. But this Counsel profitable to be too fharp, and will entertain was fo contrary to the cowardly affections of the Persians, as they perswaded Darius to in-For, liberty in Council is the life and effence viron the Gracians which gave the advice, of Council; Libertas consilii est ejus, vita, @ and to cut them in pieces as Traytors. The infinite wisdom of God doth not work al-Darius did likewife value at nothing the ways by one and the fame way, but very advice given him by the Gracian Souldiers often in the alteration of Kingdoms and that ferved him, who intreated him not to Estates, by taking understanding from the Counsellers and Directors in that War, as discern of Counsels. For Darius that would they were underlings and commanded by needsfight with Alexander upon a streightothers, they had with the help of a good ned piece of ground, neer unto the City of troop of horsemen been able to have op tijus, where he could bring no more hands posed the fury of Alexander, without any to fight than Alexander could (who by the assistance of the Persian foot men. For when advice of Parmenio stayed there, as in a place Darius was overthrown with all his coward- of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the Gracian his followers marched away in order, in despight of the had perswaded him to leave in Babylon, or elswhere) taken prisoners, and all their train difmayed: we read in Histories ancient and of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queen, with her Daughters, who had the in which they have ferved, hath been good hap to be brought to Alexanders prefence, were entertained with all respect due At the battel of Ravenna, where the Im- unto their birth, their Honours preserved, perials were beaten by the French, a fqua- and their Jewels and rich Garments restored dron of Spaniards, old Souldiers, came off unto them; and though Darius Wife was a unbroken and undifmayed; whom when most beautiful Lady, and his Daughters of Gaston de Foix, Duke of Neumours, and Ne- excellent form, yet Alexander mastred his thew to Lewis the twelith, charged, as hold- affections towards them all: only it is reing the Victory not entire by their escape, ported out of Aristobulus the Historian, that non, her Husband lately dead, who was ta- peace, but such as rather became a Conquerken flying from Damajeus by Parmenio, at or, than one that had now been twice shamewhich time the Daughters of Ochus, who fully beaten, not vouchfafing in his direction. reigned before Darius, and the Wives and to Itile Alexander King. It is true, that the Children of all the Nobility of Persia in ef-Romans, after that they had received an fed, fell into captivity; at which time also overthrow by Pyrrhus, returned him a more tec., 1eu met (not lost at Illus) was seiz- seornful answer upon the offer of peace, than ed, amounting to fix thousand and two they did before the tryal of his force. But td, amounting to hundred talents of coyn, and of Bullion five as their fortunes were then in the Spring, fo hundred talents, with a world of riches be- that of Darins had already calt leaf; the

escaped. After this overthrow given unto Darius, all Phanicia (the City of Tyre excepted) was yielded to Alexander, of which Parmenio was made Governor.

Aradus, Zidon and Biblos, Maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one strato was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him for aft; that it trod on his heels; for Antigonus, Alexanders Lieutenant in Asia theles, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlar theles, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlar and other presents, which he took very come to divide Kingdoms.

his felicity.

he received a letter from Darim, importing the ransom of his Wife, his Mother, and his (faith Diodore) thirteen thousand; Arriation, with some other conditions of must reckons them at thirty thousand. Many Ariation.

one a refolved, well armed and disciplined Darius himself leaving his brother dead, Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. with divers other of his chief Captains, Alexander disdained the offers of Darius. (casting the Crown from his head) hardly and sent him word, that he not only directed his letter to a King, but to the King of Darius himfelf.

ø. V.

How Alexander beforged and wan the City of

gonians, and others lately revolted; Arifto thankfully, returning them answer. That he defired to offer a Sacrifice to Hercules, the taken, and in part drowned by the Macedo- Protector of their City, from whom he was nists newly levied; the Lacedamonians that descended. But the Tyrians like not his comwarred against Antipater were beaten ; four pany within their Walls, but tell him that thousand of those Greeks which made the the Temple of Hercules was seated in the old retrait at the last battel, for saking both the City a Jjoyning, now abandoned and desoparty of Darius and of Alexander, and led by late. To be thort, Alexander resolved to Amyntas into Egypt, to hold it for themselves, enter it by force: and though it were a wereburied there; for the time was not yet place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Island whereon it was built, was Alexander to honor Ephestion, whom he eight hundred furlongs from the Main, yet loved most, gave him power to dispose of the with the labour of many hands, having great Kingdom of Zidon. A man of a most poor store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber estate, that laboured to sustain his life being sufficient from Lybanus, he filled the passage of the Royalblood, was commended by the of the Sea between the Island and the Main, people unto him, who changed his Spade which being more than once carried away into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a by the strength of the Sea upon a storm of Beggar and a King in one and the same wind, sometime by the Trians fired, and fometime torn afunder; yet with the help It was a good defire of this new King, of his Navy which arrived (during the fiege) when speaking to Alexander, he wisht that from Cyprus, he overcame all difficulties and he could bear his prosperity with the same prevailed, after he had spent seven months moderation, and quietness of heart, that he in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginhad done his advertity; but ill done of ning of the fiege had barbaroufly drowned Alexander, in that he would not perform in the messengers sent by Alexander, perswadhimself that which he commended in ano- ing them to render the City, in respect ther mans defire: for it was a fign that he whereof, and of the great loss of time and did but accompany, and could not Govern men, he put eight thouland to the fword, and caused two thousand of those that esca-While he made some stay in those parts; ped the fury, to be hanged on Grosses ferved Alexander, conveyed great numbers He found better men in this place than he away by thipping unto their own City.

was taken: for one of the Tyrians having Gaza, that he was forced to fend for a new dreamt, that this god meant to forfake the supply into Greece. Here it was that Alexan-City, they bound him falt with a golden der first began to change condition, and to chain to the Idol of Hercules; but Alexander, exercise cruelty. For after that he hadenlike a gracious Prince, loofed him again.

prize, and a difficult, but great things are new withmany wounds, and who nevergave made greater. For Nebuckodonnofor had to-groups to the Affailants; he bored holes ken it before, and filled up the chand that je more hore is, and caused him to be drawn lay between the Island and the Main.

cave to Thillian the Son of Farmening Cientes, dained to ask him either life or remillion of he committed to Surates, and Andromachus just corments. And what had he to counte-Lieutement under Parmenio; Epergeon had nance this his tyranny, but the imitation of charge of the Fleet, and was directed to find his Ancestor Achilles, who did the like to Alexander at Casa towards Egipt.

Alexander. Alexander wins Gaza, and unto him while he lay before Tre; He had deals gracionity with the lews.

Alexander, fets before him all the difficul- fore fearing his revenge, and unable toreties of passing on towards the East, and lay- fift, committed the care of their estates and eth the lois of the last Battel to the streight- lasety to Jaddus, who, being taught by God, ness of the place: he hoped to terrifie him liftued out of the City covered with his Ponby threatning to encompass him in the plain tifical Robes, to wit, an upper garment of Countries, he bids him to confider, how im- Purple, embroidered with gold, with his possible it was to pass the Rivers of Euphra- Mitre, and the plate of gold wherein the tes, Tigrie, Araxes, and the rest, with all such Name of God was written, the Priests and other featful things: for he that was now Levites in their rich ornaments, and the peoother rearrit tings: for ne that was now left in the filled with nothing but fear, had arguments penow of that nature to prefent unto another. All the Kingdoms between the River admired it. Jojephus reports it, that he fell to the ground before the High-Prieft, as rein Dower with his beloved Daughter. But Alexander answered, That he offered him menio reprehended him for it. Howsoever nothing but his own, and that which victo- it was, I am of opinion, that he became so ry and his own virtue had possett him o. , considert in his enterprize, and so assured of That he was to give conditions, and not to the fuccels after the Prophecy of Daniel receive any, and that he having passed the had been read unto him, wherein he saw Sea it felf, disdained to think of relistance in himself, and the Conquest of Persia so directly That Parmenio, who was now old, and full discourage him, or fear him. He confessed to

more had died, had not the Zidonians, that rous, and a blow on his leg with a frone did at the former Battels; for he left fo many away by improve and Apollo that the Town of his Asacedonians buried in the Sands of tred Gaza by affault, and taken Betis (whom It is true, that it was a notable enter- In ep'as calleth Babemess) that was weakabout the lirest, whilft he was as yet alive; The Government of this Territory is who being as valiant a man as himfelf, dif-Hector & It is true, that cruelty hath always

somewhat to cover her deformity. From Gaza (faith Josephus) he led his Ar-lang my towards jerusalem, a City, for the anti-How Darius offered Conditions of Peace to quity and great tame thereof, well known fent for some supply thither, which Jaddus the High-Prieft, being subject and sworn to N the mean while Darius fends again to Darius, had refused him. The Jews theretransporting himself over Rivers. It is said, pointed at , as nothing thenceforth could of honour and riches, told the King, That Parmenio (faith Jejephus) that in Dio a City were he Alexander, he would accept of Da- of Macedon, when his mind laboured the rius his offers; to which Alexander answer- Conquest on Asia, he saw in his sleep such a ed, That so would be, if he were Parmenio.
But he goes on rowards Egypt, and combining one and the same God; by whom he was ing before Gaza, Getis, a faithful fervant to encouraged to purfue the purpose he had in Dirius, shuts the Gate against him, and de-hand, with assurance of victory. This appafends the Town with an obstinate resoluti- rition, formerly apprehended only by the on, at the fiege whereof Alexander received light of his fantalie, he now beheld with his a wound in the shoulder, which was dange- bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and emboldened, as contrary fell drops of blood; and that the like drops they defired, both of liberty and immunity, he lay before Gaza, out of which there flew Religion.

# ø. VII.

Alexander wins Egypt: and makes a journey to the Temple of Hammon.

riss Lieutenant, Affaces, received him, from them to the Switzers, leaping and and delivered into his hand the City of fawning upon them, as if they had been bred Memphis, with eight hundred talents of trea- and fed by them all their lives, and in the fure, and all other the Kings riches. By this moraing following, Trivulzi and Tremonille. we fee, that the King of Perlia, who had more Generals for Lewis the twelith, were by of affection than of judgement, gave to the these imperial Switzers utterly broken and valiantest man he had, but the command of put to ruine. one City, and to the veryest coward the government of all Egypt. When he had set is ill described by Curtius: for he bounds it things in order in Egypt, he began to travel by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, beafter God-bead, towards Jupiter Hammon; fo tween whom and the Territory of Hammon, foolish had prosperity made him. He was to the Region Thebais, or the superior Egypt, pass over the dangerous and dry Sands, with the Mountains of Lybia, and the River where, when the water which he brought of Nilus, are interjacent; and onthe North on his Camels back was spent, he could not but have perished, had not a marvellous who bordering the Sea-shore, live (suth howr of rain fallen upon him, when his he) upon the spoils of ship-wrack: whereas Army was in extreme despair. All men that the Temple or Grove of this Idol hath no know Egpt, and have written thereof, af Sea near it by two hundred miles and more. firm, That it never rains there: but the being found on the South part of Lybia; purposes of the Almighty God are secret, these Nasjamones being due West from it, in and he bringeth to pass what it pleaseth him; the South part of Marmarica. and neoringetic to pais what a person in the for it is also faid. That when he had lost his When Alexander came near the place, he way in those valt defarts, that a flight of fight some of his Parasites before him to pra-Crowsflew beforethe Army; who making this the Priests attending the Oracle, That faster wing when they were followed, and their answer might be given in all things, fluttering flowly when the Army was cast agreeable to his mad ambition; who affect-back, guided them over those pathless Sands ed the title of Jupiter's Son. And so he was sato Jupiters Temple.

Son of Lagut, fays, That he was led by rather (as some think) defective in the Greek two Dragons; both which reports may be Tongue; For whereas he meant to say, o alike true. But many of those wonders and padion, he said, O pai dios; that is, O Son of prodigious things, are fained by those that Jupiter, instead of O dear son: for which have written the Story of Alexander; as, Grammatical errour he was richly reward-That an Eagle lay hovering directly over ed, and a rumour prefently spread, that the his head at the battel of Ifus; That a Swal- Great Jupiter had acknowledged Alexander low flew about his head when he flept, and for his own. could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at Halicarnasseus, fore-shewing had formerly consulted with this Oracle, the treason of Eropus, practifed by Darius to The one when he was employed against have flain him; That from the Iron bars of Gorgon; The other against Anteus and Bustwhich the Tyrians made their defensive En- ris; and feeing these men had derived thems

to the practice of the Phanicians (who ho- were found in a loaf of bread, broken by a to the practice facked and destroyed Jernsa- Macedonian Souldier, at the same time; That be gave the Jens all, and more than a Turf of earth fell on his shoulder, when with permission to live under their own a Bird into the Air. The Spaniards in the Laws, and to exercise and enjoy their own Conquest of the West Indies have many such pretty tales; telling how they have been affisted in battel by the presence of our Lady, and by Angels riding on white hories, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselves do hardly believe. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind, being certainly true, was, That the Rom Jerusalem, Alexander turned again night before the battel at Novara, all the towards Eg. pp., and entredit; where Da- Dogs which followed the French Army, ran

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luted, son of Jupiter, by the Devils Prophet, Arrianus, from the report of Piolomy, the whether prepared before to flatter him, or

He had heard that Perseus and Hercules gines, when Alexander besieged them, there selves from the gods, Why might not he?

deed he made himself one, by thinking to man Emperors also followed, not daring to cover from the worlds knowledge his vani- commit the Government of Egypt to any of tics and vices; and the better to confirm their Senators, but to men of meaner rank his followers in the belief of his Deity, he and degree. He then gave order for the had practifed the Priests to give answer to founding of Alexandria upon the Westertuch as confulted with the Oracle, that it most branch of Nilus. And having now setthould be pleasing to Justier to honor Alex-led (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the ander as his Son.

6:51

ten, Strabo and Plutarch witness.

than in the day.

#### ø. VIII.

How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.

Rom the Temple of Hammon he returned to Memphis, where, among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher Psammones, who, belike understanding of the world, by the surfeit of misgovernthat he affected the title of Jupiters Son, ment have been subject to many grievous, told him that God was the Father King of and sometimes mortal diseases: So had the all men in general; and refining the pride Empire of Persia at thistime brought it self of this haughty King, brought him to fay, into a burning and confuming Feaver, and That God was the Father of all mortal men, thereby become frantick, and without unbut that he acknowledged none for his childerstanding, fore-shewing manifestly the difdren, save good men.

Hegave the charge of the several Provinces of Egypt to several Governors, follow- Eastern shores of Tygris, without any other ing the rule of his Master Aristotle, That difficulty, than that of the nature of the

By this it feems, that he hoped to make his a great Dominion should not be continued in Many followers and the world fools, though in the hands of any one: whom therein the Ro-Big. Kingdoms of the leffer Afia, Phanicia, and Who this Ammon was, and how represen- syria (which being but the pawns of Darited, either by a Bois carried in a Boat, or in his ill fortune, one happy victory would by a Ram, or a Rams head, I fee that many readily have redeemed) he led his Army towife men have troubled themselves to find wards Euphrates, which passage, though the out; but, as Arrianus speaks of Doingsus or same was committed to Mazeus to defend, Liker Pater (who lived, faith S. Augustine, yet was it abandoned, and Alexander within Atoses time) Es que de dis veteres fabilis out relistance past it. From thence he march-Sui conscriptive, non funt nimium curiose per- ed towards Tigris, a River for the swiftness refing inda; We must not over-curiously search thereof called by the Persians, The Arrow. Cont. into the fables which the Ancients have written Here, as Curtius, and Reason it self tells us, might Darius easily have repelled the inva-But this is certain and notable, that after ding Macedonian: for the violent course of the Gospel began to be preached in the the stream was such, as it drave before it World, the Devil, in this, and all other Idols, many weighty stones, and those that moved became speechless. For, that this Hammon not, but lay in the bottom, were so round was neglected in the time of Tiberius Cafar, and well polithed by a continual rolling, and in the time of Trajan altogether forgot-that no man was able to fight on fo flippery o footing; nor the Macedonian footmen to There is found near his Temple a Foun- wade the River, otherwise than by joyning tain called Fons folis (though Ptolomy in his their hands, and enterlacing arms together, third African Table fets it farther off) that making one weighty and entire body to reat Mid-night is as hot as boiling water, and fift the swift passage, and furiousrace of the at Noon as cold as any Ice: to which I can- stream. Besides this notable help, the Chanot but give credit, because I have heard of nel was so deep towards the Eastern shore, fome other Wells of like nature, and because where Darins should have made head, as the it is reported by S. Augustine, by Diodore, footmen were enforced to lift their Bows, Herodotus, Pliny, Mela, Solinus, Arrianus, and Arrows, and Darts, over their heads to Curtius, and others; and indeed our Bathes keep them from being moistened, and made in England are much warmer in the night unferviceable by the Waters. But it was truly and understandingly said of Homer,

> Talis est hominum terrestrium mens, Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; (Deoruma)

The minds of men are ever so affected, As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates Solution and death thereof.

But Alexander hath now recovered the

place; where Mazeus ( who had charge to ) defend the Pallage both of Euphrates and tus indocta, quam ars & exercitium scient it ) presented himself to the Macedonians, prostare victoriam. In every Battel skill and followed with certain companies of Horse- practice do more towards the Victory than mulmen, as if with uneven forces he durst have titude and rude andacits. charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude far exceeding them, he for- after the pallage over Tygris, there happened his enemies could easily have overcome. donians not knowing the cause and reason, But it is commonly feen, that fearfull and were greatly affrighted. All that were innoalready loft.

It is true, that he fet all provisions afire, wherewith the Macedonians might ferve themselves over Tygris, thinking thereby greatly to have diffrested them; but the execution of good counsel is fruitless, when unwanting to the competency of the Army the Heavens themselves. out of fight, and far behind.

## ø. IX.

The new Provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the Battel of Arbela.

refistance. Arrianus hath numbred them whole Army in effect perithed. with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men the invading Army. But it is a Rule in the ter of terrour. Philosophy of the War 5

In omni pralio non tam multitudo. & vir-

While Alexander gave reft to his Army fook the advantage which no valour of an Eclipse of the Moon, or which the ALacecowardly men do ever follow those wayes rant (as the multitude alwayes are) took it and counfels, whereof the opportunity is for a certain prefage of their overthrow and destruction, infomuch as they began not only to murmure, but to peak it boldly 5 That for the ambition of one man, a man that difdained Philip for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of Jupiter, they flould all periff; for he not only enfeafonable. For now was Alexander fo well forced them to make War against worlds of furnished with carriages, as nothing was enemies, but against Rivers, Mountains, and

which he conducted. Those things also Hereupon, Alexander being ready to which he fought to waste, Alexander being march forward, made a halt, and to quiet now in fight, were by his Horse-men faved the minds of the multitude, he called before and recovered. This Mazeus might have him the Egyptian Astrologers, which foldone fome dayes before at good leifure; or lowed him thence, that by them the Soulat this time with fo great a strength of horse- diers might be assured that this defection men, as the Macedonians durft not have pur- of the Moon was a certain prefage of good fued them, leaving the strength of their foot success; for, that it was natural, they never imparted to the common people, but referved the knowledge to themselves, fo as a forry Almanack-maker had been no imall fool in those dayes.

Of this kind of superstitious observation Cafar made good use, when he fought against Ariovillus and the Germans: for they being Arius, upon Alexanders first return out perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moon, which those Regions next him could furnish, they should certainly lose the Battel, Casar and now also were the Arians, Scythians, forced them to abide it, though they durst Indians, and other Nations arrived; Na- not give it; wherein, having their minds altions (faith Curtius) that rather ferved to ready beaten by their own superstition, and make up the names of men, than to make being resolutely charged by the Romans, the

Thefe Egyptians gave no other reason than of all forts ten hundred thousand, and of this, That the Grecians were under the horse four hundred thousand, besides armed aspect of the Sun, the Persians of the Moon; Chariots, and some few Elephants. Cur- and therefore the Moon failing and being tius, who musters the Army of Darius at darkened, the state of Persia was now in two hundred thousand foot, and near fifty danger of failing, and their glory of being thousand Horse, comes (I think) nearer to obscured. This judgement of the Egyptian the true number; and yet seeing he had Priests being noised through all the Army, more confidence in the multitude than in all were fatisfied, and their courage rethe valour of his Vassals, it is like enough doubled. It is a principle in the War, which, that he had gathered together of all forts though devised fince, was well observed some three or four hundred thousand, with then: Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugwhich he hoped in those fair plains of Asy- nam non ducat; Let not a Captain lead his ria, to have overborn the few numbers of Army to the fight when it is possessed with mat-

It is truly observed by Curtius, that the 0000 pcople

and often in our own, that by such inventhem to draw breath in the world within a tions, devifed tales, dreams, and Prophecies, few years after. The truth is, That Alexanthe people of this Land have been car- der in going to far into the East, left behinde ried head-long into many dangerous tu- him the reputation which he brought out of mults and inferrections, and full to their Macedon; the reputation of a just and pruown lofs and ruine.

The fourth Book of the first Part

certain Letters were furprized, written by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of Darius to the Gracians, perswading them wine, of his own flattery, and of extreme for great fumms of money, either to kill or cruelty. Yea, as seneca hath observed, the betray Alexander. But these, by the advice taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst maof Parmenio, he suppressed.

preit with forrow, and wearied with tra- ctories obtained. But the Perfian Embassavel. died. Which accident Alexander feem- dours ftay his answer, which was to this efed no less to bewail than Darius, who upon fect, That what foever he had bestowed on the first bruit, suspected that some disho- the wife and children of Darius, proceeded nourable violence had been offered her 5 from his own natural elemency and magnabut being fatistical by an Eunuch of his own nimity, without any respect to their Master; that attended her, of Alexanders Kingly but thanks to an enemy was improper: that respect towards her, from the day of her he made no Wars against adversity, but being taken, he defired the immortal gods, against those that resisted him; not against That if they had decreed to make a new Women and Children, but against armed Master of the Persian Empire, then it would enemies: and although by the reiterated please them to conferr it on so just and conti-please them to conferr it on so just and conti-please them to conferr it on so just and conti-please them to conferr it on so just and conti-please them to conferr it on so just and conti-please them to corrupt his Souldiers, nent an enemy as Alexander 5 to whom he and by great summs of money to persuade once again, before the last tryal by Battel, of- his friends to attempt upon his person, he had fered these conditions of Peace.

would deliver up, and refign all Asia the not (were it otherwise and faithfull) resolve less and, with Egypt, all those Kingdoms be- in haste to accept the same, seeing Darius tween the Phanician Sca, and the River of had made War against him, not as a King Euphrates; That he would pay him for the with Royal and overt-force, but as a Traitor Ransome of his Mother, and his other by secret and base practice; That for the Daughters, thirty thousand Talents, and Territory offered him, it was already his leave his Son Occhus in hostage: To this again over Euphrates, which he had already bounded his ambition within those limits, second Person, and his Inferiour. he might have lived as famous for virtue, as for Fortune, and left himself a Successour of able age to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged. rather to the greatning of others than him-

people are led by nothing fo much as by felf: who, to affure themselves of what they superstitutions, yea, we find it in all stories, had usurped upon his lifues, left not one of dent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised and As Alexander drew near the Persian Army, gratefull: and being taught new Lessons by ny, defaced and withered the flourishing At this time also Darius his fair Wife, op- beauty of all his great acts, and glorious vireason to doubt that the peace offered was That with his Daughter in marriage he rather pretended than meant; yet he could that for the performance thereof, he would own, and if Darins could beat him back they fought to perswade alexander by such past, he would then believe that he offered arguments as they had. Alexander caufing him somewhat in his own power: Other-the Embassadours to be removed, advised wise he propounded to himself for the rewith his Council, but heard no man speak ward of the War which he had made, all but Parmenio, the very right hand of his those Kingdoms as yet in Darius possession; good fortune; who perswaded him to ac-wherein, whether he were abused by his cept of these fair conditions. He told him, own hopes or no, the Battel which he meant That the Empire between Euphrates and to fight in the day following should deter-Hellespont, was a fair addition to Macedon; mine. For in conclusion he told them, that that the retaining of the Persian Prisoners he came into Asia to give, and not to rewas a great cumber, and the treasure offer- ceive; That the Heavens could not hold ed for them of far better use than their per-two Suns: and therefore if Darins would fons, with divers other arguments; all which be content to acknowledge Alexander for Alexander rejected. And vet it is probable, his Superiour, he might perchance be perthat if he had followed his advice, and swaded to give him conditions fit for a 6. X.

The Battel of Arbela: and that it could not be jo firong'y Jought as report bath made it.

fines Atazens to defend a pallage, which he perfor wrongit womders, being charged in new dared yet fo much as to hazard. Alex- his retrait. But in conclusion, Cartin delinever anter year that Captains. Parmenie vers us in account but three hundred dead anair committee the force Darius his Camp by diacodonium, in all this terrible dayes work, pertwaces min to toler and service and the multitude of enemies might faying. That Fphyllian, Perdicese, and others inguistorial the interference of the Articologisms being of name were wounded. Artisams finds but few. Alexander disdains to steal the not a third part of this number slains of the Victory, and refolves to bring with him the Perfame there fell forty thousand (faith day-light, to witness his valour. But it was Contine) thirty thousand according to Arrisday-ngue, to write and Alexander's re- ran: ninety thousand, if we believe Disfoliation, though the countel given by Par- dore. But what can we judge of this great mento was more found: For it is a ground encounter, other than that, as in the two in War, si panei necessario cum multitudine former Eastels, the Persiani upon the sirst pagnare coganiur, conssiinm oft notis tempore charge ran away, and that the Macedonians belli fortunam tentare. Notwithstanding up pursued; For it of those four or five hunon the view of the multitude at hand, he dred thousand Asians brought into the field fleggers and trenches himfelf upon a ground by Darins, every man had eaft but a dart or of advantage, which the Persan had aban- a stone, the Maccdonians could not have doned: And whereas Darius for fear of fur-bought the Empire of the East at to easte a prize had flood with his Army in Armour rate, as fix or feven hundred men in three all the day, and forborn fleep all the night, notorious Battels. Certainly, if Darius had Akxarder gave his men reft and store of fought with Alexarder upon the banks of foed; for reason had taught him this Rule Engliners, and had armed but fifty or threein the War, In pugna Militer validitis reft- fcore thousand of this great multitude, onflunt, si cibo potuque resetti suerint: nam sames ly with Spaces (for the most of all he had intriplecus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exte- were fit for no other weapon) it had been rin: souldiers do the bester find to it in impossible for Alexander to have past that fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and River to easily, much less the River of Tidrink, for hunger within, fights more engerif gris. But as a man whose Empire God in than feel without.

little Rhetorick 5 for by the two former Regions to run into from those that invaded Battels upon the River of Granck, and in them. Cilicia, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true faying, Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adversariis of things following the Battel of Arbela. The ausert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking spirit away from those that have

9. X.

Perstant, sometime to the Macedonians; That greedy of spoyl and riches, would rather

Parmento was in danger of being overthrown, who led the left wing : That Alexander's Rere-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valorous incounters on both Edes, Fortune her felf White this Answer the Embassadors return; During prepares to light, and the Garland: And lattly, that Alexander in his Providence had determined, he aban-The numbers which alexander had, faith doned all places of advantage, and fuffered Arianus, were forty thousand foot, and se- Alexander to enter to far into the bowels of ven thousand horse 5 these belike were of his Kingdom, as all hope and possibility of the European Army : for he had belides, both escape by retrait being taken from the Ma-Sprians, Indians, Egyptians, and Arabians, cedonians, they had prefented unto them that followed him out of those Regions. He the choice, either of death or victory; to used but a short speech to his Souldiers to which election Darius could no way conencourage them. And I think that he needed strain his own, seeing they had many large

#### 6. X L

yielding of Babylon and Sula.

Arius, after the rout of his Army, re-covered Arbels the same night, better Arrianus and Curtius make large descrip- followed in his flight, than in the fight. He tions of this Battel, fought at Gangamela; propounded unto them that ran after him, They tell us of many charges and re-charges; his purpole of making a retrait into Me-That the Victory inclined fometime to the dia, perlivading them that the Macedonians, CHAP. I

led with treature, than purfue the vanquish- ercise; which so much softned the minds ed. This miferable resolution his Nobility of the Macedonians, not acquainted till now rather obeyed than approved.

arrives at Arbela, which with a great mas rances of hunger and thirst, of painful traof treasure, and Princely ornaments, was vel, and hard lodging, began rather to be rendred to him: for the fear which con-torgotten, than neglected. ducted Darius, took nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been Souldiers were erected, and Commanders twice beaten, should rather have fent his appointed over them, who thereupon were treasure into Media, than brought it to Ar- triled Chiliarchi. This new order Alexander bela, fo near the place where he abid the brought in, was to honour those Captains coming of his enemies; if he had been vi- which were found by certain felected Judges ctorious, he might have brought it after him to have deferved belt in the late War. For at leifure; but being overcome, he knew it before this time the Macedonian companies unpossible to drive Mules and Cameis laden consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the with gold from the purficing enemy, feeing drawing down of the foot-bands in this himself, at the overthrow ne had in Cilicia, latter age hath been the cause ( faith the cast the Crown from his head, to run away Marshall Monluct) that the title and charge paft.

burnt Frankincense upon Altars of filver, as quality Commanders in one ship: but all or-Alexander passed by, and delivered unto ders and degrees are fallen from the reputahim whatfoever was committed to his truft. tion they had. The Atagi (the Chaldean Astrologers) fol- While Alexander was yet in Babylon, there lowed this Captain in great folemnity to en- came to him a great supply out of Europe; tertain their new King: after thefe came for Antipater fent him fix thousand foot, the Babylonian horse-men, infinite rich in and five hundred horse out of Miacedon; of attire, but exceeding poor in warlike fur- Ibracians three thousand foot, and the like niture. Between these (though not greatly number of horse; and out of Greece four to be feared ) and himself, Alexander cau- thousand and four hundred horse, by which fed his Macedonian foot-men to march. his Army was greatly strengthened: for When he entred the Calile, he admired the those that were infected with the pleasures glosy thereof, and the abundance of trea- of Babylon, could hardly be brought again, fure therein found, amounting to fifty thou- De quitter la plume pour dormir fur la dure; fand Talents of filver uncoyned. The City To change from foft beds to hard boards. it felf I ave eliewhere deferibed, with the He left the Castle and City of Babylon, Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the Territories about it, in charge with with the wonderful place of pleasure about three of his own Captains, to wit, Agathon, two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a wall Minetus, and Appolidorus; to supply all of fourfcore foot high, and on the top wants, a thousand Talents: but to grace thereof (being under born with Pillars) Mazeus, who rendred the City unto him, a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull Trees, he gave him the title of his Lieutenant over other Princesses might walk privately there-in. In this City, rich in all things, but most Babylon, and entred into the Province Sa-

attempt Babyion, Sufa, and other Cities fil- quetting, and in all forts of effeminate exwith the like delicacies, as the severe disci-Alexander foon after Darius his departure pline of War, which taught them the fuffe-

Here it was that those bands of a thousand with the more speed. But erroars are then of a Captain hath been bestowed on every best discerned when most incurable; Et præ- Picque-Ewanf, or Spurn-Cow; for when the terita mogis reprehendi poffunt quam corrigi 5 Captains of foot had a thousand Souldiers It is easier to reprehend than amend what is under one Ensign, and after that five hundred, as in the time of Francis the first, the From Arbela Alexander took his way to- title was honourable, and the Kings were wards Babylon, where Mazens, in whom less charged, and far better ferved. King Darius had most considence, rendred him- Henry the eighth of England never gave the felf, his Children, and the City. Also the Command of any of his good Ships, but Captain of the Calife, who was keeper of the to men of known valour, and of great estate; treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of

which it is faid that one of the Kings of Ba- all, and took with him Bagistines that gave bylon caused to be built, that the Queen and up the Castle; and having distributed to eveof all in voluptuous pleatures, the King trapene: from thence he went on toward rested himself and the whole Army sour and Suja in Persia, the same which Ptolomy, Hethirty dayes, confuming that time in ban-rodotus, and Elianus call Memnonia, fituate CHAP. II. on the River Enters, a City formetime go- the Duke ( revolted from his Mafter ) very Governour of this famous City, gave it up favour. to the Conquerour, with fifty thousand talents of filver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the War, with all other the treafures of Darins. In this fort, did those Vallals How Alexander came to Persepolis, and of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperity,

not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) parchase their own peace and fasety. Rom Susa Alexander leadeth his Army with the Kings treasures. And herein was roward Persepolis, and when he sought Alexander well advised, that whatsoever to pass those Mountains which funder suffer titles he gave to the Fersiums, yet he left all na and Fersia, he was foundly beaten by places of importance in trust with his own Ariobarzanes, who defended against him Captains, to wit, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolu, those Streights, called Pila Persidis, or Suwithother Cities and Provinces by him con faide, and after the lots of many Companies quered; for if Durins (as yet living) had of his Macedonians, he was forc'd to fave beaten the Macedonians but in one battel, himself by retrait, causing his Foot to march all the Nobility of Persia would have re-close together, and to cover themselves turned unto their natural Lord. Those that with their Targets from the stones tumbled are Traitors to their own Kings, are never on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the tobe used alone in great enterprises by those end he found out another path, which a Ly-Princes that entertain them, nor ever to be cian, living in that Country discovered unto traded with the defences of any frontier- him, and came thereby fuddenly in view of Jown, or Fortress of weight, by the ren- Ariobarzanes, who being inforc'd to fight dring whereof they may redeem their liber- upon even ground, was by Alexander broty and eltates loft. Hereof the French had ken, whereupon he fled to Perfepolis; but experience, when Don Pedro de Navarra, (after that they of Persepolis had refused to with Fonterabe, in the year 1523.

him; for the great mass of Treasure was payd for their hard lodging on those Hills. laid up in that City. But who hath fought out and friended fearful adversity? It is cerfine numbers them but at eight hundred) own greatness.

Mazeus and others, in giving them titles, but Lands as they liked to live upon. dren to repose themselves.

thing less than the performance of that pro- was lest to the liberty of the Souldiers, to mife, because he should thereby have left spoil and kill at their pleasure. There was

verned by Daniel the Prophet. Abulites also, well wherewithall to have recovered his

6. XII.

burnt it.

being banished out of spain, was trusted, receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the Macedonians, wherein he While Alexander spoiled Arbela, Mazens was flain. In like manner did King Francis might have furnish'd the King from Babylon; the first, in the year 1515, find a way over and while he stayed four and thirty dayes the Alpes, the Switzers undertaking to deat Babylon, Abulites might have holpen him fend all the passages, who if their sootmanfrom Sula; and while he feasted there, Tri-thip had not faved them upon the Kings dates from Perfepolis might have relieved descent on the other fide, they had been ill

tain, that benefits bind not the ambitious, having been taken prisoners by the Persians, but the honest? for those that are but gree- presented themselves to Alexander now in dy of themselves, do in all changes of for- light of Persepolis. These had the barbarous tune only confult the conservation of their Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, ears, and other mem-The Government of Sufa, with the Castle bers, as they could no way have been known and Treasure, he committed to his own Ma- to their Countrey-men, but by their voices; cedonians, making Abulites, who rendred it to each of these Alexander gave three hununto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done dred Crowns, with new garments, and fuch

neither trust nor power; for he left three Tiridates, one of Darius his false-hearted thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure Grandees, hearing of Alexanders approach, the place; and Darius mother and her chil-made him know that Persepolis was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his It is faid that Charles the fifth, having pro- pace, because there was a determination in mised Charles of Bourbon the Government of the people to spoyl the Kings treasure. This Marseilles, if he could have forc'd it, and City was abandoned by many of her Inhabiwhereof he made fure accompt, told some of tants upon Alexanders arrival, and they that his nearest Counsellors, that he meant no-stayed followed the worst Counsel; for all

no place in the world at that time, which, if cups all the regutation of his actions past. it had been laid in the ballance with Perfepo- and that by deteending, as it were, from the Is, would have weighed it down. Babylon reverend I brone of the greatest King, into indeed, and Sula, were very rich; but in Per- the company and familiarity of bate Har-Jepolis Lay the bulk and main frore of the loss, he began to be definied both of his own Perfians. For after the fpoyl that had been and all other Nations. For being perfixaded. made of money, curious Plate, Bullion, Ima | when he was inflamed with wine by the inges of Gold and Silver, and other Jewels, famous Strumpet Thair, he canfed the most there remained to Alexander himself one sumptions and goodly Castle and City of hundred and twenty thousand talents. He Perjepolis to be contained with fire, notwithleft the fame number of three thousand Ms- standing all the arguments of Parmenio to cedonians in Periefolis, which he had done in the contrary, who told him that it was a sula, and gave the same termal henour to dishonour to destroy those things by the the Traitor Tandates, that he had done to periwalions of others, which by his proper Abulites; but he that had the truft of the vertue and force he had obtained; and that place was Nicarides, a creature of his own, it would be a most strong periwasion to the The body of his Army heleft here for thirty Afans, to think hardly of him, and thereby clayes, of which the Commanders were Par- alien their hearts; for they might well bemenio and Craterus, and with a thousand lieve that he which demolathed the goodlieft Horfe, and certain troops of chofen foot, he Ornaments they had, meant nothing less would needs view in the Wimer-time these than (after such vastation) to hold their parts of Poffa, which the Saow had covered a possession. Poff conclentian crudelitas sequi-settle a truities and toolith enterprise but, as Se lur; Crucity doth commonly follow dranken-2+ neca faves: Non the re vuit, fed non potest ness: For it so fell out foon after, and often, fiare: He hall rot a will to go, but he is una-ble to fland field. It is faid and tooken in his praife. That when his Souldiers cryed out against him, becau e they could not endure the extreme froit, and make way, but with The Treason of Ressus against Darius. Darius extreme difficulty, through the fnow, that Alexander torlook his Horfe, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to firew how well himself can en- on to find Darius in Media. Darius had there dure it? His walking on foot did no other-compounded his fourth and last Army, wife take off their weariness that followed which he meant to have increased in Badria, him than his fometime forbeating to drink, had he not heard of Alexanders coming did quench their thirst, that could less en- on, with whom (trusting to such compadure it. For mine own little judgement, I nies as he had, which was numbred at thirty shall rather commend that Captain that or forty thousand) he determined once makes careful provision for those that fol- again to try his fortune. He therefore calls low him, and that feeks wifely to prevent together his Captains and Commanders, and importance.

(meaning War) must begin with his belly.

#### 6. XIII.

his death.

Bout this time he received a new sup-Ply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes extreme necessity, than those witless arro- propounds unto them his resolution, who gant fools, that make the vaunt of having being desperate of good success, used silence endured equally with the common Souldier, for a while. Artabazus, one of his eldest men as if that were a matter of great glory and of War, who had sometime lived with Philip of Macedon, brake the ice, and protefting We find in all the Wars that Cafar made, that he could never be beaten by any adveror the best of the Roman Commanders, that sity of the Kings, from the faith which he the provision of victuals was their first care. had ever ought him, with firm confidence, For it was a true faying of Coligni, Admiral that all the relt were of the fame condition of France; That who jo will shape that Beaft | ( whereof they likewise assured Darins by the like protestation) he approved the Kings But Alexander is now returned to Persepo- resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, lis, where those Historians that were most to wit, Nabarzanes and Bessus, whereof the Con. Li. 5. amorous of his vertues, complain, that the later was Governour of Battria, had conopinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his common of his valour, of his liberality, of his common their Mafter; and therefore clemency towards the vanquished, and all advised the King to lay a new foundation other his Kingly conditions, were drowned for the War, and to purfue it by some such in drink; That he smothered in carowing person for the present, against whom neither

CHAR. II. cared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble Naburganes used, and in conclusion those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on anone accided the election of his fellow Traytor him, whom neither the confideration of his with promite that, the Wars ended, former great estate, nor the honour he had the Empire thould again be reflored to Da- given them, nor the truft reposed in them, the king fwollen with diddin, preft nor the world of benefits beltowed on towards Naburzanes to have flain him, but them, could move to pity: no, nor his towards because the Badfrians whom he command-prefent advertity, which above all things being more in number than the reft, should have moved them, could pierce their with-held him. In the mean while Nabursames with-drew himfelf, and Beffus followed him, making their quarter a-part from compassion. the rest of the Army. Artabazus, the Kings fishfull fervant, perfwaded him to be advi- laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beafts, fed and ferve the time, feeing Alexander was to the end that by any other ornament he but he inclined still to Besser, who told him, and an Idolater. that the Greeke, with Patron their Captain, Alexander having knowledge that Darius were corrupted by Alexander, and practifed was retired towards Baltria, and durst not fafety, and honour.

discovered the purposes of Bessars, and being of Bessars, and secretly forfook him, gave overcome with pallion, as thinking him(elf knowledge to Alexander of all that had unable to make head against these ungrate- happened, informing him of the way that lows. It had been far more Man-like, and person. This done, they all fled that could, King-like, to have dyed in the head of those leaving therest to the mercy of the Macedotour thousand Greeks, which offered him nian swords. rous thousand Greec, which office disposition of their lives, (to which Arive disposition of the article disposition of the a

tac gods nor fortune had in all things de | bewailing himfelf on the ground, and i viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vain it was indeed to hope it; for, Infidelity hath no

Now Darius, thus forfaken, was bound and ted and terve the time, seeing at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and that he would at least make might not be discovered; and, to add degree hand, and the would at least make might not be discovered; and the would at least make might not be discovered; and the would not be discovered as a second not be discovered. thew of forgetting the offence made; which fpight and derifion to his advertity, they the King being of a gentle disposition, wil- sattned him with Chains of Gold, and so lingly yielded unto. Beffer makes his submit- drew him on among their ordinary Carrifing, and attends the King, who removes his ages and Carts. For Beffus and Naburzanes Army. Patron, who commanded a Regiment perfixed themselves to redeem their lives of four thousand Greeks, which had in all and the Provinces they held, either by delithe former battels ferved Darius with great vering him a prisoner to Alexander, or, if that fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in hope failed, to make themselves Kingsby his fight of the Macedonians, offered himfelf flaughter; and then to defend themselves to guard his person, protesting against the by force of Arms. But they failed in both-Treason of Bessins; but it was not his destiny For it is against the nature of God, who is to follow their advice who from the begin-most just, to pardon so strange villany, yea, ing of the War gave him faithful counfel, though against a Prince purely Heathenish

the division of his faithful fervants. Besses abide his coming, hastened after him with a had drawn unto him thirty thousand of the violent speed, and because he would not Army, promiting them all those things, by force his footmen beyond their powers, he which the lovers of the World and them- mounted on horfe-back certain felected comfelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, panies of them, and best armed, and with six thousand other Horse, rather ran than march-Now the day following, Darius plainly ed after Darius. Such as hated the Treason ful and unnatural Traytors, he prayed arta- Befus took, and how near he was at hand: beaus his faithfull servant to depart from for many men of worth daily ran from him, and to provide for himfelf. In like fort him. Hereupon Alexander again doubled his he discharged the rest of his attendants, all pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered fave a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards by Bessur his Rear, Bessur brought a Horseto had voluntarily abandoned him: His Perstans the Cart, where Darius lay bound, perswabeing most base cowards, durst not under- ding him to mount thereon, and to save himtake his defence against the Battrians, not- self. But the unfortunate King refusing to withstanding that they had four thousand follow those that had betrayed him, they Greek to joyn with him, who had been able cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, and wounded the Beafts that drew him, and that him, which for fakes himself, no man fol- flew two poor Servants that attended his

CHAP. 11.

was refreshing himself with some water that defended certain passages for a while. He he had discovered, espying a Cart with a passeth the River of Zioberu, which taking Team of wounded beafts breathing for life, beginning in Parthia, dissolves it self in the and not able to move, fearched the fame, Caspian Sea: it runneth under the ledge of and therein found Darius bathing in his own Mountains, which bound Parthia and Hireablood: And by a Persian Captive which fol- nia, where hiding it self under ground for lowed this Polyliratus, he understood that it three hundred furlongs, it then rifeth again. was Darine, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. Darius also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the Ptolomy writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of living God can be conforted) that he cast that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, bannot out his last for rows unheard, but that by quetting and feafting therein. this Macedonian, Alexander might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which Commanders, with others of his best followhad dealt no less unworthily than cruelly ers, submit themselves to Alexander, and with him, recommending their revenge to were restored to their places and Govern-Alexander by this mellenger, which he be- ments. But of all other he graced Artabazus fought him to purfue, not because Darius had most highly for his approved and constant defire dit, but for his own honour, and for faith to his Master Darius. Artabazus brought the fafety of all that did, or should after with him ten thousand and five hundred wear Crowns. He also having nothing else Greeks, the remainder of all those that had to prefent, rendred thanks to Alexander for ferved Darius; He treats with Alexander for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, their pardon, before they were yet arrived Mother, and Children, defiring the immor- but in the end, they render themselves simtal Gods to submit unto him the Empire of ply without promiseor composition: heparthe whole World. As he was thus speaking, dons all but the Lacedamonians, whom he impatient Death pressing out his few re- imprisoned, their Leader having slain himmaining spirits, he defired water, which Po- felf. He was also wrought (though to his lyfratus presented him, after which he lived great dishonour) to receive Nabarzanes that but to tell him, that of all the best things had joyned with Bessies to murder Darius. that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

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#### s. XIV.

How Alexander pursued Bessus, and took into Here it is said, that Thalestris or Mino-bis grace Darius his Captains. Head, a Queen of the Amazons, came to

TT was now hoped by the Macedonians, easily obtained) that she might accomman preparing for his return. Hereof when him: which done (refuling to follow him Alexander had knowledge, he was greatly into India ) she returned into her own grieved, for the bounded earth sufficed not Country. his boundless Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army far- ing this meeting of Thalestris with Alexanftrength, was, that Beffus, a most cruel Tray- the letters of Alexander himself to Antipater, tor to his Master Darius, having at his devo- recounting all that befell him in those parts, tion the Hyrcanians and Baltrians, would in and yet omitting to make mention of this

and followeth its former courle. In Zadracarta, or Zenaracarta, the fame City which

Phataphernes, one of Darius his greatest

#### 6. X V.

Of Thalestris Queen of the Amazons; where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such Amazons have been and are.

visit him, and her sute was, ( which she that their travels were near an end, every pany him till she were made with childe by

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reportther into the East, but that which had most | der, and some contradicting it. But indeed, short time (if the Macedonians should re- Amazonian business, may justly breed suspiturn) make himself Lord of the Persian Em- tion of the whole matter as forged. Much pire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former more justly may we suspect it as a vain tale, travels. In conclusion he wan their consents because an Historian of the same time reato go on: which done, leaving Craterus with ding one of his books to Lysimachus (then certain Regiments of foot, and Amyntas with King of Thrace) who had followed Alexanfix thousand horse in Parthenia, he enters not der in all his voyage, was laught at by the without some opposition into Hyrcania; for King for inserting such news of the Amathe Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, zons; and Lysimachus himself had never heard

took upon him to write his acts; which to Amazons, whom he tells us that the Si vilians molifie, He told how the King had fought call Eurpatus, which is as ouch as Vinciingle with an Elephant, and flain it. The day, or men-killers. And that they made inking heating fuch stuff, caught the book, cursion into affathe less, tacket Friedlin, and and threw it into the river of Indus; faying, burnt the Temple of Diana, Maneikon and That it were well done to throw the Writer Avintinus reports which they performed we believe and know that there are Ele- flea, that the came to the fuecour of phants, though it were falle that Alexander Priamus. fought with one; fo may we give credit unto Writers making mention of fuch Ama- inhabiting upon the River of Thermodoon. gons, whether it were true or false that they speaking considently of the wars they made met with Alexander; as Plutarch leaves the with divers Nations, and of their overmatter undetermined. Therefore I will here throw. take leave to make digression, as well to flew the opinions of the ancient Historians, lochorus, Hellenicus and other ancient Historians Cosmographers, and others, as also of some rians, reports the taking of Antiopa Queen modern discoverers touching these warlike of the Amazons by Hercules, and by him grandern los proximos Amazonibus fuisse; It is certain biting between them and the Albanians. that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazons. Ptolomy fet them farther inwhom all the rest derive them elves. Claudi an affirms, Thatthey commanded many Na-

- Medis levibusque Sabæis Imperat hic Sextus: Reginarumque sub armis, Barbariæ pars magna jacet.

Poet) thus:

Over the Medes, and light Sabaans reigns Great part of the Barbarian Land remains.

neer Heraclium.

heard of. One that accompanied Alexander, Herodotus doth also make repost of these that it who by inferting fuch fables, difpar forty years efter Trey was taken. At the stake, raged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as liege of Tray it fell we read of Testile . ;

Am. Marcellinus gives the cause of their Lands

Plutarch in the life of Thefeus ; out of Phi-Women, because not only strabo, but many ven to Theseus; though some affirm, That others of these our times make doubt, whe Theseur himself got her by stealth, when she ther or no there were any fuch kind of peo- came to vilit him aboard his ship. But in Julius Solinus feats them in the North fubstance there is little difference; all conparts of Affathe less. Pom. Mela finds two felling, That such Amizons there were. The Regions filled with them; the one on the same Author in the life of Pompey speaks of River Thermodoon, the other neer the Ca- certain companies of the Amazons, that came Bian Sca; Quas (faith he) Sauromatidas ap to aid the Albanians against the Romans, by pellant; Which the people call Sauromatides whom after the battel, many Targets and The former of these two had the cimerians Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he faith for their Neighbours; Certum est (laith Va-diams, who hath commented upon Mela) it Gela and Legales once a year, Nations inha-

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old High Ind. 36 to the Land North-wards, near the Mountimes, Fran. Lopez, who hath written the na- 2014 128. tains Hippaci, not far from the Pillars of vigation of Orellana, which he made down Alexander. And that they had Dominion in the river of Amazon from Peru in the year. Alls it felf toward India, Solinus and Pliny 1542. (upon which river, for the divers tell us. Where they governed a people cal turnings, he is faid to have failed fix thouled the Pandeans or Padeans, fo called after fand miles) reports from the relation of the Pandes the Daughter of Hercules, from Said Orellans, to the Council of the Indies. That he both faw those women, and fought with them, where they fought to impeach tions: For he speaks (largely perhaps as a his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by Ulrichus Schmidel, that in the year, 1542, when he failed up the Rivers of Paragua and Parabol, that he came to a King of that Country, called Scherver, inhabiting under the Tropick of Capricorn. who gave his Captain Ernando Rieffere, a Crown of filver, which he had gotten to This female fex : and under arms of Queen, fight from a Queen of the Amazons in the e parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the King. Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in domof Congo, makes relation of fuch Amazons, Lybia, who were more ancient (faith he) telling us, That (agreeably to the reports than thou which kept the banks of Thermoof elder times) they burn off their right doon, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, breafts, and live apart from men, fave at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany

Pppp

company them for one month. These (saith | impoverished in their virtues, than inriched he) policisa part of the Kingdom of Mono- by their victories; and that it was hard to motaba in Africa, nineteen degrees to the judge whether the Conquerors, or the Con-Southward of the line: and that these women quered, were the baser slaves. Neither were are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, these opinions so reserved, but that the noise all the East-Indian Portugals know.

to justifie mine own relation of these Ama- fort, and those of whose judgements he was zons, because that which was delivered me most jealous; and making it known to the for truth by an ancient Cacique of Guiana, Army, that Bellis had allumed the title of how upon the River of Papamena (fince the a King, and called himself Artaxerxes, and Spanish discoveries called Amazons) that that he had compounded a great Army of these women still live and govern, washeld the Badrians, and other Nations, he had tor a vain and unprobable report.

#### 6. XVI.

How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxury and how be further purfued Beffus.

polis: fo at this time his prosperity had so place, he, together with his own, caused all to much over-wrought his virtue, as he ac- be confumed with fire. Certainly, this could counted elemency to be but baseness, and not but have proved most dangerous unto the temperance which he had used all his him, seeing the common Souldiers had life-time, but a poor and dejected humour, more interest in these things which they rather becoming the instructors of his youth, had bought with their painful travels, than the condition and state of so mighty a and with their blood, than in the Kings King as the World could not equal. For he ambition; had not (as Seneca often obwere in the end of fo many travels, more with their Horses, by the Country-people,

of them came to his ears. He therefore I have produced these authorities in part, with great gifts sought to pacifie the better arguments enow to perswade them to go on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselves (10 far engaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoils of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages not much unlike the warfare of Now as Alexander had begun to change the French) having commanded every mans his conditions after the taking of Perfetardels to be brought into the Maketperiwaded himself, that he now represented (served) his happy temerity overcome all the greatness of the gods; he was pleased things. As he was in his way, news came that those that came before him, should fall to him, that Satribarzanes, whom he had to the ground and adore him; he ware the established in his former Government over robes and garments of the Perstans, and com- the Arians, was revolted; whereupon leamanded that his Nobility should do the like: ving the way of Bastria, he sought him he entertained in his Court and Camp, the out; but the Rebel, hearing of his comfame shameless rabble of Curtifans, and So- ing, fled to Besses, with two thousand Horse. domitical Eunuchs, that Darius had done; He then went on towards Beffus, and by and imitated in all things the proud, voluptu- fetting a great pile of wood on fire, with the ous, and detelted manners of the Persians, advantage of a strong wind, won the paswhom he had vanquished. So lincentious is fe- sage over an high and unaccessable Rock, licity, as notwithstanding that he was fully which was defended against him with thirperswaded, that the gods whom he served teen thousand foot. For the extremity of the detesting the vices of the invaded) assisted slame and smoak forced them from the him in all attempts against them, he himself, place, otherwise invincible. I saw in the third contrary to the Religion he profest (which civil War of France, certain Caves in Lanhow Idolatrous soever it were, could not be guedoc, which had but one entrance, and but fearful unto him by neglecting it) became that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of by impration, and not by ignorance or edu high-Rocks, which we knew not how to encation, a more foul and rearful Monster than ter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by Durius, from whose tyranny he vaunted to certain bundles of straw, let down by an have delivered to many Nations. Yea, those Iron chain, and a weighty stone in the midst, that were dearest and necrest unto him, be- those that defended it, were so smothered, gan to be athamed of him, entertaining each as they rendred themselves, with their plate, other with this, and the like fcornful dif- mony, and other goods therein hidden. course; That Alexander of Macedon was There were also some three year before my become one of Darius his licentious Cour-arrival in Guiana, three hundred Spaniards tiers; That by his example, the Macedonians well mounted, smothered to death, together being alwaies Eaft) fo as, notwithstanding undertaken it. There were nine or ten of their flying from the smoak, there was not them, all men of rank, whose names Dimnus any one that escaped. Sir John Burrowes to countenance the enterprize) reckoned and one that competed English was in great up to Nichomackus. Nichomackus had no danger of being lost at Margarita, in the looner freed bimielt from the company of Welf-Indies, by having the grafs fired behind this Traytor Dimnus, than he acquainted his him; but the smoak being timefully disco own Brother Ceballinus with the whole Hiwered, he recovered the Sea-shore with the story: whereupon it was agreed between lois of fixteen of his men. I remember these them, that Ceballinus (who might with least things; but to give caution to those that suspicion) should go to the Court, and utrer fhall in times to come invade any part of all. Ceballinus, meeting with Fhilosas, told those Countries, that they alwaies, before him the whole business; desiring him to ac-

## 6. XVII.

A Conspiracy against Alexander; The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

and Dranginia.

him for focurity of his own life. So, con- note as much better, as it is most general, in strained by tear, he made thew as if he had his Philotas: been won by perswasion; and by seeming at

who did fet the long dry grass on fire to the liength to like well of the butiness, he was Faltward of them (the wind in those parts told more at large what they were that had they pass into the Land, burn down the quaint the King therewith: which he prograls, and fedge, to the East of them; they mised to do, but did not. Two dates pasmay otherwife, without any other enemy led, and Philotas never brake with the King than a handful of straw set on fire, dye the about the matter, but still excused hims if death of Hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive- to Ceballinus by the Kings want of leifure. This his coldness bred suspicion, and cauled Ceballinus to address him elf to another, one Metron, Keeper of the Kings Armory, who forthwith brought him to Alexanders prefence. Alexander, finding by examination what had paffed between Ceballinus and Phi-Lexander was, after he parted hence, lotas, did fully perswade himtelf that this A no where refilted, till he came into concealment of the treason, argued his trand Aria, to the East of Badria, where the chief to have been in the buliness. Therefore City of that Province, called Artacoana, was when Dimnus was brought before him, he a while defended against him, by the revolt asked the Traytor no other question than of satribarzanes; but in the end he received this: Wherein have I fo offended thee, that thou the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Shouldest think Philotas more worthy to be a Army was re-enforced with a new supply King than 1? Dimnus perceiving when ne of five thousand and five hundred foot, and was apprehended, how the matter went, had or twe mounted horie, out of Greece, Thef to wounded himleff, that he lived no longer, falle, and other places. His journey out of than to give his last groan in the Kings pre-Perfiaintothese parts, is very confusedly de-sence. Then was Philotas called, and charferibed. For, having (as all his Historians ged with the suspicion, which his silence tell us) a determination to find Besses in might justly breed. His an wer was, That Badria, he leaves it at the very entrance, when the practice was revealed unto him by and takes the way of Hyrcania; from thence Nichomachus, he judging it to be but trihe wanders Northwards towards the ob- volous, did forbear to acquaint Akxanaer feure Mardi, upon the Caspian-Sea, and therewithal, until he might have better thence over the Mountain Coronus into Aria information. This error of his, (it it were only an error) although Alexander, for the At this time it was that the treason of notorious services of his Fatner Parmenio, Dimnus brake out, of which Philotas the Son of his Brother Nicanor lately dead, and of of Parmenio was acculed, as accessary, if not Philotas himself, had treely pardoned and principal. This Dimnus, having (I know given his hand for assurance; yer, by the innot upon what ground)conspired with some stigation of Craterus, he again (wallowed his others against the life of Alexander, went Princely promise, and made his enemies his about to draw Nicomachus, a young man Judges. Curtius gives a note of Craterus in whomhe loved, into the same treason. The this business; How he perswaded himself, Youth, although he was first bound by oath that he could never find a better occasion to secrecy, when he heard so foul a matter to oppress his private enemy, than by preuttered, began to protest against it so vehe- tending Piety, and duty towards the Kingmently, that his friend was like to have flain Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a

See how thefe great men cloathe their private In these fair colours of the publick good; And to effect their ends pretend the State, As if the State by their affection stood: And arm'd with Power and Frinces jealousies, Will put the least conceit of discontent Into the greatest rank of treacheries. That no one action (ball feem innocent: Yea, valour, bonor, bounty fhall be made As accessaries unto ends unjust : And even the serioce of the state must lade The needfull it undertaking with diftruit; So that base vileness, idle Luxury, Seem fafer far, than to do worthily, &c.

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Now, although it were fo, that the King following the advice of Craterus, had refolved the next day to put Philotas to torment, yet in the very evening of the same night in should exceed in hatred towards him. which he was apprehended, he called him to Among many other arguments, which he a Banquet, and discoursed as familiarly used in his own defence, this was not the with him as at any other time. But when in weaken; That when Nichomachia defired to the dead of the night Philotos was taken in know of Dimnus, what men of mark and his lodging, and that they which hated him power were his partners in the confpiracy began to bind him, he cryed out upon the (as feeming unwilling to adventure himself King in these words; O Alexander, the malice of mine Enemies bath (urmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is far more constant than the word of a King. Many circumstances were others; but spake not a word of Philotas. urged against him by Alexander himself (for who by being Commander of the Horse, the Kings of Macedon did in person examine would greatly have valued the party, and the acculations of treason) and this was not have incouraged Nichomachus. Indeed, as the least (not the least offence, indeed, Philotas said well for himself, it is likely that against the Kings humour, who defired to be glorified as a god) That when Alexander wrote unto him concerning the title given though he had never dealt with him in any ed into that facred Fellowship of the gods, but tears, and forrow had so wasted his spi- death it self.

(bate, frits, as he fank under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he anwered. In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, might understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the affembly, that he disdained the language of his own Country; and so withdrawing himfelf, left him to his mercilefs enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, Philotas greatly lamented, feeing the King, who had to tharply inveighed against him, would not vouchtafe to hear his excule. For not his enemies only were emboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution; contended among themselves, which of them with mean and base Companions ) Dimnus named unto him Demetrius of the Kings Chamber, Nicanor, Amyntas, and fome Dimnus, thereby the better to have heartned Nicomachus, would have named him, him by Jupiter Hammon; He answered, That such practice. And for more certain proof, he could not but rejoyce that he was admit- that he knew nothing of their intents that practifed against the King, there was not and yet he could not but withal grieve for any one of the Conspirators, being many, those that should live under such a one as inforced by torments, or otherwise, that would exceed the nature of man. This could accuse him; and it is true, that adwas (faith Alexander) a firm perswasion un- versity being seldom able to bear her own to me, that his heart was changed, and that burthen, is for the most part found so malihe held my glory in despight. See what a cious, as she rather desires to draw others strange Monster Flattery is, that can per- (not always deserving it) into the same danfwade Kings to kill those that do not praise | ger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet and allow those things in them, which are at the last, howsoever it were, to avoid the of all other most to be abhorred. Philotas extremity of resistless and unnatural torwas brought before the multitude to hear ments, devised by his profest enemies Cratethe Kings Oration against him: he was rue, Cenus, Ephestion, and others, Philotas brought forth in vile garments, and bound accused his own self; being perswaded that like a Thief; where he heard himfelf, and they would have flain him forthwith. But he his absent Father, the greatest Captain of the failed even in that miserable hope, and suf-World, accused; his two other Brothers, fering all that could be laid on flesh and H. tor and Nicanor having been lost in the blood, he was forced to deliver, not what present War. He was so greatly opprest with he knew, but whatsoever best pleased their grief, as for a while he could utter nothing ears, that were far more merciless than

ved thereat, because he was greatly suspectof Alexander, faith thus, Crudelitas minime never effect any thing worthy of praise. bumanum malum est, indignum tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in silvestre animaltransire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it How Alexander subdued the Bactrians, Sogis unworthy of so mild a spirat: It is even a beastly rage to delight in blood and wounds. and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.

For the conclusion of this Tragedy, Curtim makes a doubt, whether the confession

Of this kind of judicial proceeding St. Au- loved of the men of War, and, to fav the gustime greatly complaineth, as a matter to truth, he that had made the purchase for be bewailed, faith he, with Fountains of the King of the Empire of the East, and of tears, Quid cum in sua causa quisque tor quetur; all the glory and same he had: That he teats, 2 might not therefore revenge the death of of innocents luit pro incerto scelere certissimas his Son, though not upon the King (for it ronas: non quia iffud commissife detegitur sed was unlikely that he would have dishonoronis non commissife nescitur. What shall me ed his fidelity in his eldest age, having now fay to it, when one is put to torture in his own lived threefcore and ten years) yet upon coules and tormented whill yet it is in que- those that by the witchcraft of flattery had fion whether he be guilty; and being innocent, possest themselves of his affection, it was reluffers affured punishment for a fault, of which tolved, thathe thould be dispatcht. Polvdathere is no certainty: not because he is known mas was employed in this business, a man to have committed the offence, but because whom of all other Farmenio trusted most. others do not know that he hath not committed and loved belt, who (to be short) finding him in Atidia, and having Cleander and It had been enough for Alexanders fafe- other murderers with him, flew him walking ty, if Philotas had been put to death without in his Garden, while he was reading the torment, the rest would not much have grie- Kings Letters. His exitus Parmenionis fuit, militiæ domique clari viri ; Multa fine Rege ed. But Hemolaus, who afterward conspired prospere, Rex fine illo nibil mignæ rei gesserat; against him, made the Kings cruelty and de- This was the end of Parmenio (faith Curtius) light in blood, the greatest motive of his who had performed many notable things withown ill intent. Therefore, seneca, speaking out the King; but the King, without him, did

### 6. XVIII.

dians, and other people. How Beffus was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

W Hen these things had end, Alexander went on with his Army, and brought that Philotas made, were to give end to the under his obedience the Araspians, or Evertorments which he could not any longer en- gitans; he made Amenides (fometime D.tdure, or that the same was true indeed; For rim his Secretary) their Governor, then (faith he) in this case, they that speak tru- he subdued the Arachosians, and left Menon ly, or they that deny fallly, come to one and to command over them. Here the Army, the same end. Now while the Kings hands somtimes led by Parmenio, finds him, conwere vet wet in blood, he commanded that lifting of twelve thousand Macedons and Lyncestes, Son in Law to Antipater, who had Greeks, with whom he past through some been three years in prison, should be slain : cold Regions with difficulty enough. At The same dispatch had all those that Nico- length he came to the foot of the Mountain machus had accused: others there were that Taurus towards the East, where he built a were suspected because they had followed City, which he honoured with his own Philotas; but when they had answered for name, and peopled it with seven thousand themselves, that they knew no way so di- of his oldest Macedons, worn with age, and rect to win the Kings favour, as by loving with travels of the War. The Arians, who those whom the King favoured, they were since he left them were revolted, he subdudismist. But Parmenio was yet living; Par- ed again by the industry and valour of Camenio, who had ferved with great fidelity ranus and Erigius. And now he refolves to as well Philip of Macedon the Kings Father, find out the new King Beffus in Baltria. Befashimself; Parmenio, that first opened the first, hearing of his coming, prepares to pass way into Asia; that had deprest attalus the over the great River of Oxus, which divides Kings enemy; that had alwaies, and in all Badria from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made hazards, the leading of the Kings Van-Governor of Badtria abandoned by Beffus; guard, that was no less prudent in counsel, The Macedonian Army suffereth for want of than fortunate in all attempts; A man be- Water, infomuch as when they came to the River loft in any one Battel against the Persians. livered into his hands the Traytor Belling. And it may well be; For (as Clytus did after Many Cities were refolvedly defended object unto him) he fought against women, against him, all which, after victory, he deand not against mensand not against their per- faced and razed, killing all therein. At one fins, but their shadows. He found on the of these he received a blow on the neck, backs of this great River no manner of Tim- which struck him to the ground, and much ber or other materials, tomake either boats, difabled him for many days after. In the bridges, or raff, but was forced to few toge- mean while spitamenes had recovered Mather the hides that covered his carriages, racanda, against whom he employed Meneand stuff them with straw, and on them in demus with three thousand foot, and eight tix days to pals over his Army; which Beffus hundred horfe. reight callly have diffrest, if he had dared by to behold the Macedonian Army afar marched on (if we may believe Curtius and Oil. He had formerly complained against others) till he came to the River of Tanais; Derins for neglecting to defend the banks of upon whose bank he built another Alexan-Treria, and other pallages; and yet now, dria, threefcore furlongs in compals, which. when this trayterous flave had stiled himself he beautified with houses within seventeen a King, he durit not perform any thing wor- days after the walls built. The building of thy of a flave. And therefore those that were this City is faid to have been occasion of a negreft unto him, and whom he most trust- War between him and the Scythians; the c to wit, Spiramenes, Dataphernes, Cata- Scythian King perswading himself, that this zer, and others the Commanders of his Ar- new Town was fortified of purpose to keep my, moved both by the care of their own him under. I do not well understand, why fatery, and by the memory of Bessia his trea- the Soythians, offering war in such terrible fon and crucky against Darins, bound him manner, that Alexander was judged by his in the like manner, that he had done his Ma- own Souldiers to counterfeit fickness for vefter, but with this difference, that he had ry fear, should nevertheless make sute for the chain closed about his neck like a Ma- peace: neither find I the reason why Alexftiff-Dog, and fo was dragged along to be ander (not intending the Conquest of those pre ented to his Enemy.

at a certain Town inhabited with Greeks of alone, with whom he could not meddle fur-Miletum, brought thither by Xerxes, when ther than they should agree to suffer him. long before he returned out of Greece; whose Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a Hines had well-neer forgotten their Coun- victory described; in pursuit of which the try language. These most cruelly (after Macedons ran beyond the bounds and mothey had received him with great joy) he numents of Bacchus his Expedition. put to the fword, and destroyed their City. The truth is, That Curtius and Trogus At this place he received Beffus, and having have greatly mistaken this River, which rewarded Spitamenes with the rest that de- they call Tanais. For it was the River of Jaxlivered him, he gave the Traytor into the artes, that runs between Sogdiana and Scyhands of Oxatres, Darius his Brother, to be thia, which Alexander past over, while Menetormented.

ted his Camp; in repelling whom he received frant from any part of Ballria and Sogdiana, a flot in the leg, the arrow-head flicking and the way defart and unknown. So that in the fielh, fo as he was carried in a Horfe- Alexander had (belides Jaxartes) the great litter, fometime by the Horlemen, fome- River of Volga, and many others to swim time by the foot.

which Petrus Teronainus takes to be Samar- hardly have discovered with the Army that chand, the regal City of the great Tamerlain. followed him, if he had employed all the It had in compals threetcore and ten furlongs (Curtius faith. Here he received the Embar adors of the Seythians (called dvi- the Astatique Scythians, making some offer ans) who offered to ferve him.

R. verof Oxus, there dyed more of them by drinking inordinately, than Alexander had Spitamenes and Catanes, who had lately de-

In the heat of these tumults Alexander Northern defarts, but only the defence of In the mean while Alexander was arrived his own bank) thould refuse to let them

demus was employed in the recovery of Sa-But while he now thought himself secure, | marchand: But Tanais, which divides Asia twenty thousand Mountainers assaul- from Europe, is neer two thousand miles diover, ere he could recover Tanais: which Soon after he came unto Maracanda, (from the place where he was) he could time that he lived in Asia in that travel.

Wherefore ir is enough to believe, that in disturb the erection of his new City, The Badrians are shortly again with the which was like to give some hinderance to

men executions; and being naked of defensive new start-up-Rebel, called Arimases (a Arms, eafly chased some ten or twelve miles; Sogdian) followed with thirty thousand whichis the fubltance of Curtius his report. Souldiers, that defended against him a As for the limits of Bacchus his journey, like strong piece of ground on the top of a high enough it is that Bacchu (if in his life- Hill; whom when Alexander had fought in rime he were as fober a man, as after his vain to win by fair words, he made choice time in words held a drunken god) went not of three hundred young men, and promifed very far into that walte Country, where he tentalents to the first, nine to the second, could find nothing but trees and stones, and so in proportion to the reit, that could nor other business than to set up a Monu- find a way to creep up to the top thereof-

ment. to have been flain, and one thousand one a fign to Alexander, that they had performto nave been man, that they mad perform-hundred hurt in this fight, which might ea- ed his commandment. Hereupon he fent one hundred nurt in this ignt, which might dead if ye in passing a great River, defended Copber to perswade Aribuszer to yield the against them by good Archers. Of Septhian place; who, being shewed by Copber that the against them of Sold eight hundred were Army of Macedon was already mounted up, houghtinto the Camp, and many prisoners. yielded simply to Alexanders mercy, and t is forbidden by fome Historians, and in- was (with all his kindred) feourged and deed it is hardly possible, to set down the crucified to death; which punishment they numbers of such as perish in Battel: yet Ce- well deserved for neglecting to keep good far commonly did it. And where the dili- watch in fo dangerous a time. For the place, gence of the Victors hath been foinquisitive as feems by the description, might easily into the greatness of their own succeis, that have been defended against all the Armies Writers have been able to deliver such par- of the World. But, what strength cannot do, ticulars by credible report, I hold it not un- Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, lawful to fet down what we find; especially hath often effected. Of which I will give when it serves to give light to the busines you an example in a place of our own. inhand. The small number which the Macedoniant loft; the omission of the number and of that Government, was in Queen Maw, who forbears nothing that may fet out never have been recovered again by ftrong the greatness of Alexander) and the little hand, having cattel and corn enough upon booty that was gotten, do make it probable, the place to feed fo many men as will lerve a great exploit by others.

new Governor in that Province.

their excursions, were driven away by the other for mutual succour. But he finds a This they performed with the loss of some Threescore of the Macedonians are said two and thirty of their men, and then made

The Illand of Sark, joyning to Garnsey, which they slew (a thing not usual in Curti- ries time surprized by the French, and could that this War was no better than the repul- to defend it, and being every way so inacfion of a few roving Tartars (the like being cessible, that it might be held against the yearly performed by the Moscovite, without Great Turk. Yet by the industry of a Gentleany boaft) and therefore better omitted by man of the Netherlands, it was in this fort fome Historians, than so highly extolled as regained. He anchored in the road with one Ship of small burthen, and pretending the While Alexander was affuring himfelf of death of his Merchant; befought the French, those Scythians bordering upon Jaxartes, being some thirty in number, that they he received the ill news that Menedensus might bury their Merchant in hallowed was flain by spitamenes, the Army (by him Ground, and in the Chappel of that ille; of led) broken, and the greatest numbers slain, fering a present to the French of such Comto wit, two thousand foot, and three hun- modities as they had aboard; whereto (with dred horse. He therefore, to appeale the re- condition that they should not come alhore bellion, and to take revenge of spitamenes, with any weapon, no not fo much as with a makes all the haste he can; but spitamenes Knife) the Frenchmen yielded. Then did the flies into Battria. Alexander kills, burns, and Fleming, put a Coffin into their Boat, not lays waste all before him, not sparing the filled with a dead catkass, but with Swords, innocent children, and so departs, leaving a Targets, and Harquebusses; The French received them at their landing; and searching To repair this loss, he received a great every of them so narrowly as they could not Supply of nineteen thousand Souldiers out of hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw Greece, Lycia, and Syria; with all which, and their Coffin up the Rocks with great diffithe old Army hereturns towards the South, culty ; some part of the French took the Fleand passeth the River of Oxus ; on the South mish Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship, to fide whereof he built fix Towns neer each fetch the commodities promifed, and what

CHAP. II

of the Hiftory of the World.

el e they pleated; but being entred, they head presented to Alexander. Spitamenes bewere taken and bound. The Flemings on ing taken away, the Dacons also seized upon the Land, when they had carried their Cof- his Fellow-Conspirator Dataphernes, and in into the Chappel, that the door to them, delivered him up. So Alexander being now and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, freed from all these petty Rebels, disposed fer upon the French; they run to the Cluff, of the Provinces which he past over, and and cry to their company aboard the Fleming went on with his Army into Gabaza, where to come to their fuccour, but finding the it fuffered fo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Boat charged with Flemings yielded them- Thunder, and Storm, as he loft in one Temskin that elfe would be too thort.

6-1

#### s. XIX.

How Alexander flew bis own friends.

Fter thefe Sogdian and Scythian Wars, we read of Alexanders killing of a Li on, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of Maracan da, and the Country about it, to Clyius, and how he flew him foon after, for valuing the virtue of Fhilip the Father before that of Alexander the fon, or rather because he ob jected to the King the death of Parmenio, and derided the Oracle of Hammon: for therein he toucht him to the quicksthe fame being delivered in publick, and at adrunken honelt arguments used to the affembly, he Banquet. Clyin, indeed, had deferved at the Cleo, That he thought, that Alexander much at the Kings hands, as any man living would disdain the gift of God-head from his had done, and had in particular faved had Vanids; That the opinion of Sanctity, life, which the King well remembred when though it did sometime follow the death of he came to himself, and when it was too late. those, who in their life time had done the Yet, to fay the truth, Clytus his in olency was greatest things, yet it never accompanied any intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom one as yet living in the world. He further he offended, so the King in his (for neither told him, That neither Hercules nor Bacchus of them were themselves) forgat whom he were Deified at a Banquet, and upon drink went about to flay: for the grief whereof (for this matter was propounded by cleo at he tare his own face, and for rowed to inor- a carowing feaft:) but that, for the more dinately, as, but for the periwasions of Ca- than manly acts by them performed while listhenes, it is thought he would have slain they lived, they were in future and succeed-

tance: But preceding muchiefs are not that was spoken, waiting but an opportunity amended by fucceeding bewailing: omne to be revenged on Califthenes, who being a vitium ebrictas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet ; ver of the Kings honor, was yet toon after whi possed to death; not for that he had bemult latebat, emergit; non ficit ebriefus viria, traved the King to others, but because he (ed protrabit; Drunkenness both kindles and never would condescend to betray the King lays op n every vice; it removes out of the to himfelf, as all his detestable flatterers did.

felves and the place. Thus a Fox-tail doth peft a thoufand of his Train. From hencehe fometims help well to piece out the Lyons-invaded the Sacurs, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of Cohortanes, who submitted himself unto him, feafted him greatly, and prefented him with thirty beautiful Virgins, among whom Resema, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the Micedoniani difduned, yet none of them durft use any freedom of speech after Clytus his death. From hence he directed his course towards India. having to increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thoufind armed men.

In the mean while he would needs be ho-

nored as a god: whereto that he might allure the Macedonians, he employed two pernicious Parafites, Hagis and Cleo; whom Califebenes opposed: For, among many other ing ages numbred among the gods. Alexan-Wine begat Fury, Fury matter of Repen- der stood behind a partition, and heard all man of free speech, honest, learned, and a loway that shame which gives impediment unto For in a conspiracy against the King made bad attempts; where wine gets the maftery, all by one Hermolaus and others (which they the ill that before lay hidden breaks out : drun- confest) he caused Califthenes without conkenness indeed rather discovers vices, than fession, accusation or trial, to be tornasunder upon the rack: This deed unworthy of a Soon after this, Spitamines, who flew King, Seneca thus cenfureth, Hoc eft Alexan-Beffus, and had lately revolted from Alex- dri crimen eternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla ander, was murthered by his Wile, and his bellorum falicitas redimet: Nam quoties quis dixerit . Occidit Perfarum multa milita ; opportur & Califthenem. Quoties didum erit Quidit Darium; opponitur, & Califrhenem. Quoties didum crit. Omnia Oceano tenus vicit. num quoq; tentavit noris classibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thracia ufq; ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, fed Califthenem ocedit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque magnum erit quam scelus Califthenis; This so the eternal crime of Alexander, which no able to redeem: For as often as any man shall say. He flew many thousand Perfians; it shall be him have out-gone all the ancient examples of Captains and Kings; none of all his acts make

#### ø. XX.

between him and Porus.

taken by Polysperchon, and a Rock of great half a mile, and withall deep and twift. It

trength by lamiels, he can see a parage upon one Figs, who was then by his combany, and his head prejented to allow their. This is the fum of Alexanders deling on those parts, before tuckning as he arrived at the River of Indus. Coming to Indee, he found there Fpkeylion, who tomag dent before ) had prepared Boats for the transpariation of als exempla transferit, ex bis que secit nibil tam Army, and ere Auxanders graved, had per-(waded Omphis King of that part of the Country, to fubmit man'ele to this great werthe nor felicity of his in War shall ever be Conquerour. Therefore, toon wood Maranders coming, Omphis pretented himself with all the ffrength of ms. Courtieve and re pier man, and he flew Califthenes. It x and hity Elephants, thin hand collecting then it fall be faid, he flew Darius; it flad him his tervice and chinance. He was he relyed, and Califthenes. When it shall be Alexander know, that he was an Enemy to faid, he wan all as far as the very Ocean, thereon the next two great Kings of that part of allo be adventured with unusual Navies, and India, named Abiajares and Forus; where extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, with Alexander was not a little pleased, histo the utmost bounds of the Orient; It shall be ping by this dif-union to make his own Vifaid withall, But be killed Calisthenes. Let Ctory by far the more case. He preferred Alexander with a Crown of Gold, to did be the rest of his Commanders, and withall so much to his glory, as Califthenes to his fourfcore Talents of Silver Coyn; which Alexander not only refuted, but to hew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave Omphis a thouland Talents of his own treasure, besides other Persian rarities. Abiaof Alexanders journey into India. The battel fares, having heard that Alexander had received his enemy Omphis into his protection, refolved to make his own peace alto: For, With the Army before remembred, of knowing that his own frength did but one hundred and twenty thousand equal that of Omphis, and that there was no foot and horse, Alexander did enter the bor- other difference between them, than that dersof India, where such of the Princes, as which the chance of War gave, he thought submitted themselves unto him, he enter- it an ill match, when Alexanuer, who had tained lovingly, the rest he constrained, already beaten under foot all the greatest killing, Man, Woman, and Childe, where they Princes of Afia, thould make himfelt a Party refisted. He then came before Nifa, built by and Head of the quarrel. So had Alexander Bacchus, which after a few dayes was ren- none now to stand in his way but Porus, to dred unto him. From thence he removed to whom he fent a commandement, that he a Hill at hand, which on the top had good- should attend him at the border of his Kingly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and dom, there to do him homage. But from Vines, dedicated to Bacchus, to whom he Porus he received this manly answer; That made fealts for ten dayes together. Now he would fatisfie him in his first demand, when he had drunk his fill, he went on to- which was to attend him on his borders, and wards Dedula, and from thence to Acadera, that well accompanied; but for any other Countreys spoyled and abandoned by the acknowledgment he was resolved to take Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victuals fail- counsel of his Sword. To be thort, Alexaning, he divides his Army: Ptolomy led one der refolves to pass over the River Hydrifes, part, Cenon another, and himself the rest. and to find Forus at his own home. Porus They take many Towns, whereof that of attends him on the farther bank with thirty greatest fame was Mazage, which had in it thousand foot, fourscore and ten Elephant., three hundred thousand men; but after and three hundred armed Chariots, and a fome refistance, it was yielded unto him by great troop of Horse. If Darius had done the Cleophe the Queen, to whom again he re- like on Tigris, Alexander had furely stayed flored it ; at the fiege of this City he receiv- somewhat longer ere he had feen India. The eda wound in the leg. After this, Nora was River was four furlongs broad, which makes

Qqqq

had in it many Itlands, among which there! querour, from whom again he received his we one well fradowed with wood, and of estate with a great enlargement. good capacity. Alexander fent Ptolomy up the River with a great part of the Army, throwding the reft from the view of Porus: who by this device being drawn from his How Alexander finished his Expedition . and first incamping, fets himself down opposite to Ptolomy, supposing that the whole Army of Macedon, meant to force their pallage there. In the mean while Alexander recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troops, and advanceth to- ans found in these their travels: or of those wards Form, who at first rather believes, petty Wars which Alexander made between that Aliafares his Confederate (but now the the overthrow of Porus, and his failing down Confiderate of fortune) had been come the River of Indus. The descriptions of over Hydasper to his aid, than that Alexander places about the head and branches thereof had jaft it. But he finds it otherwise, and are better known unto us in this Age, by finds his brother Hack with four thousand means of our late Navigations into those Hule, and a hundred armed Waggons to parts, than they were in any former times. entertain him. Each Waggon had in it four The magnificence and riches of tho Kings to hight, and two to guide it; but they were we could in no fort be perswaded to believe, at this time of little ufe : for there had fallen till our own experience had taught us, that to much rain, and thereby the fields were fo there were many stranger things in the moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. World, than are to be seen between London The Softhians and Dahans had the Vant- and Stanes. guard, who fo galled these Indians, as they brake their rains, and other Furniture, in the year 1372, and had feen so much of overturning the Waggons, and those in the World, and of the East India, we acmanding Conus or Conon to invade the right;

Antigonus and Leonatus, he directed to break upon Porus his battel of foot, firengthened with Elephants, Porus himself being carried Spes, Zaradis, Acesines, and the rest fall into upon one of them, of the greatest stature. the main stream, are now possess by the By these beatts the Macedonian foot were great Mogol the ninth from Tamberlain, who most offended; but the Archers and Darters, commands all the tract between Persia and being well guarded with the long and Indus towards the West, as also a great who also far exceeded Form in number: for Dionyfopolis. belides the Bucedonians and other Eastern and Northern Nations, Porus was attailed by us, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus and

#### o. XXI.

returned out of India.

T Forbear to trouble my felf and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents. Apes and Peacocks, which the Macedoni-

Our great traveller Mandevile, who died them. Perdices also gave up the Indian counted the greatest fabler of the World; horse-men, and the one and the other were yet had he another reputation among other forc'd to recoil. Form moves forward with the gross of his Army, that those of his Van-guard scattered might recover his Rear; the Monument made of him in the Coven of the Friers Guillimius in Liege, where the Alexander being followed with Ephellion, Religious of that place keep fome things of Ptolomy, and Perdice, took on him to charge his, Comme pour honourable memoire de for the Indian horse-men on the left wing, com- Excellence; For an honourable memory of his meta

ftrong pikes of the Mucedonians, fo galled extent of Country towards Ganges. In the them, as being inraged, they turned head, mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a Ship of Lorand ran over the foot that followed them: don, suffered shipwrack, in the year 1609. In the end, and after a long and doubtfull and some of the company travelled over fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by Land till they came to Agra, the same great the courage and skillfulness of the Macedon: City (as I take it) which our later Cosmoan Captains, the victory fell to Alexander, graphers call Nagra, being named of old

his own Confederate and Country people. Hercules into the East India, tells us, that Yet for his own person he never gave those two great Captains (whom Alexander ground otherwise than with his sword to- sought by all means to out-fame) when they wards his enemies, till being weakened endevoured to subject to them the Oxidrate, with many wounds, and abandoned by his a people inhabiting between the Rivers of Army, he became a prisoner to the Con-Hiphasis and Ganges, they were beaten from beyond Indus and Ganges, more terrible Targets, with many other things rare and unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented than Horses could feed in. He caused all Serpent. furniture of men and horses to be made

make it thought more than it was. he called Nicea, and the other Bucephalen, therein, and other the marvellous provisions after the name of his beloved Horse Bucepha- made.

the attault of their Cities with thunder and has. Here again he received a tour thrupply lightnings. This may well be understood by of fix thousand Thracian Florie men, seven the great Ordnance that those people had thousand Foot 5 and from his Licutement at then in u.e. For it is now certainly known, Babylon five and twenty thou and Armoure, that the great Kings of the uttermost East, garnished with alver and go'd, which he dehave had the use of the Cannon many Lun stributed among his Sorbiness. About these dreds of years fince, and even fince their first Rivers he wan many Towns, and committed evility and greatness, which was long before great thughter on those that resisted; It is Alexander's time. But Alexander piere'd not then written of him, that ail adding a Gi vor fo fir into the East. It sufficed, that having the Oxidracans, he least from the top of the already over-wearied his Army, he disco- wall into it, and fought, I know not how vered the rest of India by fame. The Indian long, against all the Inhabitants 5 tales like Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, those of Bears of Southampton, frivolous and that a Prince called Aggramenes, who com- incredible. Finally, he pais'd down the River manded many Nations beyond the River with his fleet, at which time also the news Ganges, was the powerfullest King of all came unto him of a rebellion in Bactria, and those Regions: and that he was able to then of the arrival of an hundred Embaffabring into the field two hundred thousand dours from a King of India, who submitted Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty himself unto him. He feated these Embasthousand Horse, and two thousand armed sadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with Chariots. With this report, though Alex- all the sumpruosity that could be devised. ander were more inflamed than ever to pro- who, foon after their dispatch, returned ceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all again with a present of three hundred the arthe had, could not perswade the Soul- Horses, one hundred and thirty Waggons, diers to wander over those great Defarts and to each of them four Horses, a thousand

Their entertainments ended, he failed they were, after many perswasive Orations, towards the South, passed through many to follow him towards the South, to disco- obscure Nations, which did all yield unto versuch part of the Ocean Sea, as was nearer him either quietly, or compelled by force: at hand, whereunto the River of Indus was among these he builded another Alextheir infallible guide. Alexander seeing that andria. Of many places which he took it would be no otherwise, devised a pretty in this passage, Samos was one, the Inhatrick, wherewith he hoped to beguile po- oitants whereof fought against him with ficrity, and make himfelf feem greater than poyfoned fwords, with one of which Ptolohe was. He enlarged his Camp, made greater my (afterward King of Egypt) was woundtrenches, greater Cabbins for Souldiers, ed, and cured by an herb which Alexander greater Horse-stalls, and higher Mangers dreamt he had seen in the mouth of a

When he came neer the out-let of Indus larger than would serve for use; and scat- (being ignorant of the tides of the Sca) his tered these Armours and Bridles about his Gallies, as they were on a sudden shuffled one Camp, to be kept as reliques, and wondred upon another by the Flood, fo on the Ebb at by the Savages. Proportionable to these they were left on the dry ground, and on he raised up twelve great Altars to be the the sandy banks of the River, wherewith the monument of his journeys end. This was a Macedonians were much amazed; but after ready way to encrease the same of his big- he had a few dayes observed well the course nels; to his greatnels it could add nothing of the Sea, he past out of the Rivers mouth fave a suspition, that it was less than is some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered thought, feeing he strove so earnestly to to Neptune, returned: and the better to inform himself, he sent Nearchus and Onesicri-This done, he returned again to the bank | tus, to discover the coast towards the mouth of Acesmer, and there determined to set up of Euphrales. Arrianus in the beginning of his his sleet, where Acesmus and Hydaspes instructions, where to testifie by a surer monnth River of Indus at length, with the manment, how far he had past towards the East, ner of the Vessels in which he transported he built by those Rivers two Cities: the one his Army, the Commanders that were used

Qqqq 2

Near the out-lets of this River, he spent | certain loose fellows to witness against or-Caves march from thence recovered Gedro- which he was condemned to dye; but he for in which patlage his Army fuffered fuch affifted the Hang-man with his own hands mi ery for want of rood, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thounand horse, which he carried into India, not his greatness. Caperat (faith Curtius) esse prathe fourth part returned alive.

# ø. XXII.

Of Alexanders Riot, Cruelty, and Death.

Rom Gedrofia, Alexander led his Army into Carmania, and fo drawing near to Perlia, he gave himself wholly to feating Philosopher burnt himself, when he had and drinking, initating the triumphs of lived threefcore and thirteen years. Whe-Backlus. And though this Swinish vice be ther herein he followed the custome of his hatefull enough in it felf, yet it alwayes in- Country, being an Indian, or fought to preflamed this King to Cruelty. For (faith vent the griet and incommodity of elder Curtius ) the Hang-man followed the feast: for age, it is uncertain: but in this the Histori-Afpaftes, one of his Provincial Governours, he ans agree, that fore-feeing and fore-shewing commanded to be flain; so as neither did the Alexanders death, he promised to meet him excels of voluptuousness qualifie his cruelty, shortly after at Babylon. nor his crueity binder in ought his voluptu-

ousness. sters of his Ire.

Euphrates, and find the King at Babylon.

hath a far Sepulchre of Cyrus in Pafargada, now called pest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales different actions of the description Chalquera: where he was presented with are drawn to the Land with a twine-three,

me part of the Winter, and in eighteen fines, that he had robbed cyrus Tomb, for in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused Phradites to be Ilain, suspecting ceps ad reprasentanda supplicia, item ad diteriora credenda; He began head-longly to fled blood, and believe falle reports. It is time that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, feeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made against it.

At this time it is faid, that Calanus the

From Palargada he came to Sula, where he married Statira Darius his eldeft Daugh-While he refreshed his Army in thefe ter, giving her younger fifter to his beloved parts, a new supply of five thousand foot and Ephestian, and fourscore other Persian Ladies a thousand horse, was brought him by cle- to his Captains. There were six thousand ander, and his fellows, that had been employ- guests invited to the feast, to each of which ed in the Killing of Parmenio. Against these he gave a cup of gold. Herethere came unto Murderers, great complaint was made by him three thousand young Souldiers, out of the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they his conquered Provinces, whereat the Macehad commanded; and their offences were donians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his fo outragious, as Alexander was perswaded, Treasurer in Babyle o, having lavishly conthat, had they not altogether despaired of sumed the moneys in his keeping, got him his return out of India, they durst not have going with five thousand Talents, and fix committed them. All men were glad of thousand hired Souldiers; but he was rethe occasion, remembring the vertue of jected in Greece, and there Ilain. Alexander him, whom they had flaughtered. The greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the Greeks, end was, That Cleander, and the other chief, whom Harpalus with these forces and treawith fix hundred Souldiers by them em- fures could not ftirr : yet he fent commandployed, were delivered over to the Hang- ment, that they should again receive their man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of banished men, whereunto (fearfull of his inthe King was at last executed on the mini- dignation) all submitted themselves (except the Athenians ) though they refolved, that Nearchus and Onesicritus were now re- it was a manifest preparation towards their turned from the coast, and made report of bondage. After this, there followed a maran Island rich in gold, and of other strange vellous discontentment in his Army, because things; whereupon they were commanded he had refolved to the bas Macedon all to make fome farther discovery: which those old Souldiers wand could no longer done, that they should enter the mouth of endure the travel of Was and to keep the rest in Asia. He used many Orations to satis-As he drew near to Babylon, he visited the fie them, but it was in vote during the temmany rich gifts by Orfines, one of the Princes when they have tumbled a while; fo are of Persia, or the race of Cyrus. But because the unconsiderate multimade easily con-Bagoas, an Eunuch in special favour with the ducted when their first patiens are evapo-King, was neglected; he not only practifed rate. With fuch as were ironfed to depart, being now at an end. For Antipater faw no- followed in all the former War. thing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to fend him after Parmenio, and the rest. With this Antipater, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do not fland in doubt of every man ill-affected, how fland in doubt of every man ill-affected. How for every man ill-affected, flow for every fland in the executed, no more though valiant: but there is a kind of King-

ed the World within a few dayes. domsten or twelve years, knew not how to persons: for whereas virtue is ever limited

he fent Craterus, to whom he gave the Lieu- play any other part; no more than Caylo renanthip of Mucedon, Theffaly, and Thruce, did, after he had to long a time governed which Antipater had held from his first de- the Gauls, where he utterly torget the art parture out of Europe, who had beaten the of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful partitions Greeks in his absence, discharged Traitor Antipater was, it Curtus do not bethe trust committed unto him with great fi-lye him: For though he scared some ill deity, and fent him to many strong supplies measure upon his remove (the fragedies of into Afia from time to time. Certainly, if Parmenio, Clytus, and Callillhones, having mo of man and not taken counsel of his cups, been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing he would have cast some better colour on to the contrary, but that the King had rethis alteration, and given antipater a strong-solved to have given him some other great er reason for his remove, than to have im-Government in Asia: The old Souldiers ployed him in the conduction of a new fup-thence returned, having perchance defired ply to be brought him to Babylon, the War to be governed by Craterus, whom they had

#### ø. XXIII.

of Alexanders person and qualities.

ly courage, compounded of hardiness and than his vanity to be esteemed the Son of understanding, which is many times so fear- Jupiter, with his excessive delight in drink full unto them, as they take leave both of and drunkenness, which others make the Law and Religion, to free themselves cause of his seaver and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and griev-After he had sent for Antipater, he made a ed to consider what he should do when he journey into Media to fettle things there; had conquered the World, Augustus Casar where Ephestion, whom he favoured most found just cause to deride him, as if the wellof all men, dies. The King, according to the governing of fo many Nations and Kinggreatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs doms, as he had already conquered, could his Physician, and bestows upon his Monu- not have offered him matter more than ment twelve thou (and talents: After which aboundant, to busie his brains withall. That he returns to Babylon. Thither Antipater he was both learned, and a lover of learncame not, but sent; and not to excuse him-ing, it cannot be doubted. Sir Francis Bafelf, but to free himself. For if we believe con, in his first Book of the Advancement of Curius ( whom Plutarch and others gain- Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His lifay) Antipater by his Sons, Cassander, Philip, berality, I know not how to praise, because and Iolla, who waited on Alexanders cup, it exceeded proportion. It is faid, That gave him poyson; Thessands (who was of the when he gave a whole City to one of his Conspiracy) having invited him to a drink- servants, he, to whom it was given, did out ing-feast of purpose. For after he had taken of modelty refuseit, as disproportionable to a carouse in Hercules his cup, a draught of his fortune : to whom Alexander replyed. drink stronger than Hercules himself, he quit- That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give : of which Certainly the Princes of the World have Seneca; Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum Ladi bis. seldom found good, by making their Mini- st stultistima. Nibil enim per se quenquan e 1. sters over-great, and thereby inspicious to decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi. themselves. For he that doth not acknow- oc. fine quibus facit ratio non constabit; buledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, beatur personarum & dignitatum proportio. & that Kings ought to purchase it from their cum sit ubiq; virtuis modus, aque peccat quod Vassals, will never please himself with the excedit, quam quod deficit; It scems a brave price given. The only restorative, indeed, and Royal speech, whereas indeed it is very that strengthens it, is the goodness and vir- foolish. For nothing simply considered by it self tue of the Prince, and his liberality makes beseems a man. We must regard what to it more diligent; so as proportion and di- whom, when, why, where, and the like; withstance be observed. It may be, that Antipa- out which considerations, no alt can be approter, having commanded two or three King- ved. Let honours be proportioned unto the

Near the out-lets of this River, he spent | certain loose fellows to witness against orone part of the Winter, and in eighteen fines, that he had robbed Cyrus Tomb, for cayes march from thence recovered Gedro- which he was condemned to dye; but he fer in which patlage his Army suffered such affished the Hang-man with his own hands milery for want of food, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thounand horse, which he carried into India, not his greatness. Caperat (faith Curtius) esse prathe fourth part returned alive.

# ø. XXII.

of Alexanders Riot, Cruelty, and Death.

Rom Gedrofia, Alexander led his Army against it. into Carmania, and fo drawing near to Persia, he gave himself wholly to feasing Philosopher burnt himself, when he had and drinking, imitating the triumphs of lived threefcore and thirteen years. Whe-Bacchus. And though this Swinish vice be ther herein he followed the custome of his hatefull enough in it felf, yet it alwayes in- Country, being an Indian, or fought to preflamed this King to Cruelty. For (faith vent the grief and incommodity of elder Curtini) the Hang man fullowed the scass for age, it is uncertain: but in this the Historian Aspaltes, one of his Provincial Governours, be commanded to be flain; so as neither did the Alexanders death, he promised to meet him excess of voluptuousness qualifie bis cruelty, shortly after at Babylon. nor his cruesty hinder in ought his voluptu-

ousness. parts, a new supply of five thousand foot and Epheltion, and fourscore other Persian Ladies a thousand horse, was brought him by Cle- to his Captains. There were six thousand ander, and his fellows, that had been employ- guests invited to the feast, to each of which ed in the Killing of Parmenio. Against these he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto Murderers, great complaint was made by him three thousand young Souldiers, out of the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they his conquered Provinces, whereat the Matehad commanded; and their offences were donians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his fo outragious, as Alexander was perswaded, Treasurer in Babylen, having lavishly conthat, had they not altogether despaired of sumed the moneys in his keeping, got him his return out of India, they durst not have going with five thousand Talents, and six committed them. All men were glad of thousand hired Souldiers; but he was refters of his Ire.

Nearchus and Onesicritus were now redone, that they should enter the mouth of Euphrates, and find the King at Babylon.

hath a far Sepulchre of Cyrus in Pafargada, now called post of their fury. But afterward, as Whales different decomption Chalquera: where he was presented with are drawn to the Land with a twine-thred, of Gras many rich gifts by Orfines, one of the Princes when they have tumbled a while; fo are

in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused Phradites to be flain, suspecting ceps ad repræsentanda supplicia, item ad diteriora credenda; He began head-longly to fleed blood, and believe falle reports. It is true that he took a way to make all men weary of his Government, feeing cruelty is more fearful, than all adventures that can be made

At this time it is faid, that Calanus the

From Pasargada he came to Susa, where he married Statira Darius his eldest Daugh-While he refreshed his Army in these ter, giving her younger sister to his beloved the occasion, remembring the vertue of jected in Greece, and there Ilain. Alexander him, whom they had flaughtered. The greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the Greek, end was, That Cleander, and the other chief, whom Harpalus with these forces and treawith fix hundred Souldiers by them em- fures could not ftirr : yet he fent commandployed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of banished men, whereunto (fearfull of his inthe King was at last executed on the mini- dignation) all submitted themselves (except the Athenians ) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their turned from the coast, and made report of bondage. After this, there followed a maran Island rich in gold, and of other strange vellous discontentment in his Army, because things; whereupon they were commanded he had refolved to feed into Macedon all to make some farther discovery: which those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travel of War, and to keep the rest in Asia. He used many Orations to satis-As he drew near to Babylon, he visited the fie them, but it was in vain during the temof Persia, of the race of Cyrus. But because the unconfiderate multimade easily con-Bagoss, an Eunuch in special favour with the ducted when their first patiens are evaporating, was neglected; he not only practifed rate. With such as were iteened to depart, being now at an end. For Antipater faw no- followed in all the former War. thing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to fend him after Parmenio, and the reft. With this Antipater, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, do tite to grappie. It files, in oga jean and in affected, not fland in doubt of every man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kind of Kingly courage, compounded of hardiness and than his vanity to be effected the Son of thereof.

where Epheftion, whom he favoured most found just cause to deride him, as if the wellof all men, dies. The King, according to the governing of fo many Nations and Kinged the World within a few dayes.

domsten ortwelve years, knew not how to persons: for whereas virtue is ever limited

he fent Craterus, to whom he gave the Lieup play any other part; no more than Cafar renanthip of Macedon, Theffaly, and Thrace, did, after he had so long a time governed which Antipater had held from his first de- the Gauls, where he utterly forgat the art parture out of Europe, who had beaten the of obedience. A most cruel and ungrateful partitions Greeks in his absence, discharged Traitor Antipater was, il Curtus do not bethe trust committed unto him with great fi-lye him: For though he scared some ill deity, and fent him to many strong supplies measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of into Afia from time to time. Certainly, if Parmenio, Clytus, and Calliflhenes, having mo and anot taken counsel of his cups, been so lately acted) yet he knew nothing he would have cast some better colour on to the contrary, but that the King had rene would to have given him some other great this alteration, and given antipater a strong-solved to have given him some other great er reason for his remove, than to have im- Government in Asia: The old Souldiers ployed him in the conduction of a new sup-thence returned, having perchance defired ply to be brought him to Babylon, the War to be governed by Craterus, whom they had

#### o. XXIII.

of Alexanders person and qualities.

understanding, which is many times so fear- Jupiter, with his excessive delight in drink full unto them, as they take leave both of and drunkenness, which others make the Law and Religion, to free themselves cause of his seaver and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and griev-After he had sent for Antipater, he made a ed to consider what he should do when he journey into Media to fettle things there; had conquered the World, Augustus Cafar greatness of his love, laments his loss, hangs doms, as he had already conquered, could his Physician, and bestows upon his Monu- not have offered him matter more than ment twelve thou (and talents: After which aboundant, to busie his brains withall. That he returns to Babylon. Thither Antipater he was both learned, and a lover of learncame not, but fent; and not to excuse him-ing, it cannot be doubted. Sir Francis Bafelf, but to free himfelf. For if we believe con, in his first Book of the Advancement of Curtius ( whom Plutarch and others gain- Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His li-Carnin (whom rimates and fall and riverse that the state of the state gave him poyson; Thessalus (who was of the when he gave a whole City to one of his Conspiracy) having invited him to a drink- fervants, he, to whom it was given, did out ing feast of purpose. For after he had taken of modesty refuseit, as disproportionable to a carouse in Hercules his cup, a draught of his fortune : to whom Alexander replyed, drink stronger than Hercules himself, he quit- That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give : of which Certainly the Princes of the World have Seneca; Animosa vox videtur & regra, cum L.z.de Bis. seldom found good, by making their Mini- st stultissima. Nibil enim per se quenquame 1. Rets over-great, and thereby inspicious to decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi. themselves. For he that doth not acknow-ledge sidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, beatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & that Kings ought to purchase it from their cum sit ubiq; virtutis modus, aque peccat quod Vassals, will never please himself with the excedit, quam quod desicit; It seems a brave price given. The only restorative, indeed, and Royal speech, whereas indeed it is very that strengthens it, is the goodness and vir- foolish. For nothing simply considered by it felf tue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and diwhom, when, why, where, and the like; withstance be observed. It may be, that Antipa- out which considerations, no act can be approter, having commanded two or three King- ved. Let honours be proportioned unto the

no mersture, the excess is as faulty as the de- ed: nor was ever encountred with any

was as valiant as any mansa disposition, taken ders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by it (elf not much to be admired: For I am by far exceeding the best of his Enemies resolved, that he had ten thousand in his But it seems Fortune and Destiny /if we may Army as daring as himfelt. Surely, if ad- use those terms ) had found out and prepaventi rous natures were to be commended red for him, without any care of his own. amply we thould confound that virtue with both heaps of Men, that willingly offered the hardine's of Theeves, Ruffians, and Ma-their necks to the yoke, and Kingdoms that fiff-Dogs. For certainly it is no way praife- invited and called in their own Conqueworthy, but in daring good things, and in rours. For conclusion, we will agree with the performance of those lawful enterprises, Seneca, who speaking of Philip the Father. in which we are employed for the fervice of and Alexander the Son, gives this judgement our Kings, and Common-weals.

warlike Nation, the naked Scythians except- tures are scorched up.

Army of which he had not a most mastering For his Person, it is very apparent, That he advantage, both of Weapons and Commanof them: Quod non minores fuere peftes mor-If we compare this great Conquerour with talium, quam inundatio, qua planum omne other trout lers of the world, who have perfusum est, quam conflagratio, qua magna bought their glory with to great destructi- pars animantium examit; They were no ble on and effution of blood, I think him far in- plagues to mankind, than an overthrow of waferiour to Cafar, and many other that lived ters, drowning all the level; or some burnine after him, feeing he never undertook any drought, whereby a great part of living crea-

CHAP. III.

The Reign of Arideus.

ø. I.

Of the Question about Succession to Alexander.

phemus, having lost his only eye. For stowing upon him in marriage a Daughter that which is reported in Fables of that of his own: by which bond, and much great Cyclops, might well be verified of the more by his own proper strength, he affured Macedonians: their force was intolerable, the Crown unto himself: Amyntas never but for want of good guidance uneffectu- attempting ought against Philip; though al. and harmfull chiefly to themselves. (with price of his life) he did against Alex-The causes whereof (under the divine or- lander in the beginning of his reign. Wheredinance) were partly the uncertainty of fore Eurydice, the fole iffue of this marriage, Title to succession in the Kingdom of Ma- ought in reason to have been acknowledged object faileth.

lip ( the Father of alexander ) governing in \ mand of their posterity, had they left any

HE death of Alexander left his Macedon as Protector, assumed unto him-Army (as Demades the Athenian felfthe Kingdom, not rendring it unto Ammthen compared it ) in such case, tas, (the Son of his elder Brother Perdicus) as was that monstrous Gyant Poly- when he grew to mans estate; but only beceden, partly the stubborn pride of Alexander | Queen after Alexander; as having better himself, who thinking none worthy to be Title thereunto, than either He or Philip his heir, did refuse to establish the right in had, when they lived, unless (peradventure) any one, leaving every one to his own for- some Law of that Nation forbad the reign tune: but especially the great ambition of of Women. But the excellent virtue of these his followers, who all had learned of their two Princes had utterly defaced the right of Mafter to fuffer no equals; a leffon foon all Pretenders, not claiming from their own tought unto spirits reflecting upon their own bodies : and so great were their Conquests, worth, when the reverence of a greater | that Macedon it felf was (in regard of them) a very fmall Appendix, and no way deferv-It hath formerly been shewed, That Phi- | ing to be laid in ballance against the demore folemnly married) was left by him great puissance. with child. But the baseness of the Mothers, But as these counterfeit shews of different with child.

name of Alexanders children.

riness to take what comes next to hand.

the company of Arfinoe Ptolomy's Mother, In the present business a foolish over-ween-

able to make challenge of the Royal Scat. 10my had conceived the form of their con-Alexander having taken many Wives, had fultations, or to let in the Chair fuch a King iffue by none of the principal of them. Bar as Aridaus, no wifer than the Chair it felf. ine the Daughter of Artabazus a Persian, had Also the Controversies arising were deterhorn unto him a young Son: and Roxane mined by the greater part of the Captains; the Daughter of Oxyartes (whom he had by the greater part, if not in number, yet in

and contempt of the conquered Nations, bling afpirers do often take check by the was generally alledged in Barr of Plea made plain-dealing of them who dare to go more for them, by fome that would (perhaps) directly to work: fo was it like to have fared have wrought out their own ends, under the with Ptolomy and the rest, when Aristonus, another of the Captains, interpreted the very Cleopatra a Sister of Alexander, widow to words of Alexander, saying, That he left his the King of Epirus, and Arideus his base Bro- Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing Perther (Son to Philip by a Concubine of no ac- diccas, to whom (lying at the point of death) count) who had marryed the Lady Eurydice he delivered his ring. It feemed good in reabefore mentioned, were next in course. Of son, that Alexander should be disposer of his Clepatra there was no speech, which may own purchases: and those tokens of Alexanand fuspition, that either Law or Custom ders purpose appeared plain enough, so long had made that Sex uncapable of the Sove- as no man would interpole anothers construraignty: Aridaus (besides his bastardy) was ction: every one being uncertain how the neither for person nor quality fit to rule as secret affections of the rest mucht be incline King; yet upon him the election fell, but ned. Many therefore, either out of their love, flowly, and (as happeneth often) for lack of or because they would not be of the latest, a better: when the Counsellors having over- urged Perdices to take upon him the estate laboured their disagreeing wits in devising Royal. He was no stranger to the Royal what was best, were content for very wea- blood; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great favour of his dead Ptolomy (foon after King of Egypt) concur. King, with whom he had been very inward, ring with them who rejected all mention of and that especially since the death of Ephethe half-Persian brood, King Alexanders stion (a powerfull Minion) into whose place children, was of opinion, that the rule of all he was chosen. For his own worth he might should be given to the Captains; that going well be commended, as a good man of War, for Law, which by the greater part of them and one that had given much proof of his should be decreed: fo far was he from ac- private valour. But very furly he was: which knowledging any one as true Heir to the quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a shew of Majesty: being checkt with mis-This Piolomy was called the Son of Lague, adventure, it was called by a true name, but reputed of Philip: who having used Pride; and rewarded with death.

delivered her in marriage to Lagus, being ing did him as great harm, as it had been great with child. Therefore, whether it were great happiness to have succeeded Alexanders for that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those diffentions, which are in- of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of cident unto the consultations of many ambi- Aristonus, he would needs counterfeit modetious men, equal in place, forcing them at sty; thinking that every one of the Prinlength to redeem their quiet with subjection ces would have intreated him to take the to one, deferving regard by his blood, and weighty burden of an Empire, which would trust for his even carriage; or whether he be the less envious, the more solemnity he desired only to get a share to himself, which used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He could not have come to pass, had all been that feigneth himself a Sheep, may chance to given to one: plain enough it is, that he be eaten by a Wolf. Meleager, (a man by nathought not on preferring Aridans before ture envious, and bearing a particular had himself: and therefore gave such counsel as tred to Perdiccas) took advantage of his irfitted his own and other mens purpofes. refolute behaviour, and very bitterly in-Yea, this device of his took place indeed, veighed against him. In conclusion, he prothough not in form as he had propounded nounced, That whosoever was Heir to the it; For, it was in effect all one, to have af- Crown, the fouldiers ought to be heirs to the sembled at Alexanders empty Chair, as Pto- Treasure; and therefore he invited them,

who were nothing flow, to share it. This ling was not unexpected: and they were hu diffurbedall the Consultation The Captains Perdicess rebuked with such gravity, that were left alone, far enough from agreeing, they departed honester than they came; beand not able to have brought any conclusi- ing forry for their bad enterprise. Upon the en to good effect without confent of the news of this attempt, the Camp was in an Souldiers, who greedy of fooil, thronged up-roar, which the King feeking to pacific. about Meleger.

Frances.

ed with good liking of many, untill at last it King by offering to relign his estate unto grew to the voice of the Army. Melesger them, renewed out of their pity that fahaving withdrawn himself tumultuoully vourable affection, which had moved them from the company of the Lords, was glad of to fet him up at the first. fo feir an occasion to make himfelt great : Perdicess having now joyned himself with therefore he produced Aridaus, commended Leonatus, kept the fields, intending to on him to the Souldiers, who called him by off all provision of victuals from the City. his Fathers name thing, and brought him But after fundry Embassies passing between into the Palace, investing him in Alexan- the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to der's Robes, and proclaiming him King- have the Authors of fedition given up into Many of the Nobles withstood this electi- their hands; the King, that Meleager might on, but in vain: for they could not re- be joyned with Leonatus and Perdicess, as a folye what courie to follow, rejecting this. Third in government of the Army) things Only Python, a hot-headed man, took upon were compounded according to the Kings him to proclaim the Son of Alexander by defire. Meleager should have done well to Rexane, according to the counsel which consider, That such men as had one day de-Perdiceas at first had given, appointing Per- manded his head, were not like the day foldiceas and Leonatus his Protectors. But the lowing to give him a principal place among child was not yet born, which made that them without any new occasion offered, had attempt of Python vain. Finally, Perdiccas not some purpose of treachery lurked under with fix hundred men, and Ptolomy with their great facility. General peace was rethe Kings Pages, took upon them to de- newed, and much love protested where little fend the place where Alexanders body lay: was intended. The face of the Court was but the Army conducted by Meleager, who the same which it had been in Alexanders fide faithfully meant.

wanted authority, as having newly got the Crown by them, and holding it by their courtefie. The matter it felf afforded no good excuses, and his indifcretion made them The Flifting of Aridaus, with the troubles worfe. He faid that no harm was done, for thereabout arifing; the first Direction of the Perdiccas was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to Meleager; abandoning the Uring this up-roar, mention was made furest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeared, untill the

carried the new King about whither he time: but no longer now did the same heart listed, easily brake in upon them, and in- give it life; and windy spirits they were forced them to accept Aridaus for their So- which moved in the arteries. Falle reports veraign Lord. Then by the intercession of were given out by appointment of Perdices, the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was tending to his own disgrace, but in such terms propounded and admitted, but on neither as might feem to have proceeded from Meleager: who finding part of the drift, but not Leonatus, who was of Royal blood, a all, took it as an injury done to himself; and goodly Gentleman and valuant, iffued out of (as defirous of a true friendship) defired of Balglon, Leing followed by all the horse, Perdicess, that fuch authors of discord might which confifted (for the most part) of the be punished. Perdices (as a lover of peace) Nobility. Perdice as abode in the City (but | did well approve the motion; and therefore standing upon his guard) that he might be agreed that a generall Muster should be ready to take the opportunity of any com- made, at which time the disturbers of the metton that frould happen among the Infan- common quiet should receive their punishtry. The King (who was governed by Melea- ment (as was the manner for Souldiers ofger) commanded, or gave leave to have Per- fending) in presence of the Army. The plot dicess made away; which attempt succeed- was mischievously laid. Had Meleager given ed ill, being neither fecretly carried, nor way to feditious rumours, he must needs committed to fure executioners. Their com- bave incurred the general hatred of all, as a having often offended in that kind; his appearing, how great foever the suspicion ung redress of these disorders, he hastened committed to Arideus, one of the Captains. his own ruine, by a less formal, but more who was two years preparing of a great focedy way. This kind of Muster was very and costly shew, making a stately Chariot folemn, and practifed with many ceremonies, in which the corps was laid; many coarses as for cleaning the Army. The Horse-men, of his friends being laid in the ground before the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the that of Alexander was bestowed in Alexan-Mercenaries were each according to their dria, a City of his own building, in Egypt. quality set in array, apart from others, as if they had been of fundry forts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their several Captains. But at that rection of their leveral capitalism. Pikes, time the great battel of Macedonian Pikes, WHilest these things were in doing, or presently after, Antipater and Crashich their called the Fhalanx, led by Melethither they fent and flew him.

into the City, where a new Council of the and to keep it lin a readiness for their use. Princes washeld, who finding what manner This was no hard thing for Leofthenes to of man their King was, divided all the Pro- do: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being vinces of the Empire among themselves; lately returned from the Alian War in poor leaving to Aridem the office of a Visitor, and estate, as defrauded of their pay by the yet making Perdiccas his Protector, and Captains. Of these he had gathered up eight Commander of the forces remaining with thousand, when the certain news was him. Then were the funerals of Alexander brought of Alexanders death: at which the

fower of differtion, and thereby with a pub- | ven days neglected, was opened and emlick approbation might have been cut off, as balmed by the Egyptians: no fign of poviou Prince being too weak a Patron. Now feek- might be. The charge of his build was

> 6. III. The beginning of the Lamian War.

ager, was of purpose bestowed in a ground terus, two principal Noblemen, and infeof disadvantage; and the countenance of the rior to none of Alexanders followers, if Horse and Elephants beginning to give not greater than any of the rest, were bucharge upon them, was such, as discovered fied in Greece with a War, which the no jelting paltime, nor good intent. Kings Athenians more bravely than which the were always wont to fight among the horfemen: of which custom Perdicess made great secure more boldly than before, upon the use that day, to the utter confusion of his courage which they had taken by his death. enemies. For Aridem was always governed Alexander, not long before he died, had by him, who for the present had him in commanded that all the banished Greeks possession. Two or three days before, he (few excepted) should be restored unto their lought the death of Perdiccas at the instiga- former places. He knew the factious quality tion of Meleager: now he rides with Perdiccas of the Grecian Estates, and therefore thought up and down about the footmen, command- fo to provide, that in every City he would ing them to deliver unto the death all fueh have a fure party, But it fell out otherwise: as Perdice as required. Three hundred they For he loft the hearts of many more than he were who were cast unto the Elephants, and won by this proud injunction. His pleasure by them sain, in the presence of the King indeed was suffilled; yet not without great (who should have desended them) and of murmuring of the whole Nation, as being their affrighted companions. But these three against allorder of Law, and a beginning of hundred were not the men whose punish- open tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayment Meleager had expected: they were fuch ed in estate, but retaining more than was as had followed him, when he disturbed the needful of their ancient spirits, forbad the first consultation that was held about the execution of this Decree in their Dominielection of a new King, and some of them his ons; so did also the Atolians who were valiespecial friends. Having therefore kept him- ant men, and inhabited a Region well forself quiet a while, as unwilling to give of tified by nature: yet neither of them took fence to them that had the advantage; when Arms, but seemed to bear themselves, as men he faw their proceedings tend very mani- that had done no more than they might we'l feltly to his destruction, he fled away into Justifie by reason: nevertheless to prevent the a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to Leofthenes, a Captain of theirs, willing The Army being thus corrected, was led him to levy an Army, but in his one name, thought upon; whose body having been se- City of Athens declared it self, and more honorably than wifely, proclaimed War [the ground of effects to be produced in veagainst the Macedonians for the liberty of ry few years. Greece. Hercupon Leofthenes drew in the Etolians and some other Estates, gave bat-tel to the Bestians, who sided with Antipa- solicited to make haste. Not without cause: ter, and overthrew them; growing so tast For in Macedon there could not at that time in reputation, and fo ftrong in adherents, be raifed more than thirteen thousand foot: that Antipater (arming in all hafte, yet fuf- and fix hundred horse; which Muster was pecting his own (trength) was fain to fend of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Couninto Alia to Craterus for fuccour.

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hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their and Alexander, who also were the best horsedestinies a far off, which deceive all mortal men of Greece, furnished him with very wission, even when they seem near at hand, brave troops, that might have done great One month was scarcely past, since nothing service, had their faith held out, which fo heavily burthened the thoughts of Anti- they changed for the liberty of Greece. With pater as the return of Crateria into Mace-these forces did Antipater in Thessal try the dom; which he then feared as death, but cortune of a battel with Leosthener; rather now defired as the most likely affurance of (as may seem) fearing the increase of his his life. Craterus, whom Alexander held as enemies power, and rebellion of the Greeks, of all men the most affured unto him, was (were they not checkt at the first) than prefent into Macedon to convey home the old fuming on his strength. For Leosthenes had of Souldiers (that was the pretence) and to Athenians, Etolians, and Mercenaries, two fucceed Antipater in the government of Ma- and twenty thousand foot, besides the assicedon and Greece. The suspitions were strong stance of many petty Signories, and of some that he had a privy charge to put Antipater Illyrians and Thracians: of horse he brought to death: neither did that which was com- into the field about two thousand and five monly published found much better; which hundred; but over-strong he was that way was, That Antipater should be sent unto the also, when once the Thessalians had revolted King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, unto him. So Antipater loft the day; and his newly to belevied in Europe. For Alexander loss was such, that he neither was able to was much incensed against him by his Mo-keep the field, nor to make a safe retreat ther Olympias: and would fometimes give into his own Country; therefore he fled into out speeches, testifying his own jealousie and the Town of Lamia, which was well fortifihatred of him; but yet he strove to smother ed, and well provided of all things necesit, which in a cruel Prince betokeneth little fary to bear out a fiege. Thither did Legood. Few of Alexanders Lieutenants had oftheres follow him, present him battel again, escaped with life: most of them indeed were and upon refusal close up the Town with mean persons in regard of those who follow- Earth-works, and a Wall. There will we ed him in his Indian expedition, and were leave him for a while, travelling in the last therefore (perhaps) removed to make place honorable enterprize that ever was underfor their betters. But if the Kings rigour taken by that great City of Athens. was fuch, as could find rebellious purpofes (for fo he interpreted even lewd government ) in base persons; little might Antipater hope for, who having fitten Vice-roy ten years in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the prefence of to fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, King Aridam living under the rule of to fell a Master, and the envy of a Court, When all the Princes were wherein they had been his inferiours, gone each to his own Province, kept anaked which would now repine to see him their Court: all his greatness confisting in a equal. Therefore whether his fear drew bare Title, supported by the strength of him to prevention, working first the Kings his Protector, who cared not for him other-death by poyson, given by his Son Is-wise than to make use of him. Perdices had laws, Alexanders Cup-bearer; or when no Province of his own peculiar, neither ther it brake not forth untill opportuni- was he like to be welcome to any whom he ty had changed it into the passion of re-should visit in his Government. A stronger venge, which was cruelly performed by Army than any of the rest he had, which he his fon Cassander; great cause of much might easily hope in that unsettled condi-

At the present, Craterus was sent for, and trey being emptied into Asia. The Thestalians Nothing is more vain than the fears and indeed who had long stood firm for Philip

# 6. I V. . How Perdiccas employed his Army.

Gar he had; which I note in this place, as tion of things to make better worth to him

than many Provinces could have been. The fiftroy them : which intent of his Perchecas di herter to accomplish his defires, he closely covering, did both give him in charge to put fought the marriage of Cleopatra, the fifter all those Robels to the tword, giving the of Alexander; yet about the same time he spoils of them to his Souldiers, and further either married Nicea the daughter of Anti njoyned it upon Pythons Captains (his own gater, or made such love to her as blinded creatures) that they should see his commandtheir eyes, who did not somewhat narrowle fearch into his doings.

CHAP. III.

that name, and tenth King of that Country, of the Rebels commanding over three thouhad continued faithful to the Persian Em land, corrupted by Python, did in the heat pire as long as it flood: following the exam- of the fight (which was very doubtful) reple of his to re-fathers, even from Pharnaces tire without necessity to a hill not far the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who mar- off. This dismayed the rest, and gave the ried Atoffa fifter to the great Cyrus. Some day to Python: who being far enough of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppres- from Perdicess, offered composition to the fedby the Persian: but what Fortune took vanquished, granting unto them their lives from them at one time, Vertue restored at and liberty, under condition of laving down another, and their faithful Princes had much their arms; and hereupon he gave them encreased all. But now in the fatal Period his faith. Being Master of these companies, of fogreat an Empire, with much wisdom, he might well have a good opinion of his and (Darius being flain) with fufficient ho- own power: all power being then valued by count, being occupied with great cares. But thousand eight hundred horse, besides there Perdiccas, who had no greater business new Companions, whom needless fear withwherein to entertain his Army, found it ex- out great loss had caused to leave the field: redient both for the honor of the Empire, but in true estimation, all the greatness to take that in-land Kingdom, furrounded whereof Python might think himself affured, victory: for having taken Ariarathes prifo- themselves; leaving Python as naked as he ner, with many others, he crucified him, and came forth to return unto his great Master. as many of his Kindred as he could light upthan as to the most affured. Python was to Lamian War taketh ending. fubdue the Greeks rebelling in the high Countries of Asia. About twenty thousand fort, and 3000 horse they were (all old Souldiers) who planted in Colonies by Alexander to bridle the barbarous nations, were foon weary of their unpleasant habitations, and therude people, among whom they lived:

ment executed. These directions for use of the victory, might have proved needless; so Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the second of uncertain was the victory it felf. A Captain not, he might have acknowledged the Markenian in the Persan room. This he did not; neither did Alexander call him to acwith Provinces of the Macedonian conquest, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in and for his own particular, to have one op- | Perdiceas. For by his command were ten portune place of fure retreat, under the go- thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of vernment of a stedfast friend. Therefore he those which followed Python, levied; the entred Cappadocia, fought with Ariarathes, Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeving who drew into the field 30000 foot, and the letters of Perdiccus, by which they were 15000 horse (a strong Army, had it not en- enjoyned to give assistance to that business; countred a stronger, and better trained) wan and by virtue of the precept given unto them the victory, and thereby the whole King- by Perdiccas, did the Macedonians cut in dom. But with much cruelty did he use the pieces all those poor men who had yielded

Now was Perdiceas mighty above the on, and so delivered that Province to Est- mighty, and had fair leifure to pursue his menes, whom of all men living he trusted hopes of marriage with Cleopatra, and theremost. Another part of his forces he had com- by to make himself Lord of all: but this mitted to Python, rather as to the most ho- must be secretly carried for fear of opposinorable of fuch as remained about him, tion. How it succeeded, will appear when the

6. V.

The process of the Lamian War.

WE left Antipater hardly besieged, wanting means to free himself withand therefore took advantage of the present out succours from his friends in Asia. Those troubles to feek unto themselves a better helps not appearing so soon as he expected, for une. Against these Python went, more he came to parley with Leosthener, and delirous to make them his own, than to de- would have yielded unto any terms of Rrrr 2

reason, wherewith men possessed with shad (notwithstanding the departure of the hope of victory, do feldom limit their de- Etolians) the advantage of Leonatus in fires. Leostkenes willed him without fur-horse, by the odds of two thousand Thessalither circumstance to submit himself to dif- ans; in other things he was equal with him; cretion. This was too much for him that neause he thought himself Superior, in the had once commanded over them, who now fortune of that day he proved fo: for he required of him fuch a dishonourable com- wan a great victory (chiefly by virtue of the other for winning the Town, which felt he desperately had sought among the Indi-

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great want of victuals. ther weary of fitting still at a fiege, or have- first of Alexanders Captains which dyed in ing business which they pretended at home) pattel; but all, or most of the rest shall follow took their leave, and returned into their him the same way. After this day, the Ather own Countrey. Their departure left the nians did never any thing suitable to their trenches fo thinly manned, that Antipater ancient glory. found means to fally out upon his enemies to The vanquished Macedonians were too their great loss: for many were slain, and weak to renew the fight, and too proud to Leofthenes himself among them, ere he could flie. They betook themselves to high grounds be repulfed into the Town. Yet hereby the unfit for fervice on horseback, and so abode Macedonians were nothing relieved, their in the fight of the enemy that day; the day victuals wasted, and they were not strong following, Antipater with his men came into enough to deal with the Greeks in open their Camp, and took the charge of all. The fight. Craterus was long in coming. Lyfima- Athenians perceiving their strength to be chus, who was neerest at hand in Thrace, had at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the work too much of his own, leading no more enemy should increase, did earnestly seek than four thousand foot, and two thousand to determine the matter quickly by another horse, against Seuthas the Thracian King , battel. But still Antipater kept himself on who brought into the field above four ground of advantage; which gave more times that number; and though Lysmachus, than reasonable confidence to the Greek, not without loss, had gotten one victory, yet many of whom departed to their homes, the enemy abounding in multitude, felt accounting the enemy to be vanquished. not the blow so much as might abate his. This wretchlesness (incorrigible in an Ar-Courage. Therefore Leonatus was earnestly my of Voluntaries) was very inexcusable; folicited by Antipaters friends, to make all feeing that the victories by Land were haste to the rescue. He had the government very much desaced by losses at Sea, where of Phrygia the less, and was able to raise an the Athenians, labouring to have made Army of more than twenty thousand foot, themselves once again Masters, were putto and two thousand five hundred horse; whe- the worst. ther levied out of his Province, or appointed unto him out of the main Army, it is un- came on, of which she never could be decertain. Certain it is, that he was more livered unto this day. Craterus with a strong willing to take in hand the journey into Army having made great marches from Ci-Greece, than Antipater was to have him come. licia, paffed over into Europe, and coming For Cleopatra had written unto him, desiring into Thesaly, joyned himself with Antipahis presence at Pella, the chief City of Mace ter. The forces of Leonatus, Antipater, and don, and very kindly offering her felf to be | Craterus being joyned in one, contained forhis Wife; which letters he kept not so close ty thousand weightily armed, three thousand as had been requifite, and therefore brought light-armed men, and five thousand horse; himself into great suspicion, that soon ended of which numbers the Greek wanted a with his life. Antiphilus, chosen General by thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, the Athenians in place of Leosthenes, hear- eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did ing of his approach, forfook the fiege of Antiphilus labour to avoid the necessity of a Lamia, and took the ready way to these battel, until such time as the Townsconfegreat Conquerors of Asia, with purpose to derate should return unto the Camp those give them an evil welcome home, belore bands which had straggled from it. But

polition. Wherefore knowing that the *The[faliant*) which appeared the greater by extremity, from which as yet he was far the end of *Leonatus* him(elf; who fighting enough, could bring no worse with it, Anti- valiantly, was driven into a marish piece of pater prepared for the defence; and the ground, where he found his death, which ans, but it waited for him at home, not far In this lingring War the Atolians (whe-from the place of his nativity. He was the

antipater and they should joyn in one. He those companies were so slow in coming,

But now the fatal captivity of Greece

and Antipater fo urgent upon the Greeks , | the Orator, and Xenocrates the Philosopher. that compelled they were to put the matter were chief of this Emballage; Phocion, as in hazard without further attendance. Like the most honorable; Demades, as a strong enough it is, that with a little more help they perswader (both of them well respected by had carried away the victory: for the Thef Antipater; ) and Xenocrates, as one admired faltans had the upper hand, and held it, un- for wisdom, gravity of manners, and virtil fuch time as they perceived their battels tue; but all these ornaments consisting in (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the speculation, and therefore of less regard, higher ground, which caused them also to fall when their admiration was to cost them back. So the Macedonian became Lords of much in real effects. the field, having little else to boast of, considering that with the loss of an hundred and Leosthenes, required of the Ashenians, that defining that with bisso an intended at the them should wholly submit them cleves to his death of some five hundred enemies. Yet pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, hereof wasgreat use made: For the Greek, he commanded them to defray the charges as not subject unto the full command of one of the War past, to pay a fine, and entertain General, and being every one desirous to a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popreferve his own estate and City: concluded pular estate, committing the government of to make a treaty of peace with Antipater; the City to those of most wealth, depriving who being a fubtle Artificer, and well un- of the right of suffrageall such as wanted a derstanding their aptness to division, refused convenient proportion of riches. to hearken to any general composition, but willed every City to deal apart for it felf. of good substance, to whom the administra-The intent of his device was so apparent, tion of the Commonwealth was given; a that it was rejected: the Greeks choosing number great enough to retain the name rather to abide the coming of their affi- and form of a Democracy. But the rascal stants, whose unreasonable carelesness be-multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed traved the cause. Antipater and Craterus to get their livings out of the common belieging and winning some Towns in Thef-troubles, being now debarred from bearing [aly, which the Army of the Confederates offices and giving their voyces, cryed out, ried that Nation from attending any longer usurpation of a few incroaching upon the own affured and present calamity.

ø. V I.

of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. of Demosthenes bis death.

He Thessalians falling off, all the rest his own suspitions and hatred ) he caused peace; the gentle conditions given to the with some others, to be flain. Had the most forward, inviting such as were slack. death of these two, especially of Demosthe-Only the Athenians and Atolians held out, nes, been forborn, the rest of his proceed-Little favour could they hope for, having ings in this action might well have passed been Authors of this tumult, and their fear for very mild; whereas now, all such as was not great; the feat of the war being either are delighted with the Orations of far from them. But the celerity of Antipa-Demosibenes, or have surrendred their confounded all their imaginations; who judgements to Authors justly admiring him, fate still at Athens, devising upon courses of as the most eloquent of all that ever did profecuting the War to come, which came speak and write, condemn him utterly, calto their doors before their confultation ling him a bloody Tyrant. Such grace and could find iffue. He was ready to enter up- reputation do the Learned Arts find in all on their Frontiers; they had no ability to Civil Nations, that the evil done to a man, relift, and were as heartless as friendless. All famous in one of them, is able to blemith that remained was to fend Embassadors, any action, how good soever otherwise it defiring peace upon some good terms: ne- be, or honorably carried. ceffity enforcing them to have accepted Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the even the very worst. Phocion, with Demades Temple of Neptune, in the Isle of Caliuria;

About nine thousand they were, all men wanted means and courage to relieve, wea- that this was a meer Oligarchy, the violent upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their publick right. These turbulent fellows (of whom King Philip had been wont to fav. That war to them was peace, and peace war) Antipater planted in Thrace, and gave them lands to manure; leaving as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end(yet withal for satisfying foon followed feverally, and fued for Demosthenes and Hyperides famous Orators,

there ded Archias (fent with Souldiers by werful State of Athens had been. Their Coun-Assistator for the purpose) find him, and try was rough and mountainous, having masent'y perfivaded him to leave the place iny places of great fastness, into which they but no to prevailing, he threatned violence conveyed fuch of their goods as they most Then Demolibrate entreating a little respite, esteemed, and of their people, as were least as it hadbeen to write somewhat, secretly fit for War: with the rest they fortified the teek poyfon, which he had kept for fuch a strongest of their Cities, and so abode the needers, end fo died stather choosing to do coming of the Mucedonians, whom they the last execution upon himfelf, than to fall manfully refifted. With great obstinacy did into the hands of such as hated him. Only the Macedonians contend against the diffithis act of his (commendable perhaps in a culties of the places, which the Etolians Heathen man) argued some valour in him 5 made good as long as their victuals held out. who was otherwife too much a coward in But when Craterus had shut up all passages, battel, howfoever valiant in perswading to and utterly debarred them of relief, then were enterprizes, wherein the way to very ho- they put to a milerable choice; either to denourable ends was to be made through pal- freend from their strong holds, and fight upfages expeeding dangerous. He loved money on equal ground, with unequal numbers, or well, and had great fums given him by the to endure the miferies of hunger and cold, Persian, to encourage him, in finding work against which they could make no long refor the Mac donians at home. Neither did fiftance; or to yield themselves to the Maceheill (me thinks) in taking from the Perstans donians, who, incensed by the loss of many which loved not his Country, great reward, good Souldiers, were not like to leave to for speaking such things as tended to his stubborn enemies in places which might give Countries good; which he did not cease to confidence to rebellion. In ca. es of extremity procure, when the Persians were no longer much fineness of wit apprehend as all curable to give him recompence. Such as in ten- cumftances of danger, commonly documore der contemplation of his death can endure hurt than a blunt confideration of that only nohonorable, though true, mention of An- which at the present is in hand. These Etolitipater, may (if they can) believe Lucian, that he was a stedfast enemy to the Mace. he should be cut off.

voured carefully to preferve.

#### ø. VII.

How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Ætolian wars into Afia. The grounds of the first civil war between the Macedonian Lords.

So Antipater with Craterus returned into Macedonia, where they strengthened their triendship with a new alliance; Craterus taking Phila, tire Daughter of Antipater

Shortly after they went against the £tolians, whose poverty was not so easily daundency, and the present rule which he bare ted, as the luxurious wealth of the more co- lin the parts of Europe. The other, as of all

ans did not as yet want meat; but their enewho tells us, Thatit was Antipaters purpole mies daily molested them: wherefore as yet to have done him great honour. Sure it is, they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For donians ; therefore diferetion required that fuch news came out of Affa into the Macedonians Camp as made Antipater and Craterus The matters of Albens being thus order-think every hour a month, till they had rid ed, the chief command was left in the hands their hands of these Ætolians, giving them of Phocion, a vertuous man, and lover of his whatfoever conditions they would ask: yet Country, yet applying himself to the neces- with purpose to call them to severe account; fity of the times; by which commendations yea, to root them out of Greece by death, or he had both at other times done the City by captivity, when once they should have muchgood, and now procured this peace, lettled the affairs of Affa; as they hoped and which (though grievous to free-men, yet defired. But of mens purposes God is dispofavourable to the vanquished) he endea- ser in whose high Counsel it was ordained, that this poor Nation should continue 2 troublesome bar to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchy) an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Afia, the reformation intended by Antipater and Craterus, was fo far from taking effect, that it served meerly as an introduction to all the civil Wars enfuing.

The grounds of the Aftatique Expedition, which did fet the world in an uproar, were thefe. Antipater and Craterus were of Alexanders Captains the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precemen the best beloved, and most respected, might easily be made. So should greatness both of Alexander and of the whole Army. meet with a good title; and what more Next unto these had Perdicess been; whom could be wished? Some impediment the the advantage of his presence at the Kings power of Ptolomy might give, who held deathdid makeequal, or superior, to either Egypt well fortified with men, but much of these, if not to both together. The first better with love of the people; yet if the intents of Perdiccas were, to have conforted business prospered in Macedonia, like with these two, and to have been with them enough it was that either Ptolony would a third partner in the Government of all; to follow of himself, or be driven to come to which purpose he entertained the discourse reason. Antigonus likewise then Governing of marriage with one of Antipaters Daugh- in Phrygia, a busic-headed man, and ill affectters. But feeling in short space the strength ed to the side, was to be looked into and of that gale of wind which bore him up, he made away, for fear of further trouble. So hegan to take wing and foar quite another thought Perdicess, and was deceived in fo way. Aridaus was a very fimple man, yet thinking. Antigonus was as good a man of ferved well enough to wear the title of that War, of as deep a judgement, as high a spirit, Majestie, whereof Perdiccas being Admini- and as great undertaking, as any of Alexanfirstor, and hoping to become Proprietary, ders Captains. His imployments had been the practice was more severe than had been less than some of theirs, which made him also in the days of Alexander: the defire to the less respected. But his thoughts were as frinces, and their ambitious Officers, who Princes, and their ambittous Cinecis, who me is with careful attention had he watch-felves from contempt, and of giving fuch a fiery luftre to their actions, as may dazle the purposes, which it was now high time to eves of the beholders. How cruelly the poor discover. For Perdiccas having with a jealous Greeks in the higher Alia were all put to the eye pryed into the demeanor of Antigonus, fword; and how tyrannoully the King and and finding him no way fit for his turn Princes of Cappadocia were crucified, hath caused him to be charged with such accusaalready been thewed. The Pifidians were tions, as might fuffice to take away his life, the next who felt the wrath of these coun- especially by a Judge that sought his death. terfeit Alexanders. One City of theirs was This device Antigonus would not feem to utterly razed; the children fold for flaves, perceive, but prepared himself in shew to and all the rest massacred. The Isaurians, by make answer, indeed, to make escape; which this example grown desperate, when after easily he did, putting himself and his Son two or three days trial they found them- Demetrius aboard of some Athenian Gallies, felves unable to continue the defence, lockt that carried him to Antipater, laden with themselves into their houses, and set the such tidings as sinished the Etolian War be-Town on fire, into the flame whereof the fore mentioned. young mendid throw themselves, after that As the coming of Antigonus made Craterus from the walls.

holding authority, the match with Cleopatra ing against him.

they had a while repelled the Macedonians and Antipater manifestly perceive their own danger: fo his flight gave Perdiceas to un-These exploits being performed, the deriftand that his intentions were laid open, Army had no other work than to sift the and must now be justified by the sword. althes of the burnt City for gold and filver is Therefore he prepared as faft as factould, but Perdiceas had business of greater impornot only for defence, but (as having on his tance troubling his brains. Nothing was fide the Kings name) to meet with them at more contrary to his ends, than to fit still home, who were nothing slack in providing without employment, letting his Souldiers to encounter him. Ptolomy being advertised grow idle about him, whilst others grew of these proceedings, and considering how great, and took deep root in their feveral nearly they concerned him, fided with An-Provinces. He purposed therefore to trans- tipater. To his Government of Egypt he had port his forces into Europe, under pretence annexed the Dominion of Cyrene, not withof bringing the King into Macedonia, the feat out confent of the chief Citizens; and now of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. in the midst of these garboyls he celebrated The Kings presence would make the Offices the funeral of Alexander with great solemniof his Vice-Roys (during the time) actual- ty, purchasing thereby to himself much good ly void; Antipater with Craterus being once will and many partakers, notwithstanding in case of private men, and only Perdiccas the terrible report of the Kings Army com-

6. VIII

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upon Ptolony; leaving Eumenes to keep to codiles, a miserable spectacle evento such as his use, against Craterus and Antipater, the were out of danger; such as were strong parts of Alia bordering upon Europe.

It may feem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to to the contrary bank, whereby they fell into come out of Greece with a great number, the hands of their enemies. and of more able men than Ptolomy could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with Ptolomy; or believed that tongues, which long time had concealed the Graters would not be ready for him foon evil thoughts of their hearts. While they and made it worse with ill handling.

many to his party, without help of any bad fion on those who fell into his hands alive. many to his raily, arts. Ferdicess contrariwife was full of info-but performed all rights of Funeral to the lency, which never fails to be rewarded dead carkalles, which the River had casturwith hatred; which is truly defined, An affe- on his fide: and finally, fent their bones and ction founded upon opinion of an unjust con- ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or tempt. The whole story of his proceedings in Egypt is not worth relation: for he did in Egypt is not worth relation. nothing of importance; but (as a wilful to mutiny, thinking it unreasonable to make man) tired his followers, and wasted them in war upon so vertuous and honorable a hard enterprizes without fuccefs. His most person, to fulfil the oleasure of a Lordly hard enterprizes without necess. This most perion, to ruint the obsaure of a Lordly forecable attempt was upon a little Town, ambitious man, ufing the nike flaves. The called the Camels Wall: thither he marched fedition growing strong, wanted only a head, by night, with more haste than good speed; which it quickly found. Python was there, for Ptolomy preventing him, did put himself who inwardly hated Perdicess, for the difinto the place, where behaving himself not grace which he had suffered by his procure only as a good Commander, but as a front ment, after the victory upon the rebellious only as a good commander, out as a nout ment, after the victory upon the rebellious Souldier, he gave the foil to Perdicess, Greeks. Python had lived in honorable place causing him to retire with loss, after a vehe- about Alexander; he was in the division of ment, but vain all ault, continued one whole the Provinces made Governor of Media; he day. The night following, Perdices made had followed Perdices, and being in all another journey (which was his last) and things (the Protectorship excepted) equal to came to the divitions of Nilus, over against him, had nevertheless been scornfully used Memphis. There with much difficulty he by him, which now he requited. Drawing began to pass over his Army into an Island, together a hundred of the Captains, and a where he meant to incamp. The current good part of the Horfe, which confided was ftrong, the water deep, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elethemselves before) he entred the Tent of phants above the pallage, to break the vio- Perdiccas, where without further circumlence of the stream, and his horsemen be- stance they all ran upon him, and slew him. neath it, to take up fuch as were carried Such end had the proud mif-governing auaway by swiftnessor water. A great part of thority of Perdiccas. He might have lived that whereas the former companies had of all, had he not been too masterly over waded up to the chin, they who thould have those which were already his. waded up to the ching they will allow a later thanks were already his followed could find no footing. Whicher this came by the rifing of the water, or fit- where he was joyfully received; he excufed ting away of the ground; (the earth being himself of things past, as not having been broken with the feet of 10 many Men. Horse, Author, or given cause of the War, and and Elephants) no remedy there was, but was easily believed: the favour of the fuch as had passed must repais again, as well Army being such toward him, that needs

as they might: for they were too weak for the enemy, and could not be relieved by Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, and his death. their fellows. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the Ri-Pardiecas, uncertain which way to bend ver, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by Croand could fwim, recovered the Camp; many were carried down the stream, and driven

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their General, giving liberty to their enough. Sure it is, that he took a bad course were thus murmuring, news came from Ptolomy, which did fet them in an up-roar. Ptolomy by his fweet behaviour allured Ptolomy had not only showed much compashis Army being arrived on the further as great as any, could he have fuffered any as bank, the channel began to wax deep; so great ashimself; yea, peradventure master

against Perdiccas.

hereafter.

6. IX.

Vidories of Eumenes in the lower Afia.

b things happening about the person of Antipater, and his Associates, vilifying Eudices, and Neoptolemus, had received com- voice were but heard by any Macedonian Horse, giving many priviledges to such as ners of their native Country. So Antipater

they would have made him Protector in the were ferviceable, and training them well up. they would have made this he refuted. It Not without great need. For when upon adwas an Office fit for one that would feek to vertilement of the great preparations made was an one greatness with his trouble. Pto- by Craterus and Antipater ( who had newly long was well enough already; wherefore, patied the Helielpont) for the invation of his for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, Provinces, he willed Neoptolemus to come to and for their well-deferving of him, he pro- him with all his power; Neoptolemus did (inand tot that honourable charge to Python, and deed) advance, but in hostile manner, though to Aridaus the Captain, who having had unprovoked, prefented him Battel. Neoptofome companies of Souldiers, to furnish with lemus had fecretly covenanted with Antipatheir attendance the folemnities of Alexan-ter to lay open the way for him to the Conder Funerals, did with them adhere to him quest of Asia, which now intending to perform, he was shamefully disappointed. For, In the midst of these businesses came news though his foot-men, being all Macedonians. of two great Victories obtained by Eume- had much the better, and prevailed far upon nes; which news, had they arrived two or Emmenes his Battels; yet were his horse drithree dayes fooner, had been entertained ven out of the field, and himself compelled. with joyfull acclamations; and would have with a few of them, to run away, leaving given such reputation to Perdiccas, as had naked the backs of his Maceabnian soot-men caused both his private maligners to con. to be charged by Enmenes, who forced them tinue his open flatterers, and his open in such wise, that casting down their Pikes, enemies to have accepted any tolerable they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their composition. But these good tidings coming oath to do him faithful service. Antipater in ill time, when death had stopped the and Graterus endeavoured with many goodears which would have given them welcome, ly promifes to draw Eumenes into their fofound bad acceptance, as shall be shewed ciety, who contrariwise offered himself as a mean of reconciliation, between Perdiccas and Craterus, whom he dearly loved ; profesfing withall his hatred to Antipater, and confrant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintain.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot. DEfore we proceed in the relation of Neoptolemus came with his broken crew to the King, it is meet that we speak of those menes, and calling him a Scribe (at which bufinefles in the lower Afa, which were foolith railing they laught) but extolling the handled by Eumenes with notable dexteri- virtue of Craterus (as well he might) with tv. whilest Perdiccas was occupyed in the high commendations; affuring them, that if Egyptian Wars. Alcetas the Brother of Per- Craterus did but once appear, or that his mand from Perdiceas to be affistant to Eu- in Eumenes his Camp, the Victory was won; menes, and to follow his directions. But Alce- for they would all forthwith revolt unto to made flat answer that he would not; al- him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to ledging the backwardness of his men to bear give him aid against Eumenes, and especial-Arms against fo great a person as Antipater, by requested that Craterus might have the and a man fo much honoured as Craterus. leading of the Army to be fent. Their own Neoptolemus was content to make fair shew, affections did easily lead them to condescend but inwardly he repined at the precedency to his motion: a good hope there was, that given to Eumenes, as thinking himself the the reputation of Craterus might prevail as better man. Eumenes discovering, through much as the force which he drew along. For the counterfeited looks of Neoptolemus, the he had in the midst of Alexanders vanities, mischief lurking in his heart, wisely diffem- when others (imitating their King) betook bled with him, in hope to win him by gentle themselves to the Perstan fashions of garbehaviour, and fweet language, that comments and customs, retained the ancient monly are lost, when bestowed upon arro- Macedonian form of behaviour, and appargant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie rel; whereby he became very gracious with himself, that he might stand upon his own the common Souldiers, who beheld these strength, he raised out of the Countries new tricks of Asia with discontented eyes, as under his jurisdiction, about six thousand reproachful and derogatory to the man-

took the way toward Cilicia, to hold Per- which over-hastily they had made, seeking diecas at bay, and to joyn with Ptolomy. Cra- the deceitful issue of sivolous hopes. Then terns used great celerity, to have taken En- was it high time for Craterus (having failed menes revelling (as he hoped) according to in surprising them as enemies) to discover the common fathion of Captains, after a himself to his old friends, and fellow-soulgreat Victory. But he had a wary and well-diers, of whom he could fee none. Phenix advised enemy to encounter, who kept good a Tenidian, and Artabazus a Persian, had the espial upon him, and with much wisdom leading of that side, who, mindful of their fore-faw all that was to be feared, and the instructions began to give battel upon him. means of prevention, which his courage did with such countenance as told him his error: not fail to execute. Fumenes was not igno- which to redeem, he bade his men fight, and rant that Craterus was able to defeat him redeem the day, and take the spoil to themwithout Battel, yea without froke; him felves; but the Bear, whose skin he fells, is therefore he feared more than the Army not yet caught. The ground whereon the following him: (yet the Army following him Battel was fought, gave most advantage to was fuch, as much exceeded his own toot the horse, who encountred very roughly on men, but was inferiour in horse-men) and all parts: especially about Eumenes and Nethought it more uneasse to keep the Mace- optolemus; who, as soon as they had discovedonians from revolting to him, than from red one another, could not contain themknowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a felves, but with great rage met body to bostrange piece of work, which desperation of dy, and letting loofe their bridles, grappled, all courses else taught him, and wise manage fo violently together, that their hories ran ing prosperously accomplished. He gave from under them, leaving both of them tumout reports, that Neoptolemus was returned bling on the ground. Neoptolemus role first with fuch company as he could gather to-gether, and had gotten Pigres (a Captain of wherewith he houghed the other, causing no great estimation, who lay not far off) to him to fall down and fight upon one knee. joyn with him. Having animated his men In this conflict they received many wounds, against Neoptolemus, whom he knew to be but Neoptolemus giving slight ones, took such despised and hated among them, (as having as were deadly, by which he died in the been vanquished by some of them, and for-sheen vanquished by some of them, and for-slaken others in plain field, whilest they vali-alive) stripped by his mortal enemy, whose antly fought in his quarrel) he took great revilings he requited, lying even at the last care to keep them from receiving any in- gate, with one wound in the groin, dangetelligence of the enemies matters. Peremp- rous had it not wanted force. The death of torily he commanded that no messenger nor Neoptolemus caused his followers to run trumpeter should be admitted; and not here- away upon the spurre, and seek shelter bewith fatisfied, he placed against Craterus no hind the Battels of their Foot. They were one Macedonian, nor any other that much nothing hotly pursued. For Eumenes pained would have regarded him, had he been himself to carry succour to his left wing, known: but Thracians, Cappadocians, and which he suspected much to be distressed; Persians, under the leading of such, as thought but found accompanied with the same for-

more highly of none, than of Perdiccas and tune, that had affifted him when he fought himself. To these also he gave in charge, in person. Craters hadgallantly born him-that without speaking or hearkning to any self a while, and sustained the impression word, they should run upon the enemy; and of Artabazus and Phanix with more cougave him no leifure to fay, or do any thing rage than force; holding it nothing agreebut fight. The directions which he gave to able with his honour to retire and protract others, he did not fail to execute in his own the fight, when he was charged by men of person: but placing himself in the right little estimation or note. Otherwise it is wing of his Battel, opposite to Neoptolemus, not unlikely that he might have either carwho (as he understood) conducted the left ried the day, or preserved himself to a better wing on the contrary side, he held the Mace- adventure by giving ground, as the rest donians arranged in good order, and ready (when he and Neoptolemus were flain) did. to charge the enemy as foon as the distance But whilst he fought to preserve his reputawould give leave. A rifing piece of ground tion, he loft his life by the fall of his Horse, lay between them, which having afcended, or his falling from his horse, through force the Armies discovered each other: but that of a wound received; upon which accident of Eumenes every way prepared for the he was trampled under foot by many that fight, the other wearied with long journeys, knew him not, and so perished unknown, till to the place where he lay, made great la- King Terdiceas, Philips elder Brother. mentation, as having alwayes loved and homentation, as whose death he was now led Armies, and (as a true Sitter of Alexanhecome the instrument. The vanquished Ar- der) fighting hand to hand with Carra my entertained a treaty of peace with Fu- Queen of the Phrygians, a Vrago, like unto my enters, making thew of willingness to become her felf, had than her. She brought up this his followers; but their intent was only to Eurydice in the fame unwomanly Art of nis tomored themselves, which (by his permissi- | War, who now among the Souldiers began on) having done; they stole away by night, to put in practice the rudiments of her edu-

and fled toward Antipater. the former, wan to Eumenes more reputation medling in his charge. Whether it were fo. rhan good will: for his own Souldiers took that Python had fome purpote to advance the death of Crateris heavily; and the Ar- the Son of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingmisslying further off were inraged with the dom, (as once he had fought to do;) or news. But other matters there were which whether the Queen did futpect him of some incenfed men against him, besides the death such intent; or whether only desire of rule of craters, whereof it manifeftly appeared, caufed her to quarrel with him; quarrel the that he was as forry as any that pretended did, which diffurbed the proceeding against greater heaviness. His Army wanted pay. Fumenes. The Army having shaken off such This was a great fault; which he wifely a rank-rider as Perducas, would not afteramended, by giving to them the spoil of ward be reined with a twined thread. Python tence, than to put it in execution.

#### ø. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice the Queen, and Office, into which Antipater is chosen.

it was too late to know it. Eumenes coming Kingdom of Macedon, being the only Son of

This Cina was a warlike woman; the had cation, to the fmall contentment of Python, This Battel fought within ten dayes of that could not brook her too curious interfuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So bearing himfelf upon his office, took upon him he redeemed the love of his own men, who to give directions in the Kings name, which of their meer motion appointed unto him the Queen did oftentimes controll, using the a Guard for defence of his person. Others same name with more authority, and better were not so easie to be reconciled. They liking of the Souldiers. Python seeing this, who had been Traitors to Perdiccas, hated would needs refign his office, whether upon him for his faithfulness, as greatly, as they weariness of the contentions daily growing, thought he would hate them for their falf- or on purpose to bring the Queen into enhood; neither found they any fairer way of vy, it is uncertain. Perhaps he thought, that excusing their late revolt, than by accusing now being the far worthiest man in the and condemning the fide which they had Camp, he should be intreated to retain the forfaken. Wherefore they proclaimed Eu- place, and have his authority confirmed, or menes a Traitor, and condemned him to dye: (as might be) increased, were it but for but it was an easier matter to give that fen- want of a fit Successor. Eurydice was nothing forry at this course; for now the thought to manage the affairs of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublefome affistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers Python the Protector. Python resigns his disappointed both her and Python of their contrary expectations; chusing Antipater, the only powerful man of Alexanders Cap-Thon and Arideus being chosen Pro- tains, then living, into the room of Python. tectors of King Aridaus, and the chil- Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, and dren of Alexander; took the way to Asia began to deal earnestly with the Macedonithe less, conducting the Army thorow sy- ans, that they should acknowledge no Lord ria. Of these two, Python was the greater in save only the King their Soveraign. Yet she reputation, yet far too weak to sustain so failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may important a Charge. For Eurydice, wife to feem) by three things: the apparent weak-King Aridaus, was come to her husband, a ness of her husband; the growth of Alexan-Lady of a malculine spirit, well understand-derr children, who (though born of outing what she was or should be, and thinking landish women) were bred in the Macedoher self able to support the weight which nian Camp; and the mightiness of Antipafortune laid upon her foolish husband, being ter, who commanding a great Army near at due to her own title. Her mother cyna, Si- hand, arrived in few dayes at the Camp, and fter to Alexander, by her Father King Phi- enforced Eurydice to hold her felf content. lip, was married (as hath been shewed) to Antipater was of such power, that he needed Amontas, who was the right Heir to the not to work by any close devices, as Ferthe Governours of Provinces that remained not. Eumenes perceiving the irrecoverable alive, acknowledged him their better; yea mischief which this traiterous practice had many of them he displaced out of hand, pur-brought upon him, pursued the villain, and ting others in their rooms. This done, he cut him off before he could thrust himself intook the King, Queen, and Princes along to the troops of Antigonus, and boast of his with him into Mucedonia, leaving Antigonus treachery. This was some comfort to Eu-General of the Royal Army: to whom for menes in the loss of that Battel, which dis his good services done, and to be done abled him utterly to keep the field, and left against Eumenes, he gave the rule of susana, it very hard for him to make a sase retrait. besides his former Provinces, and committed Yet one thing he did which much amazed into his hands the Government of Alia du- his enemies, and (though a matter of small ring that War.

### ø. XI.

Autigonus Lieutenant of Afia, wins a Battel of Eumenes, and beliegeth him in Nora: He vanguisheth other followers of Perdiccas.

TEre begins the greatness of Antigonus, whose power in few years over-grow- and common Souldiers apart, raising up ing the rest, wanted little of spreading it self heaps of earth as mountains over them, and over the whole Monarchy. He was to make fo went his way. As this bold adventure bred War upon Eumenes, Alcetus, the Brother, and in the Macedonians (returned to their Camp) Attalus the Brother-in-law to Perdiccas: great admiration of his brave spirit: so the work enough to keep his Army imployed news which Menander (who was fet to look in the publick fervice, till fuch time as he unto their carriages) brought and published might find occasion to make use of it in his among them, enticed them to love him as own business. The first of these which he their honourable friend. He had found Me undertook, was Eumenes, with whom Alce- nander in an open Plain, careless, as after an tus and Attalus refused to joyn, having un- affured Victory, and loaden with the spoils feafonably contended with him in time of of many Nations, the rewards of their long common danger about the chief place. Eu- vervice; all which he might have taken: menes had an Army strong in number, cou- but fearing left such a purchase should prove rage, and all needful provisions; but obedi- a heavy burden to him, whose chief hope ent only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus consisted in swift expedition, he gave secret tryed all way es of corrupting his Souldiers; warning to Menander to fly to the mountempting first the whole Army with letters: tains, whilest he detained his men (whom au-

diceas had done: he had no concurrents, all followed by some, whose company he defired importance) caused Antigonus himself to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the Victory, to get possession of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilest Anticonus held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compass, returned to the place where the Battel had been fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his own men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captains which practice failing by the cunning of Eu-thority could not have restrained ) by this menes (who made show as if he himself had sleight, setting them to bait their horses. scattered abroad those Letters to try the The Macedonians extolled him for this faith of his men ) he dealt apart with such courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had Captains as he thought most easie to be forborn when it lay in his power to strip won. Of these Captains one rebelled break-them out of all their wealth, and make ing out too hasfily before any help was near their children slaves, and to ravish their him, yet looking to carelefly to himself, that wives: but Antigonus told them, that he had he and his were furprifed, when he thought not forborn to do this out of any good will his enemies far off. Another follower of Eu- to them; but out of meer subtilty had avoidmenes (or rather of good fortune, which he ed those precious fetters, which would have thought now to be in company with Anti- hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. gonus) kept his treachery fecret, referving it For Eumenes did not only think all carriafor the time of execution. Upon confidence ges to be over-burdensome, but the number of the treaton which this falle man, Apolloni- of his men to be more troublesome than des, had undertaken. Antigonus prefented available in his intended course. Wherefore battel to Fumenes; in the heat whereof Apollo- he sent them from him as fast as he could, nides, General of the Horse to Eumenes, fled wishing them to shift for themselves; and over to the contrary fide, with fuch as he retaining only five hundred horse, and two could get to follow him: but was closely hundred foot. When he had wearied AntiCHAP. III. oonus a while in following him up and ther feeking to enjoy their Governments ed him pardon and his love; Eumenes reter cares, than with feeking to maintain quired restitution of his Provinces, which him in his Office. quinted not be granted without Antipaters Antipater was old and fickly, defirous of confent. Then was Nora closed up; where rest, and therefore contented to let Antigo-Anticonus leaving fufficient strength for con- nus pursue the dispatch of those businesses rinuance of the liege, took his journey into in Asia. He had with him Polysperchon, one pilidia against Alcetus and Attalus, with of the most ancient of Aexanders Captains. whom he made short work. He came upon that had lately suppressed a dangerous inthem unexpected, and feifed on passages, surrection of the Etolians, which Nation which wanted not men, but such a Cap- had stirred in the quarrel of Perdiccas, pretain as Eumenes, to have defended them. vailing far at the first, but soon losing all that Aletus and Attalus, as they had been too they had gained, whilest Antipater was fecure before his coming, fo were they too abroad in his Cilician Expedition. In this adventurous, in fighting at the first fight, Polysperchon, Antipater did repose great confiupon all disadvantages: and their folly was dence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth attended with suitable event. Attalus, with of his own Son Cassander of insufficiency in so many principal Captains was taken; Alcetus great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on fled to the City of Termefus, where the love his death-bed the Government of Macedon of the younger fort toward him was so ve- and Greece, together with his office of Prohement, that stopping their ears against all tectorship. So Antipater died, being fourperswasions of the ancient men, they needs score years old, having alwayes travelled in would hazard their lives, and their Coun-the great affairs of mighty Princes, with such try in his defence. Yet this availed him no- reputation, that Alexander in all his greatthing: for the Governours of the Town ness was jealous of him, and the successors using the time of advantage, they with their oppositions. In his private qualities, he was fervants did fet upon Alcers, who unable to a subtle man, temperate, frugal, and of a Phi-Antigonus was gone, the young men interred ed by Olympias, Alexanders Mother; whom once been minded to set on fire their own abstain from coming into Macedonia, or en-

#### ø. XII.

how great foever, is insufficient.

Ptolomy wins Syria and Phoenicia. The death of Antipater.

Hilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, ra-

down, he came to Nora, where again keep- for the present, than to confirm or enlarge nown, is not about him than necessity retiem. Only Italiany looking abroad, want quired to make good the place, he lovingly all syria and Planicia: an action of great difinified all the reft. Nora was a little for-importance, but not remarkable for any trefs in the borders of Lycaonia and Cappa-circumfrance in the managing. He fent decia, fo ftrougly fituated, that it feemed a Lieutenant with an Army, who quickly impregnable, and to well victualled and took Laomedon prisoner, that ruled there fored with all necessaries, that it might hold by appointment of Antipater, and formerout for many years. Thither did Antigonus ly of Ferdices; but (as may feem ) withfollow him, with more defire to make him out any great strength of Souldiers, far his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To from Assistants, and vainly relying upon this purpose he entertained parley with him, the Authority which had given him that but in vain. For, whereas Antigonus offer- Province, and was now occupied with grea-

having secretly compounded with Antigo- of Alexander did either quietly give place mus, caused the young men to fally out; and unto him; or were unfortunate in making refift, flew himself. His dead body was con- losophical behaviour, not unlearned, as haveyed to Antigonus, and by him barbaroufly ving been Scholar to Ariftotle, and written torn, was cast forth without burial. When some Histories. He had been much molestthe carka(s with folemn Funerals, having after the death of her Son, he compelled to Town in revenge of his death. Such favour termedling in matters of State: yea, at his had he purchased with courteous liberality. own death he gave especial direction, that But, to make an able General, one virtue, no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was foon forgotten; and yet, ere long, by forrowfull experience approved to have been found and good.

ø. XIII.

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of Caffander against him.

Dolysperckon was very skilfull in the Art tyrannous power which they had formerly rice in that occupation; other qualities, kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. requifite in fo high an Office as he under-Betides all thefe helps, Callander had the went, either Nature had not given to him, fecret love of Queen Eurydice, who had in or Time had robbed him of them. He mana- private rendred him fuch courteile, as was ged his bufiness more formally than wifely, due only to her husband. But neither the as a man of a fecond wit, fitter to affilt, than Queens favour, nor all his other possibilities. command in chief. At the first entrance gave him confidence to break out into open mon the stage, he called to counsel all his rebellion; because he saw Polysperchon much friends, wherein for weighty confiderations reverenced among the Mucedonians, and (as they who weighed not the contrary rea- frong enough to suppress him, before he fons held them) the Queen Olympias was could have made head. Therefore he made revoked out of Epirus into Alwedon, that thew of following his pleasures in the Counthe prefence of Alexanders mother might try, and calling many of his friends about countenance and strengthen their proceed- him, under pretence of hunting, advised ings. For, the condition of the times re- with them upon the fafeft course, and most quiring, that the Governours of Provinces free from all suspicion. The necessity was abroad thould keep greater Armies, than apparent of raifing an Army, before the buwere needful or easie to be retained about finess was set on root; and to do this, opthe person of the King in Micedonia; it portunity presented him with fair means. feemed expedient, that the face of the Ptolomy had by fine force, without any comlying too far off.

The like hope was of the Magistrates, and same coin, saying, That for his own sake, and others of principal authority, in those Com- his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly mon-weaks, whose forms had been correct-loved, he would not fail to give him all

ed by Antipater, that they would follow the fide, and draw in many partakers: it conof Polysperchon, who fucceeded unto Anti-cerned these men in their own particular to pater in the Protestorflap. The injurrection adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the raical multitude, coverous of re-gaining the of War, having long time been Appren- exercifed over the principal Citizens, were Court should be filled with all Majesty, mission, annexed Syria to his Government of that might give authority to the Injuncti- Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either ons from thence proceeding, and by an aw- for the King to trust him with, or for himto full regard contain within the limited part with. Antigonus upon the first news bounds of duty fuch as could not by force of Antipaters death, began to lay hold upon have been kept in order, being strong, and all that he could get, in such fort, that he manifestly discovered his intent of ma-Such care was taken for prevention of king himself Lord of all Asia. These two imaginary dangers and out of fight, whilest therefore stood in need of a Civil War; present mischiefs lay unregarded in their which Cassander well noted, and presumed bosoms. Cassander, the Son of Antipater, withall, That the friendship which had was not able to discover that great sufficiency passed between his Father and them, would in Polysperchen, for which his father had re- avail him somewhat. Whereupon he seposed in him to much confidence: neither cretly dispatched messengers to them both; could be differn such odds in the quality of and within a little while conveyed himself himself and rolysperchon, as was in their for- on a sudden over the Hellespont, that he tune. He was left Captain of one thousand; might in person advance the business with which Office by practice of those times was greater speed. Much perswasion is needless of more importance, than the title now in winning a man to what he defirethfeems to imply. He thould thereby have Antigonus coveting nothing more, than to been as Camp-mafter, or Lieutenant general find Polysperchon work, by raifing some comto the other: a place no way fatisfying his motion in Greece. Yet (as formalities mult ambition, that thought himself the better not be neglected) Cassader did very earman. Therefore he began to examine his neftly prefs. him, by the memory of his Faown power, and compare it with the forces ther, and all requifite conjurations, to affilt likely to oppose him. All that had relyed him in this enterprise; telling him, that on his Father, were his own affured, especi- Ptolomy was ready to declare for them, and ally such as commanded the Carrifons be- urging him to a speedy dispatch. Antigonus flowed in the principal Cities of Greece. on the other fide repayed him with the manner of fuccour. Having thus feafted one I another with words, they were nothing flack in preparing the common means, lead ing to their feveral ends.

6. XIV.

The unworthy courses held by Polysperchon, for the keeping down of Cassander.

Reat necessity there was of timely pro-I vision. For , Polysperchon needed no other instructions to inform him of Cassan- his pen. For the main point was, That they der drift, than the news of his departure. thould follow such directions, as Folysper-He was not ignorant of the ready dispositi- chon gave, and treat with him about all disfion, which might be found in Antigonus culties. In the rest it contained such a deal and Ptolomy, to the strengthening of rebel- of kindness as proceeding on a sudden from lion; and well he knew that one principal those who had kept them in hard subjects hope of Cassander was reposed in the con on, might well appear to have some other fidence of fuch as ruled in the Grecian root than the pretended good will; and Estate. Therefore (loving to work circum- was of it self too base and unlit for a King feedly ) he called another Council, wherein to use toward his conquered Subjects, and it was concluded, That the popular form of often-subdued Rebels. Government should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrifons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principal Men. into whose hands Antipater had committed of the great Commotions raised in Athens by the supreme Authority, should forthwith be either flain or banished. This was a fure way to diminish the number of Cassanders friends, and to raise up many enemies to him Evertheless the Athenians with immo-in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed derate joy entertained this happyboth an unthankful nature in Polysperchon, seeming Proclamation, and sought how to and a factious malice in his adherents. For, put it in execution without further delay. how could he be excused of extreme ingra- But Nicanor, Captain of the Garrison, which could be faid in their defence, who fought pleafing to their hafty defires. civil Wars, and ancient hatred called to that he should find means to thrust some

ounfel against injurious friends. Of this Sault Nature is not guilty; the hath taught he arm to offer it felf unto manifest loss in beforce of the head: They are deprayed iffections, which render men fenfible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more general good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greeks were presented with a vain shew of liberty, ran under the Kings name; but fo, as one might eafily difeern, that Polyfyerchon had guided

ø. X V.

Polysperchons decree. The death of Pho-

titude that for hatred of the Son went about kept one of their Havens, called Munychia. to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose only in the lower part of the Town, would needs bounty had inabled him to do it? Or what take longer time of deliberation, than was

to destroy many worthy men, friends to Nicanor, as a trusty follower of Cassander, the State, by whom the Greeks were held was by him shifted into the place, and Merestrained from stirring against the Mace | nillus (that was Captain there before) disdonians? and in opposition to their private charged, when Antipater was newly dead. enemy, gave the rule of things to base Com- His coming to Athens was no way gratefull panions, and fuch as naturally maligned the to the Citizens, who foon after hearing the Empire? But as in mans body, through news of Antipater's death, cried out upon finews newly iffuing from one branch, a Phocion, faying, That he had fufficient intelfinger is more vexed by inflammation of his ligence of that accident, and might, by adnext neighbour, than by any distemper in vertising them in due time, have put into the contrary hand: fo in bodies politick, their hands a fair opportunity of thrusting the humours of men subdivided in faction, out the Macedonians. But these exclamaare more inraged by the difagreeable qua-tions argued no more than a defire to shake lities of fuch as curb them in their nearest off the Macedonian yoke. Far more grie-Purposes, than they are exasperated by the vously would they have been offended, had general opposition of such as are divided they known the instructions which Cassander from them in the main trunk. Hereby it had given to Nicanor, and his resolution to comes to pass, that contrary Religions are follow them. It was concluded, That he invited to help against Neighbour Princes; should not only retain Munychia, any injunbordering enemies drawn in, to a part in ction to the contrary notwithstanding; but which was the principal Haven, against the rather wished in theirs, than in Cassanders. high Town. How to accomplish this, he HisSon Alexander, not ignorant of this, made rather wanted some reasonable pretence, fair shew to the Athenians, and spent much than good ability. But the Athenians were labour in communing with Nicanor, but fufnot long in giving him sufficient cause to do sered not them, for whom he seemed to lathat, which he would have done without bour, to intermeddle with the bufinels.Hereany cause given. They desired him to come upon the Citizens grew jealous, and the diffusion their Council, all embled in the Fireus, there to confider of the Kings Proclamati-on: whither upon *Phocions* word and fafe his office. This was done with much tumult: conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them banished men and strangers thrusting themto hold with Caffander in the War which was ready to break forth. Contrariwife, distracted with sundry pathons, growing out they urged him first of all, to make them of their present mistortunes, thought every malters of their own, which how to use, they one that best could inveigh against things might confult afterwards. Each of them past, a most likely man to finde some remedy refuling to condescend unto the others de- for the evil threatning them. In this hurlymand; the Athenians (who did alwayes burly was Alexander deviling how he might measure justice by profit, yet feldom thri- come to some good peins of composition wed by that course ) practised with Dercillus, with Nicanor, and held much privy confea Captain following Polifferchon, and then rence with him; which he could not folelying near at hand, that he should enter in-cretly carry, but that his negotiation was to the Town, and take Nicanor prisoner. But discovered, whereby the uproar in the to depart and fave himself.

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taking Pirens, not as following now the pro- to take them into his protection. ject of Cassander but profecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he ready to enter with an Army into Attica. could, and drew them closely into Munychia; Thither came Phocion with his companions, which done, he issued into Pireus, took it, hoping well that the letters which they and intrenched himself therein, to the ex- brought, and their own deserts (having alceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who wayes been friends to the Macedonians, as far lately impatient of his keeping the one Halas the good of their Country gave leave) ven, saw him now master of both. Alexan- should be enough to get patronage to their Thortly after with an Army. Then were the thian, Polysperchons familiar friend, went vain Epistles of his Father, and of Olympias to command, before the durst well adventure to return into Macedon, had peremptorily charged Nicanor to restore to the Athenians the places which he held: but he would first consider more of the matter. Polysperchon had further ordained, that the Isle of Samos should be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) fo far from Havens was such, as he would rather get in Lishonourable man, he stood wavering be-

companies into Piraus, and fortific that alfo, to his own hands, than leave in theirs; ver Phocion, who then governed in Athens, a Town was fo far increased, that Phocion with man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, many of his friends were accused, and driven being nothing pleased with such a trick of to seek safeguard of their lives by flight. So politick dishonesty, did quietly suffer him they came to Alexander, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon commendation to his Father, desiring him

Polysperchon was in the Country of Phocis, der, the fon of Folyperchon, came thither innocency, Besides all this, Dinarchus a Corin-Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and along with them(in an evil hour) who proaddressed themselves unto him; who made mised to him elf and them great favour, by fair shews, intending meer mischief, which means of his acquaintance. But Polysperchon they perceived not, being blinded with the was an unstable man, very earnest in whathe took in hand, yet either for want of judgethe old Queen. Olympias, taking upon her ment in following them, or of honefty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly fail of good fuccess. For fear of cassander he had offered wonderful kindness tothe Athenians; this had caused them to love him; out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his mind, and feek how to get into his own hands purposing to let them have samos, that as shose keys, with which Cassander held them yet he did not throughly intend to let then aft lockt up : finding himfelf disappointed have themselves. The commodity of their of this purpose, and suspected as a falle reputation. Tokeep the Athenians perforce on him; resting well contented with his at his devotion, would indeed have done honest poverty: wherein he lived about well: but the effecting of this began to grow fourfcore years, and then was compelled by desperate; and many Towns of importance the unjust judgement of wicked men, to drink in Greece, began to cast their eyes upon his that poyson, which by just judgement of the proceeding in that action. Wherefore he righteous God, so intected the City of thought it the wifest way to redeem their Athens, as from that day forwards it never good opinion, by giving all contentment brought forth any worthy man refembling unto the popular faction, which was then the virtue of their Ancestors. grown to be Master of that City. And in good time for this purpole were the Athenian Embassadors come, treading (as one may fay) upon Phocions heels, whom they of Polysperchon his vain Expedition against were sent to accuse. These had solemn audience given to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oftentations fake was glorified Cassander, with such forces as Antigoupon them, was (for honors fake) referred | Cassander had many friends. unto the City of Athens, because they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to they had been in other parts of Greece. First, Athens, where the rascal multitude, not he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the fuffering them to speak for themselves, con- Democraty, or popular form of Governdemned them to dye. So they perished be- ment. He commanded that the principal ing innocent. But the death of Phocion be- Citizens, that had by Antipater been made ing very conspicuous, made the fortune of Rulers, should be either slain, or driven inthe rest to be of the less regard. Five and to exile. This Decree took immediate effect forty times had he been chosen Governor in most places: the vulgar fort being very of the City, never fuing for the place, but ready to feal the Charter of their freedom fent for when he was absent, so well was his and authority, with the blood of those who integrity known, and so highly valued, had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cieven of such as were no pretenders to the ties there were, which delighted in the rule fame virtue. He was a good Commander of the chief Citizens; and many which wishin War, wherein, though his actions were ed well to Cassander, especially they of Menot very great, yet were they of good impor- galopolis, on whom Polysperchon meant to tance, and never unfortunate. Never did inflict an exemplary punishment of disbethe City repent of having followed his dience to him, which he termed Rebellion. counsel: nor any private man of having Meealopolis had in it fifteen thousand sertused his word. Philip of Macedon high-ly esteemed him; 60, and much more did resolved to endure the worst. And need there Alexander, who (besides other signs of his was of such resolution. For Polysperchon love) fent him two hundred talents of coming thither with all his power, did fo filver, and offered to bestow upon him of much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of

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tween the contrary allurements of profit and gifts, howfoever importunately thrust up-

#### 6. XVI.

Cassander.

with all exterior shews of Majestie; yet all mus lent him, entred into Fireus; which too little to change Arideus into Alexander: news drew Polysperchon headlong into Atfor he did nothing there, but either laugh tica, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, or chafe, as he saw others do. For begin-that he was fain to depart without any ning of the busines; Polysperchon commanded thing done. Only he had given some imthat Dinarchus should be tortured and slain. pediment to the enemy; who, not contented This was enough to testifie his hearty af- with defending what he held, began to look fection to the Commonalty of Athens, in out, and made new purchases abroad. Findthat he spared not his old acquaintance for ing therefore himself funable to drive Cassantheir sake; whose Embassadors he then der out of Athens, he left his Son Alexander, bade to speak. When their errand was done, with such number of men as exceeded not and answer to it made by the accused, who the proportion of victuals, to withstand his had no indifferent hearing, Phocion and the further incroaching. The greatest part of rest were pronounced guilty of Treason; his Army he carried into Peloponnesus, to but to give sentnece, and do the execution make the Country sure to himself, wherein

His doings in Peloponnesus were such, as four Cities in Asia, any one which he would their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall bechuse. But Phocion refused these and other tween them. But the Defendants manfully

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the breach; and at the fame time with great was not able to give them protection against labour they raifed up animer wall, to bear the enemy which lay in their bosomes. out the next assault. The Assailants having came to agreement with Cassander; acceptout the next analit. The thankals having a control of his appointer; accepted took much pains to clear the ground, and refforing all things to the same state wheremake fair way for their Elephants, whose in Antipater had left them. The like incliviolence was likely to overthrow all that nation to the party of Cassander, was found came in their way. But the Townsmen per- in very many Cities of Greece, which daily ceiving their drift, prepared boards driven and willingly revolted unto him, as to an thorow with long nails, which they used as industrious man, and likely to prevail in the gall-throps, bestowing them sleightly cover- end. Thus was the whole Country set in ed, with the points upward, in the way by a combustion, uneasie to be quenched; which which the bealts were to pass. Neither did presented unto Antisonus an opportunity, they set any to encounter them in front, but that he neglected not, of making himself appointed certain light-armed men to beat Lord of Alia. upon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Asian Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemy chiefly trusted) either forely hurt, or driven back upon the Macedonians, whom they trampled under feet. Polysperchon came as ill furnisht for long abode to Megalopolis as before to the Town for his credit.

Sea, to joyn with Arideus that was come the fiege of Nora, a small thing of it self, out of Phrigia, and to cut off all succour but as hard as a greater matter; and requiwhich might come to the enemy out of Asia. ring few men, but much time ; when time Callander also sent his whole fleet under Ni- of all things was most precious. Eumenes canor, who taking along with him some ships lay in that Fort of Nora, able to make the of Antigonus, came to the Propontis, where place good, and hoping that the mutability. he fought with Clitus, and was beaten. But to which the present Estate was manifestly Antigonus hearing of the overthrow, ga- subject, would in continuance of some years thered together the ships that were escaped, (which he might abide ) work more for ped them.

This loss at Sca, together with his bad suc Antigonus knowing the great sufficiency cess by Land, brought Polysperchon into of Eumenes, and considering his fidelity great contempt. He had a good faculty in shewed unto Perdiccas, thought that he could penning bloody Decrees, but when the not find in all the world a fitter man than penning bloody Decrees, but with the matter more difficult. If gins wherein he doubted not that he inoud

repelled the Macedonians which came up to she had left them to shift for themselves, and

#### 6. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himself an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with Eumenes who disappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia won by Antigonus.

Ntigonus had in Antipaters life-time a firm resolution, to make unto himself athens. Therefore being neither able to the utmost benefit that he might of the Ardispatch the business quickly, nor to take my committed to his charge. And in fair fuch leifure as was requifite, he forfook the feafon for advancement of his purpofes came fiege, with fome loss, and much dishonour, the news of Antipaters death; even then, leaving some part of his Army to lie before when all the business in Pildia was dispatched, and no more employment for the Ar-After this he fent Clitus, his Admiral, to my remaining, fave only the continuance of and manning them very well, fent out Ni- him, than his enemies in that space could canor again, affuring him of the Victory, as work against him. His most fear was, that well he might. For he fent out sufficient for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, numbers of light-armed men, whom he cau- his men and horses might grow fickly and fed to be watted over the Streights in small unserviceable: which made him to practife Vessels by night; these before day-light set- many devices of keeping them in health and ting upon Chiw, drave his men, that lay fecurely on the Land, head-long into their in this manner about a year, his hopes came thips; in which tumult Nicanor arriving, did to good pass, and he was eased of his cares affail them fo lustily, that few or none esca- by Antigonus himself, whose forcesheldhim befieged.

Wherefore the Athenians, perceiving that be withstood by the mightiest Princes of

one that was friend to them both, acquaint- after his death? To give a fair colour to nomifing to make him a better Lord than not herewith fatished, he had threefcore ever he had been, and the next man to him- thouland footmen, ten thouland horse, and felf, if things fell out as he defired : in regard thirty Elephants in a readine's to answer whereof he required only his friendship, and them. thereupon sent him an oath to take; which ment, which might perhaps be long in com- already been declared. ing: but seeming to be well agreed with Antigonus, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it felf, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not folemn enough for fuch personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying in their allegiance. The Macedonians which lay incamped before Nora, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in Olympias, and the children of he departed.

the Empire. He fent therefore to Eumenes by not to dispose of things that should happen ing him with fome part of his intent, and his ambition, this was enough: if any were

The first that perceived his drift, and done, he might at his good pleasure iffue safe- provided to resitt him, was Arideus Goly out of Nora, and enjoy his perfect liberty. vernor of Phrygia; who fortified the Towns Fumenes peruling the form of the oath, did of his own Province, and fought to have perceive the meaning of Antigonus; which won Cizicus, a fair Haven Town, and feated was, rather to make him his follower than very conveniently for him, but was fain his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it to go away without it. Hercupon Anticonus mentioned the King and Princes of the blood, took occasion to command him out of the rather to keep the Decorum, than upon any Country. Arideus was fo far from obevloyal intent, the binding words and fum of ing him, that he fent forces to relieve Euall were such, as tied him fast only to Antigo- menes. Nevertheless finding that he was nus, omitting all refervation of duty, to the unable of himself to make long relistance, he King or any other. This he liked not, holding took fuch companies as he could draw along it infeemly to become a fworn man to him, with him, and so passed over into Europe, with whom he had fought for the mastery; to complain at the Court. The like forand being affured that his voluntary affi-tune had Clytus, who ruled in Lydia, and france, which way soever he gave it, would be sought the like remedy of his fortune, with more acceptable, and far more honourable, some hope at the first (for both of them than the course propounded. Yet would he were entertained with very good words) not therefore break off the negotiation, and which quickly vanished; and grew despewait for some better occasion of inlarge rate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath

#### ø. XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes. Eumenes Laving authority from the Court, raiseth great war against Antigonus in defence of the Royal boufe.

Ntigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all Alia the less, Alexander, binding himself to them and their was able to have entred Mucedon and seized adherents, as well as to Antigonus; and fo upon the Court; which that he forbare to do, it proceeded (as may feem) from fome Antigonus hadtaken upon him, as soon as of these reasons. It would have bred as he came down to the Sea-side, to remove much jealousie in Cassander, as fear in Posome of the Governors of the Provinces, lysperchon, which might have brought them behaving himself according to the authori- to terms of reconciliation: It would ask ty which he had received of Antipater, to more time than he could spare; and the exercise in the time of War. Neither did envy which followed the Protectorship was he want sufficient pretence whereby to ju- such, as he that had power enough without fifie his proceeding. For, if Polyferchor the office, ought rather to fluo, thanto purfuel havfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doting on his death-bed mencs would not only refuse to take his bequeathed unto him, as a Legacy, without part, but would make war upon him in deconsent of the Princes and Souldiers; why tence of the Royal house, to which it was might not he himself as well retain the Lieu- found that Antigonus did not stand well-attenantship of Asa, that was granted unto fected. Against him therefore he bent his him for the general good of the State, in course, and with an Army of twenty thoupresence of the whole Army, by the King, sand foot, and four thousand horse, made and by Antipater, who had power to ordain great haste towards Cilicia, hoping to suppress what should seem convenient whilst he lived, him before he should be able to make head.

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Eumenes was one of those few that conti-jinto the particulars of the War it self nued faithful to their dead Master, which be- to shew briefly how the great Ones did muing well known in the Court, he had com- tually stand affected; and by what passions mission sent unto him from thence to raise they were drawn into those courses, which an Army, and make war upon Antigonus, ta- overthrew most of them, and out of their king of the Kings treasure as much as he ruines built the greatness of a few: as likeshould need. Other letters also there were wise to what extremity the faction brake. directed to all the Governors of Provinces, out in Macedon it felf, about the main Conrequiring them to give affiftance to Eume- troversie of the Title to the Crown, wherenes, and be ordered by his direction : especi- upon all other quarrels were or should have ally to the Captains of the old Souldiers, been depending. called the Argyraspides, or Silver-shielded bands, commandment was given to be at his ful, did only what he was bidden. appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and Office, had a purpose to advance the Son of tive hundred horse, before this Authority Alexander by Roxane to the Kingdom, and was given him : but now he purposed with become Governor to a King of his own all the strength which he could make, to making. fight with Antigons indefence of the Royal blood. Olympias had written to him, defiring this intent, and meaning nothing less than him to bring help to her, and her Nephew the to let her husband ferve as a Stale, keeping Son of Alexander; and in the mean time to the Throne warm till another were grown give her his advice in that which Polysperchon old enough to fit in it, grew acquainted with required of her: for the was defirous to re- Cassander, who hated the memory of Alexturn into Macedon, but suspected his ambi- ander, and was therefore the fitter for her tion, as not contained within lawful turn. bounds. Eumenes therefore counselled her to remain in Epirus, till such time as he wherein his family had been through Alexcould bring the war to a good iffue; which anders malice, together with the indignity done, he promised that his faith and care offered to himself by Alexander, who knockshould not be wanting to the feed of Alex- ed his head against a wall for deriding one ander.

Empire, scarce any one could be found which he took in the amorous Queen, made among the Noblemen, in whom Alexanders him to resolve, both to suppress the linage Mother, Wives and Children, might repose which he hated, and to maintain his befirm confidence, faving only this Eumenes, a loved Mistress, either by supporting her stranger to the Maceuonian blood, born at weak Husband, or by taking her to be his Cardia, a City of Thrace. His reputation was own Wife. no more than his own virtue had made it; The reft of the Lords held it a thing in-his followers obeyed at their own difere-different, who reigned over all, so as they tion; and compelled he was to travel as far might reign in their several Countries, and as Persia, to gather together an Army suf-establish their authority in such wise, that ficient to relift the enemies that purfued his it might not be taken from them. heels.

o. XIX.

intermeddle; and great alterations happen- accomplish. ed, not only in the parts of Asia, but Macedon it felf, which brought a new face unto with step-dames) hated the children of her house of Philip and Alexander: I hold it that the had given poylon to Aridans, which

Ariders the King, being simple and fear-

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in

Eurydice the Queen discovering plainly

Cassander held fresh in mind the danger that adored him after the Persan manner. Strange it is to confider, that in all the The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure

Among these, Ptolomy and Antigonus were well enough already, if their ambition would have fuffered them to fee it.

Pitho and Seleuchus lying far off, and being How the Princes of Macedon food offetted strong, had some good hope to incroach upmutually. Olympias takes Aridæus and on their neighbours. Against these, Peucestes, Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death, and some others, with much ado hardly made refistance, until such time as Eumenes Now, forasmuch as in this present War came to them; who propounded to him-all the Rulers of the Provinces did self great matters, which he lived not to

Olympias the old Queen (asit is common the State, by the extirpation of the Royal husband by his lother wives. It was thought convenient in this place, before we enter failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she ried, she accused of poyson given to Alexanto joyn with Polysperchon, and set up, as were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in Epirus, and fo took her way towards Polysperchon. who joyning with her, entred into Macedon.

Eurydice hearing these news, wrote very earnestly to Cassander, praying him to set afide all other bufiness, and come to fuccour her. She her felf by entreaty, gifts, and promiles, drew to her party as many of the Macedonians as the could, until the thought her own fide strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against Olympias, and the Traytor Polysper-

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have been determined by ner with her Husband.

up Arideus and his wife in a close room,

considering, that Eumenes was too full of der, and thereupon caused his Tomb to be business to come home so soon as she wished thrown down, and his bones to be scattered that he should; and that Cassander daily abroad. The Macedonians wondring at this prevailed in Greece: thought it the best way fury, began to condemn themselves, and the folly of Polysperchon, who had, quite contra-King, her Nephew Alexander, the Son of ry to Antipaters charge given on his death-Roxane, removing Aridaus before Cassander bed, called this outragious woman to the Government of the Empire.

ø. X X.

How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias

The great Expedition of Caffanger. Olympias fouts ber felf into Pydna, where Callander belieged ber. Eacides King of Epirus, coming to succour Olympias, is for saken and banished by his own Subjects,

Affander at that time lay before Tegea, in Peloponne fus ; whither when all the e their own hands, which ended without any ill tidings were brought to him, he never froke stricken, by the revolt of those who stayed to take the City, nor to give order followed Eurydice. For as foon as the Mace- for the state of things in that Country, domans beheld Olympias; calling to mind (though Alexander the Son of Polyberchon, her former Estate, and the victorious reigns (were there with an Army) but compoundof her Husband and Son, they refused to lift ling with them of Tegea, he willed his assoany weapon against her. Eurydice finding ciates to look to themselves as well as they her felf thus forfaken, fled towards Amphi- could, till his return; and fo in all hafte he polis, but was intercepted, and made prifo- took his journey towards Macedon, carried headlong with the greedy defire of just re-Olympias having obtained this Victory venge. The Atolians had taken the without blood, thought that all things Streights of Thermopyle, in favour of the would fucceed as eafily, and upon the fame Queen and Polysperchon, to hinder his pafconfiderations for which they had refused to sage; but he, not willing to mispend any bear Arms against her, the Macedonians time in dealing with them, got together as would not flick to maintain her, whatfoever many thips ashe could, great and fmall, with her proceedings were. Having therefore that which he transported his Army into Theffaly. There he divided his companies, appointing where they could scarce turn round, she fed some under Calles, a subtil Captain, to hold them thorow a little hole, till after a while Polysperchon busied, who then lay incamped it came in her head (for fear lest the peo- neer to Perbabia, with the rest he marched ple should have commisferation of him, that directly against Olympias. She, having once had reigned almost fix years and a half) prevailed by the respect given to her dignity to put them to death. So the delivered Ari- took more care how to appear Majetical, dem to some barbarous Thracians; who took than to make her self strong. To this end away his life by cruel torments: to Eurydice the made a folemn progress to Pydna, a Scashe sent a sword, a halter, and a cup of poy- Town, and well senced, having in her comom, willing her to chuse the instrument of pany all the slower of the Court, especially her own death, who praying that the like the great Ladies, among whom was Roxane, presents might one day be sent to Olympias, and her young Son Alexander, heir to the yielded her neck to the halter, having spent great Alexander, by his Grand-mothers deher last curses not in vain. Nicanor the Bro- fignment: who during his minority, kept ther of Cassander, and a hundred the chief of his Soveraign power in her own hands. But his friends, did Olympias then chuse out, all all this pomp served to little use against the whom the commanded to be flain. His Bro- violence of the enemy, that foon presented ther Iolana that was already dead and bu- himfelf before the walls; only it fed the beCHAP. III

fieged with a vain hope of succour, that | fit for no other business of war, than a swift would from all parts arrive, to rescue per- retrait. When samine had so far prevailed fons of their quality. And hereof there foon in the City, that the horses were killed asa appeared fair likelihood, which as foon precious food, many men feeding on the vanished, and went away in smoak.

with whom Deodamia his daughter was also the Queens leave (who could not denvir) shutup. Nevertheless, his Subjects were others, without asking leave, yielded themnothing forward in this Expedition; but felves to the enemy, and were by him gentled them forth to war.

ons were managed abroad.

#### t. II.

Pydna. Olympias yields to Cassander.

continue to an end one History, that we may vation. not be therewith distracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the belieged, remaining in Polysperchon, was in like manner disappointed as their former trust had been, which was rerosed in the succours of the Epirots. For Calles, who was sent against him, found the means to corrupt the greatest part of his self-was called into question, and accused in Army with mony, leaving him within a little an Assembly of the Macedonians, for the mur-

dead carkafles of their fellows, and faw-For Hacides King of Epirus made great dust being given to the Elephants for prohaste to bring succour to Olympias his Cousin, vender; some of the Souldiers obtaining finding certain passages taken in the way by ly relieved, and sent abroad into the Coun-Callanders men, they called upon him to re- try. The news of the Queens affairs, diftire, and quit the enterprize. The Kings im- perfed by these men, did so affright her wellportunity urging them to proceed, and the willers, that such as had referved themselves obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at to the event, came in apace, and submitted length into such terms, that when he had to Cassander. At length, when the morraliraged in vain against the multitude, his auty was so great in the Town, that the living thority, with which he thought to have pre- were even poyfoned with the noisome fent vailed upon them, was by them taken from of the dead; Olympias bethought her self him, and he compelled to for sake his King- of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she dom, and to wander up and down in foreign had: wherewith her success was as bad as Countries a banished man, his people joyating with the enemy, against whom he had Town, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Pydna in the mean time was closed up Gaol, out of which she should not be delitreightly, both by Sea and Land, fo that vered, but unto an evil death. Being thereither any could flue out of the City, nor fore utterly broken with mileries, which any relief be conveyed into it, but it held out daily afflicted her and the other Ladies, unas long as any food was left; no memorable accustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she fervice being done there, whilst great acti- offered composition, and with much labour hardly obtained of Cassander ( who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himself as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately upon A continuation of Olympias her story. Poly- her apprehension, Pella, the chief City of the sperchon defeated. Extreme Famine in Kingdom, was yielded to Cassander. Amphipolis did frand out : for Aristonus (to whom Olympias had given charge of such Forces Now, though order of time require it, as were left abroad in the Country, taking that we should rehearse the doings of courage from the success of some petty services. Eumenes and Antigonus in this place, leaving vices wherein he had prevailed ) began to Olympias yet a while to the hour of her de- promise himself great unlikelihods. But ftiny; which grows the faster upon her, be- Olympias, to win Cassanders favour, very earcause she may discernit coming: yet that nestly required him upon his faith to her, we may not be compelled to interrupt the that he should give it up. He did so, and precourse of our narration, by inserting her sently after was killed by his private ene-Tragedy in the midst of things not manifest- mies, that were set on by Cassander, who ly coherent with it; we will here (as else- partly hated him upon old respects, partly where we have done, and elsewhere must) doubted him, as a man likely to seek Inno-

#### †. III.:

The death of Olympias, and ber conditions.

while follenderly accompanied, that he was there (they were fo stiled in her affliction,

flice)by her committed. There was she (be- her own head. ing not heard, nor called to speak) condemned to die. The fute was commenced and profecuted against her, by the kindred of projection again. But it was at Caf- Cassander celebrates the Funeral of Aridaus Canders instigation, who (to hasten the execution) fent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessaries, to save herself by slight: which when she refused, him and others; ) after all which, he re- ces.

which in time of prosperity she called ju- warded her malice, by returning it upon

#### t. IV.

and Eurydice; and seeks to make himself King of Macedon.

herself by flight: which when she refused, faying, that she would plead for her self, A fter her death, Cassander gave honor-faying, that she would plead for her self, A sale burial to Aridam and Eurydice, and tell her own tale; he diffembled no lon- among their Progenitors, Kings of Macedon. ger, but fent unto her fuch men, as hated her And looking further into his own poffibiliger, unt tent day and her miserable life. She ties of greatness, he married the Lady Thefwas Daughter, and Sifter, unto two Kings of Salonica, whom he had taken at Pydna, being Was Daughter of King Philip, by another of mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages; his Wives; that by her he might have some a front Lady, and of unreproveable chaftity; title to the Crown. For the same end he a nout Lauf, and her young Son but her ambition was boundless, her hatred committed Roxane, and her young Son unappeasable, and her fury in revenge most to close Prison, removing thereby some unwomanly. Her perverse conditions made part of his impediment. And, the better her Husband seek other Wives and Concu- to encrease his fame, and purchase love, hines, which caused her to hate both him, built a City, called by his own name Casand them. She was thought privy to her fandria, that foon grew to be very great Husbands death; after which, very cruelly and powerful. He re-edified likewife Thebes the flew his late Wife Cleopatra, having first in Greece, and restored it unto the old muthered one of her two children in her Inhabitants, after it had lain twenty years arms, and with a beaftly fury broiled the waste, being utterly razed by Alexander. other alive in fire, in a Copper-bason. For By these means, especially by the restaurathese things, her Son Alexander (otherwise tion of Thebes, whereunto all Greece volunloving her well) forbade her to meddle in tarily contributed, he grew fo strong, tarily contributed, he grew so strong, that sovernment of Macedon. But God, more severe unto cruel Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wills, permitted her to live and fulfil the rest of her wickedness (which was his justice upon the adultities of Philip, and the oppression done by him and others) after all which he terms of the provinces, with greater for him and others all which he terms.

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CHAP. IV.

Of the great Lordship which Antigonus got in Asia.

The Journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wife dealing with those that joyned with him.

company the Argyraphues, made fing forward was too great, his Army hafte into the Eastern parts, to take fing forward was too great, his Army cording to his Commission, and strengthen to return their due obedience, none at himself against Antigonus. He took his all. Besides all which Impediments, one journey through Caloffria and Phanicia, inconvenience troubled him in all his prohoping to reclaim those Provinces, usurp-ceedings, making them the less effectual. ed the rest of Syria (as hath been shew- The Captains of the Agyraspides were so

Comment, having joyned unto his ed) by Ptolomy, to the Kings obedience: company the Argyrasides, made But to effect this, his haste of his paspossession of those Countries, ac- too little, and the readiness of the people,

CHAP. IV.

When they came into Persia, Feucestes

ruling there, feasted them royally, and

love to himself. Eumenes perceiving where-

unto those doings tended, suffered him a

War drew near. Then did he feign an Epi-

froward, that they scorned to repair to him, from the Kings treasures, which were kent and take his directions; and their fidelity there. To which end, as foon ashe had was fo unfteady that they might more easily made himself strong enough, he removed have dealt with open Traytors. It was not out of Mesopotamia, where he had wintered: expedient, that he, being General, should and taking to him Pytho and Selences, with weaken his authority by courting them; their men, he marched directly against the neither lay it in his power to keep them in chemics, with intent to give them battel. order by compulsion. Therefore he feigned, Eumenes had fortified the Castle of Susa, and that Alexander had appointed unto him, in was retired back toward Perlia, keeping the a dream, a place for their meeting, namely, River of Tigris between him and his purin a rich pavilion, wherein an empty throne fuers. The passages of the River were well was placed, as if Alexander himself had been guarded, and good espial kept upon Antieocresent at their consultations. Thus he freed nut, to observe which way he took. Before himself from their vain pride; but of their he came to Tigris it self, he was to pass over faith he could have no aflurance. Yet when Coprates, a great River, and not foordable, Pholomy requested them, and Antigonus bribed them to forfake him, they continued whereof he had no great store. A great though not without confidering of the mat-ter) to take his part. So he marched on, finding before him the Kings Warrant; which Pytho and Schuess refuted to obey; not as rejecting the Kings Authority, but ing them out of order, charged them, brake excepting the person of Eumenes, as a man them, and drave them headlong back into condemned to die by the Micedonian Army, Coprates, wherein most of them were for the death of Craterus. Eumenes, know-drowned; very few escaping with life, exing well that he was not to rely upon their cept four thousand that yielded themselves aflistance, who stood otherwise affected prisoners in light of Antigonus, that was not than his affairs required, and were not to be able to relieve them. This loss made Andealt with by perswasion, sought passage by tigonus glad to fall off; and the heat of that ftrong hand through the Country of Baby- Country in the Dog-days, breeding diflon; in such wise that Seleucus, having in vain eases in his Army, by which many perished, affayed to hinder him, by opening the fluces caufed him to remove as far as into Media. of Euphrates, was glad at length to grant So he took Python with him; (leaving Sehim friendly way, as defirous to be rid of lencus to befiege the Castle of susa) and him. Thus he came to Penceste and the rest seeking to go the nearest way, palled of the Eastern Lords, who were glad of his through savage Nations, that continually company, because of the differences be- vexing him with skirmishes, slew great tween Pytho, selcucus, and themselves. Yet numbers of his men, before he could arrive the contention about superiority grew very in Media, with his Troops that were quite hot among them, every one finding matter heart-broken. enough to feed his own humour of felfworthines. But the former device of affembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that of Eumenes his cunning. A Battel between which Eumenes propounded, who was both wifest in giving advice, and best able to reward, by means of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treafures. By these means he won to himself the remainder of their business. Fain he many of those, who had most power to do would have had them to enter upon those good or hurt.

ø. I I.

How Antigonus, coming to fet upon Eumenes, was driven off with lof.

defire to follow him, and drive him further vide it felf into parts.

bim and Antigonus.

Fter his departure, Eumenes with his A affociates fell into confultation, about Provinces, which Antigonus had left behind him; to which also the Captains of the Argyraspides or Silver-Shields, were very inclinable, as defiring to draw near to Greece. But Penceftes, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their own particular Estates, and would Nigonus, hearing that Eumenes lay in needs march Eastward. These carried it; the Province of Susa, had an earnest for the Army was not strong enough to di-

fought by all means to win the Souldiers of divers stratagents pactifed by Antigonus. and Eumenes, one against the other.

unto thole doings tensus, ill the time of while to keep good chear, till the time of and was protracted to a greater Then did he feign an Epithe directed, as from Orontes Governor of length, each part having from Souldiers, me, and skilful Generals: but the fide which whereof was; that olympias had vanquithed had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by Cassander, and fent over a great Army under the equal authority of many, from pursuing Polyperchon, to joyn with Eumenes. These all advantanges to the best, Antigonus grew rougher and a day and any with vain joy, daily weaker, in men and reputation, forthat to repair himself he could find no way fafer, willingness toobey Eumenes, by whom was than to put all to adventure. He knew that the likelieft appearance of their preferment; his enemies lay in their wintering places, wherein they dealt wifely, he being far the quartered far afunder, fo that if he could most sufficient Commander, as they found suddenly come among them, he was likely foon after. For when Antigonus, coming to put them in great diffres. Between him out of Media, drew near unto them, Eume and them, the way was not long, being only ner, by some mischance was fallen sick, and nine days journey, but very bad, through fain to be carried in a Litter; the Army a rough dry wilderness, hardly patiable. marched in very bad array, and was likely Another way, fairer and leading through a to have been forced to take battel in that Country well peopled, but requiring twenty diforder. But Eumenes, when the rest of five days journey, he for sook; partly for the diforder. But Euments, when the rett of the days journey, he torlook; partly for the the Captains were amazed, was carried length, partly, and chiefly, because he would about the Army in his Litter, and upon the come undiscovered. So therefore taking his fidden did cast his men into so good form, journey in the dead of Winter, he forbade that Antigonus, perceiving him afar off, unto his men the use of fire by night, because could not refrain from giving him deserved he would not have them discryed afar off. commendations. Yet he did not cease to This commandment had been well observed promife great rewards to the Captains, and ved four or five days, when continuance of all forts of men, if they would for sake En-time (as commonly) breeding negligence. menes: which hopes deceiving him, he came and the cold weather pinching them, they to the trial of a battel. Eumenes had more were bold to cherish themselves, being near Elephants than Antigonus; otherwise, he to their ways end. The light of these fires was inferiour in number both of horse and gave notice of their coming; which being foot by a third part. The battel was fought reported to Peucestes, and other Captains, with variable fucces, and great loss on both they were so astonished with the sudden fides, continuing a great part of the day, and danger, that in all hafte they betook themof the night following. Yet the victory was selves to flight. But Eumenes, meeting with uncertain. For Eumenes could not force his the news, began to hearten his affrighted men to lye far from their carriages: by companions, promifing to make Antigonar which means Antigonas (who had a more march leifurely, and willing them to abide, absolute command over his) incamping on and draw up their men together. They the ground whereon they sought, had in could scarce believe him, yet they were his power the dead bodies, which was ac- content to be ruled, and did as he appointcounted the fign of victory; for he buried ed, who failed not in making his word good. his own, and gave leave to his enemies cra- He took with him some companies of the ving it, to do the like. But a greater sign readiest men, wherewith he occupied cerof victory had Eumenes. For he abode tain tops of mountains, looking toward the still in the same place, and not only bu- Camp of Antigonus: there he chose a conried his men very honourably, at great venient ground to encamp upon, and made leisure, but held the Country round about ; great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whereas Antigonus was glad (having tar- whole Army had been present. This was a ried but one day) to steal away by night, sorrowful spectacle to Antigonus, who and return into Media, from whence he thought himself prevented of his purpose; and began to fear lest he should be compelled to fight, whileft his menwere tired with a long and painful journey. There-

CHAP. IV

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way to such places, as night better serve to transported with Envy, that they could refresh his Army. This he did with great no longer contain their vile thoughts, but care and circumspection, at the first, as know-held communication, as upon a necessary ing how ready Eumenes would be upon all point, how they might find means to muradvantages. But after a while, confidering ther him. that no enemy stirred about him, he began to paufe, and think in himfelf, that somewhat mischief contrived against worthy men, to or other was not fallen out according to his their own proud carriage, or some other ill opinion. To be the better informed in the deserving: For, though it often happen, that matter, he caused some Inhabitants of that small vices do serve to counterpoize great defart to be taken, and brought before him; vertues; (the fense of evil being more quick of whom he learned, that they had feen no and lasting than of good) yet he shall beother Armythan his thereabout, but only a wray a very foolish malice, that, wanting few men that kept fires on the hill-tops. It other testimony, will think it a part of wilvexed him exceedingly to find that he had dom, to find good reason of the evils done been so deluded. Therefore he went against to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no these Troops with great fury, meaning to other cause than vertue it self. Eumenes. take flarp vengeance on them, for having among many excellent qualities, was noted (trength was arrived there, which could not conversation among his friends, and careful vided the remedy.

ø. V.

The conspiracy of Peucestes and others, against Eumenes bis life.

fore herefolved to turn a fide, and take the their own much infufficiency, were fo

Surely, it is great injustice to impute the fo deceived him. But by this time, fufficient to be of fingular courtelle, of a very fweet beforced without much business, and long by all gentle means to win their love, that flay. All the Army was come, fave only En Geemed to bear him any fecret ill affection. danns, Captain of the Elephants, who, be- It was his meer vertue that overthrew him. fides those beafts, had no more than four which even they that fought his life achundred horsemen in his company. Antigo- knowledged. For they concluded that he nus hearing of this supply coming to his ene- should not be slain, before the battel were mies, sent above two thousand horse, and all fought with Antigonus, wherein they conhis light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the feffed that it stood best with their safety, to way. Eudamus being fallen into this danger, be governed by his direction. Of this treason was fain to place his Elephants round about his carriages, and for to defend himself as well whom he had done many pleasures, and by as he could; for his horse-men, overlaid some others of whom he used to borrow with multitudes, were quickly broken, and money when he needed not, to the end that driven to run away upon the four. Neither they should be careful of his good, for fear knew they, who fate upon the Elephants, of losing their own. Considering therewhich way to turn them, for on all sides they received wounds, and were not able villany intended against him, he made his to requite them with the like. In this ex- last Will, and burnt all his Writings that tremity there appeared brave Troops of contained any matter of secret: which done, horse and foot, that came unexpected to the he revolved many things in his mind; being rescue; and charging the Assailantsupon the doubtful what course he were best to folback, drave them to feek their own fafety low. All the Nobles of the Empire stoodill by speedy flight. These were sent by Eu- affected to the Royal blood, excepting those menes; who though he knew not what his which were with him, that were more in Adversary meant to do, yet he knew very number than in worth. How things at that well what was fittest for him to do : and time stood in Macedon and Greece, either he therefore, playing both games himself, pro- knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might encourage him to feek their help, that needed his. To make his own peace with Antigonus, had been against his faith to Olympias, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbare either to lofe the TY these means Eumenes won great ho- battel willingly, or to fly into Cappadocia, nor, and was by the whole Army ac- and make shift for himself among his old knowledged a most expert General, and friends. At length he resolved to do his best well worthy of the chief command. But against the common enemy, and afterwards Pencefter, and the other Captains, guilty of to look to himself as well as he might.

6. V I.

menes.

Fumenes perplexed, and not knowing the win fuch a victory upon his open enemies, as cause, entreated him not to doubt of the might give him leisure and opportunity to victory, but only to bring them in the deal with his falle friends. field, and fet them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The their own opinions, far inferior to those like alacrity was generally found in the whom they must encounter, were at the common Souldiers faces; but the chief first brunt presently deseated by the Silver-Commanders were so mischievously bent shields, who slew above five thousand of against him, that they could not endure to them, losing of their own not one man. But think of being beholding to him for the in Horse, Emmener was so over matched that victory. Yet he ordered the battel fo well, he could not repel Antigonus, who prefied that, without their own great fault, they him very hard, but was fain to frand whol-

kenin vain. For the silver-shields were men his back. of threescore or seventy years old, and streng-

try their last hope with these resolute war- to incline. riors, the most Ancient and best regarded uttered would prove true.

to give him a sharp entertainment.

Elephants, under one Philip, an honest man, tinue where he was.

and (which was enough at fuch a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the The last battel between Antigonus and Eu- fight, and make a rea onable retrait, expecting the event of the other fide.

So they joyned very fiercely; Antigonus, He Souldiers, especially those old labouring to make himself master of all; bands of the silver-shields, finding Eumenes, to die an honorable death, or to

The footmen of Antigonia, being, even in could hardly fail of getting the upper hand-Before the Armies came to joyning, a lowell by example, among his followers, horfeman from the fide of Emmene.proclaim-that the Enemy could not win one foot of ed with a loud voyce unto the followers of ground upon him, until such time as Peantigonas, That their wickedness in fighting cester, with one thousand five hundred Annuones, I had their wheelest an agent Horfe, withdrew himfelf out of the battel, nilhed, as it well deferved. This was not fpolerating his companions fighting to defend

Then did Eumenes desperately rush thened more by continual exercise, than de- amongst his Enemies, labouring to break cayed by age, and excelling in courage, as open the way unto Anigona himfelf. And having palled through greater dangers, though he failed of his purpose; yet with than any like to be presented in that fight. | great slaughter he did so beat upon them Therefore Antigonus his men (who had which came in his way, that the victory hung oftenbeen beaten by them, and were now to a long time in suspence, uncertain which way

The ground whereon they fought, being tile mont anticent and bett regarded of all glexanders Souldiers) grew very pen- of a flight fangy mould, through the tramfive, and advanced heavily, inspecting their pling of horses, men and Elephants, did cast own cause, and fearing that the threatnings up such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done Antigonus was now again far the stronger a little from him. Antigonus sinding this adin horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to of Horse, that passed undiscovered beyond fight, being a plain levelled field. Placing Eumenes his battels, and came to his carritherefore himself and his son Demetrins in ages, which lay about half a mile from the the right wing, and committing the left place of fight, flenderly guarded (for that wing to Python, he did fet forward couragi- the whole body of the Army lay between oully against the Enemies, that were ready them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had Peucestes retired himself no further Eumenes took unto him Penceftes, with the than unto the carriages, he might not only rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing have defended them, but peradventure have of his battel, in the face of Antigonus; mean- furprized those which came to surprize them, ing both to prevent the Traytors, his Com- and so have done as good a piece of service Panions, of all means to make head against as a better man. But he was gotten somehim on the sudden; and (withal) to give what further, to a place, where out of danproof of his own valour, which perhaps he ger he might expect the event; and Eumenes thould no more do, in the face of all his Ene- was fo over-laboured both in body and mies. In the right wing, opposite unto Python, mind, that he could not possibly give an eve he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and to every place, being not well able to con-

ing together, those of Antigonus had the needs return into the high Countries; and better hand; whereupon Eumenes, finding the Souldiers had no defire either to fly or himlelf every way overcharged, began to to fight, but only to recover their goods. give back, and withdrew himtelf and his Wherefore Tentamus, one of the two Capcompanies in good order, to the other fide tains of the Silver hields (who had in forof the battel, where thilip (as he was di-mer times readily confented unto trayterous rected) had by fighting and retiring toge- motions, in hope of gain, but was letted by ther, kept that wing from lofs. The Antigo- his partner Antigenes ) finding, as he thought nians had felt so much of Fumenes that day, a fit occasion of making himself great, and that they were well content to let him de- winning the love of those bands, dealt separt quietly, and wished nor to see him come cretly with Antigonus, requesting him to reagain; as tain he would have done.

unto him, as food as he had any leiture to of their fervices, in the Wars of Philip and hear how things went : whereupon he pre- Alexander. tently ordered his men for a freth charge, and fent for renefics that was not far off, request- well, that they which requested more than ing him to bring in his men, and renew the they had reason to expect, would also with fight, whereby he trufted, not only to reco- little entreaty, perform a great deal more ver their own goods, but to enrich them than they promifed; and therefore he lofelves with the spoils of the enemies. Pauce- vingly entertained the messengers, filling thes not only refuted to joyn with him, but them with hopes of far greater matters than immediately withdrew himfelf into a fafer they defired, if they would put Eumenes into

dangerous temptations.

return into their Camps. Yet Antigonus con- about him, as at other times, to do their duty, tor all his other loffes.

#### o. VII.

flain.

finding the silver-shields extremely difcontented with their misfortune, began to rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; cheer them up, and put them in hope of re- thinking belike, that if he were faved, he covering all with advantage. For their would foon be the chief in reputation, for brave demeanor that day had fo crushed his great ability. So, after long deliberation, the enemy, that he had no power left, where- Antigonus concluded that it was the fafelt with to abide them in openfield, and was way to put him to death; which intending much less able to draw their Carts after him, to have done by famine (perhaps because he through that great wilderness, over the high would keep it a while in his own power, mountains.

It harned to, that the Elephants meet- | Peucestes was gone; the other Captains would ftore unto those old Souldiers their goods. The lofs of the carriages was reported which he had taken, being the only reward

Antigonus, as a subtile man, knew very rlace, where he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

his hands, by whom they were feduced to make War against him. This answer pleased By this the night grew on; and both Ar- them fo well, that they forthwith devised mies, wearied with fighting, were defirous to how to deliver him alive. Wherefore coming ceived hope of doing fomewhat more, and therefore taking half his horfemen, he wait-than forrow of their lofs, which they faid ed upon Eumenes a part of his way home- they would redeem by another fight; in the wards, but found no opportunity to offend midst of this goodly talk, they leapt upon him: the other half he committed to Python, him, caught hold of his fword, and bound willing him to fet upon the silver-flields in him fast. So they haled him away 3 and, stoptheir retrait; which yet he forbare to do, ping their ears against all perswasions, would because it appeared too full of danger. So not yield so far as to loosen one of his hands, the battel ended; wherein Antigonus had and let him kill himself, but brought him not so much the better in horse, as the worse alive (that was their own General, under in foot: but the spoil which he got, by sur- whom they had obtained many victories) as prizing his enemies carriages, made amends it had been in triumph, into the Camp of their enemies.

The press of men, running out of the Camp to fee him, was fo great, that Antigonus was fain to fend a guard of Horsemen How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not fuddenly refolve either to kill or fave. Very few they Omenes, coming into his Camp, and were that fued for his life, but of thefe, Demetrius the fon of Antigonus wasone, the to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it to reverse the sentence, as desiring, if it much these persuasions availed nothing, might be, to have him live his friend) haste CHAPIV.

worthy General Eumenes; who had with (nothing like to Python) diffembled his inworting October and patience, labour dignation, and rebuked the informers, as vernier never lessened his courage, nor pro- daily to his ears, did finely delude Python. By

a thousand times. Wars; but with a privy charge, to consume first he doubtfully waded. them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them return alive unto his friends and Seas that beat upon the shores of Greece and

Macedon.

#### ø. VIII.

How Antigonus flew Python, and occupied Media. How he removed Governors of Provinces, and made himself Lord of Perfia, carrying away Peuceites.

they spent the rest of the Winter: the com- easily. mon Souldier idly; the principal men intentively bent unto the business ensuing. Python following this course he was driven by ne- obscurely a man forgotten. ceffity to trust many, of whom he stumbled

of other butiness made him do it by the upon some, that were unsecret, and others, bearing him no fincere affection. Thus was To this end came all the travels of that his purpose discovered to Antigonus, who great windows interregional productions and recorded the informers, as edin vain to uphold the family which God breeders of differition between him, and his had purposed to cast down. He is reckoned honorable friend, unto whom he meant among the notable examples of Fortunes to commit the Government of all those among the notation mutability, but more notable was his Go- Countries: his own business calling him invernment of himfelf, in all her changes. Ad- to the lower Afra. These reports coming feerity his circumspection. But all his virtue, his greatness with Alexander; his authority indultry and wit, were cast away, in leading in that Province where they lay, whereof he an Army, without full power, to keep it in was Governor; and the love of the Soulan Army, without this power, to keep it in was Governor; and the love of the Souldue obedience. Therefore it was not ill and diers which he had bought with money; he was frong enough to maintain, even an of-France in our days, to one that foretold his fensive War. But what need had he to use death, which enfued foon after in the maf- the fword, when he was likely without confacre of Paris: That rather than to lead tention, to obtain more than his own askagain an Army of Voluntaries, he would dye ing? Therefore he came as foon as he was fent for, to take his farewell of Antigonus, Antigonus himfelf gave to the body of and to divide the Provinces with him, that Famenes Honourable Funerals; and re- meant nothing less than to yield to any such warded the Treason, wrought against him, division. As soon as he came, he was taken, with deserved vengeance. One chief Cap- and accused, condemned to dye, and slain of the Sibver-shields he burnt alive: out of hand. For Antigonus, having begun many of the other Captains he flew; and to with Eumenes his ancient friend, was not afthe whole multitude of the silver-shields, terward restrained by any consideration of that had betrayed fo worthy a Commander, old acquaintance, from cutting down indifhe appointed a Leader that should carry ferently all that stood in his way : but swam them into far Countries, under pretence of carelefly thorow the blood, wherein at the

When this business was ended, he appointed a new Governor in Media, to order kindred, or fo much as once behold the Province, and a Captain, to suppress all commotions: thinking belike that the power and authority, fo divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into Persia, where he was entertained as absolute Lord of Asia. There began he to shew how well he understood his own mightiness. For he placed and displaced at his own pleasure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Of-"He two Armies being joyned thus in fice, that were not his own creatures, exone, were carried into Media, where cept fuch as lay too far off to be dislodged

Pencestes, who ruled in Persia, thought with good cheer to redeem old offences; began to confider his own defervings; for but was deceived, having to do with one the whole War had been chiefly maintained that could not be taken with such baits: by the strength, and riches of this Province. he was carried away, and feasted with Befides, he thought himself as good a man goodly words of promise, that never after as Antigonus, unless it were in the Souldiers took effect. Thus he, that envied the viropinion, which he judged casic to be pur- tue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in chased with gifts, and therefore spared not vain) the fortune of his enemy, after which to assay them with great liberality. But in he led a most contemptible life, till he died 712

Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

CElencus was the next in this Visitation; the defire to pick matter of quarrel against One that had from time to time continued him, whereof it was likely that he should in the same tenor of good will to Antigonus, find such iffue, as Python and Peucestes had and now gave proof of his hearty affection done. Therefore taking with him only fiftoward him, by making the Captain of the ty horse, he conveyed himself away, and Cafte of Sula to meet him on the way, ren- fled into Ptolomies Dominions; desiring dring unto him that strong Piece, and all him to protect him from such a man as went the treasures therein bestowed. This offer about to oppress all, that in former times was fo great, that Antigonus (though ha- had been his betters, or at least his equals. ving in his hands the Keeper of the place ) Antigonus was glad of his flight; for now could hardly believe it; but used him with all those Countries were yielded unto him excessive kindness, for sear so good a mood without battel, whereas to sight with seshould change. In that Castle he found all leneus for them, he wanted all pretences the treasures of Alexander, with the Jewels and to kill him it was not his defire, having of the Persian Kings, which, added to his received many benefits of him, and those former store of money, made up five and not intermixed, as commonly it happens. twenty thousand talents. Having all this, he with any injuries. Yet it is reported. that might well account himself a happy man, if the Chaldeans brought a strange Prophecy riches were sufficient to happiness. But large to Antigona, bidding him look well to dominion was the mark at which he aimed; himself; and know, that if Seleucus did therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave escape his hands, he should recover Babilon. no Country behind his back, that should yea, win all Asia, and kill Antigone in not acknowledge him for Soveraign Lord. battel. Easie believers may give credit to Coming to Babylon, he was entertained by this tale. Had it been true, methinks Anseleucus, with all possible demonstration of tigonus rather should have hanged those love, and honored with presents beseem- Chaldaans, for giving him no warning tillit ing the Majestie of a King. All this he accepted with great gravity, as being due to him; fay that he did) after him, whom the Destiand began to require an account of the re-nies preferved for fo great purpofes. When venues of that Province. This demand se-he had fettled things at Eabjon, he took his leuens held unreasonable; saying, That it journey into Cilicia, where he wintered. fervices to the State. But whether he spake amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

reason or no, it sufficeth, that Antigonus was powerful; who urged him daily to come to How Scleueus was chased out of Babylon by a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, mon ved Antigonus to press him thus, but only was not needful for him to render unto any There he took up ten thousand Talents man an account of that Province, which was more of the Kingstreasures, and casting his given unto him, in respect of his many good accounts, found his yearly in-come to

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CHAP. V.

Of the great War between Alexanders Captains: and how they affumed the Name and State of Kings.

The Combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands, and bis Answer.

by he quickly was embarked in a like to yield unto. Of their practices new War. Prolomy, Cassander and Lysima- he had some notice; the good enter-

His great riches, and the rest of together, intending to hinder his furhis Power, made Antigonus dread-ed, envied and suspected, where-reason than of his own accord he seemed chus, had privily combined themselves tainment given unto Selencus, giving him make over Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Cassanter him to deal with others, if they continue der, and Phrygia, bordering upon the Hellefont, to Lysimachus: for whereas his own Dominions were fo much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were feated in the West. As for Ptolomy, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territo-

CHAP. V.

CHAP. V

dors, that it was no part of his meaning to invaded Syria, that was not held against

fufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he communicate with other men the profit of full Emballadors to them feverally, en that victory, which he alone without other treating them to continue firm in their love mens help had obtained. Though indeed treating time, that would be ready to rethey had already fufficiently gained by him, quite then with the like. The cold answers if they could see it, having by his means which they made, occasioned his hasty pre- kept their Government, whereof they were paration against the most forward of them, like to be dispossessed by Polygerchon, and which was Ptolomy, it being likely that a the counsel of estate in Macedon. But what good Army should prevail more than a tair marvel was it, if they considered not how he mefize. Therefore, as foon as the feafon of had faved them, feeing one of them had forthe year would permit, he took the way to- gotten the time, when coming to him as a ward Syria, and was encountred by Embai- fugitive, and begging succour, he was by fage from them all. These told him, that their his meer bounty relieved, and enabled to lords did much rejoyce at his victory ob- get all that he nowheld? Cassander did not rained against Eumenes their common ene- (said he) in those days command me to surmy, and the honor that he had thereby render Provinces, and give him his equal gotten. In which War, for a fmuch as they there of my treatures; but (for his Fathers being his Confederates, must have indured fake) defired me to pity him, and help him great loss, with hazard of their whole against his enemies: which I did; by lend-Effates, if the contrary faction had prevail- ing him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence ed; they held it very just, that all should be whereof he now presumes to threaten me. partakers in the fruits of that voyage, where-partakers in the fruits of that voyage, where-inthey had been all adventurers. Wherefore wrong, that durft not flay to plead his they defired him, that making between them right? I did use him well, but his conscience all an equal division of the treasures that told him that he had deserved ill; else he werein his hands (a thing easie to be done) would not have fled. Let them that so cuhe would also take some convenient order riously search intomy doings, consider well for enlarging their Dominions, according to their own, which some of them can hardly the rate of his new purchases. This might justifie. I am now in the way to Syria, meanbelt be to every ones liking, if he would ing to examine Ptolomies proceedings, and af-

The preparation and beginnings of the Wars.

WHen the Embassadors were dismif-sed with this answer, nothing was ries. Provided always, that Seleucus their thought upon but War. Antigonus perceicommon friend, and partner in the late War, ving that he should be invaded from Europe, might be restored to his own, out of which as soon as he was entred into syria, left his he had been driven to injuriously, that all Nephew Ptolomy to guard the Sea-coast, and of them were forced to take it deeply to hinder Caffander from landing in Alia: giveheart; requiring amends, with his friendly ing him also charge, to drive out of Cappaconsent unto their demands, which other- docia, some that were already sent over to wisethey must labour to obtain with armed molest him. Likewise he dispatched Mesfengers into Creece and Cyprus, not unfurnish-Antigonus knew, that after many losses ed of mony; to draw friends to his side, and received, he should yet be able to redeem raise up troubles to his enemies. Especially, Peace whenfoever he lifted, with these, or he laboured to make himself the strongest Perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was by Sea; to which purpose he rather hahe foweak, to give away quietly any part stened, than foreslowed his journey into of his strength into the hands of such bad Syria, that he might get possession of Mount friends, for fear only, lest it should be taken Libanus, which afforded many excellent from him perforce. Rather he hoped that commodities for building of a Navy. Therehethould be able to find them work, more fore, having erected Beacons, and laid than enough to defend their own. There-post-horses throughout all Asia, to give fore he roundly answered the Embassa- swift advertisement of all occurrences, he CHARV.

him by any power fufficient to maintain the

Ptolomy lay in Fgypt, the firength and How each party fought to win the alliftance of heart of his Dominton, where he was beloved and honored of the people as their natural Lord: his other Provinces be kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to contiin the people within obedience, than to confront a foreign enemy. So Antigonus took many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on the people of Greece, whose aid, which was work in making thips, which was one of his foever inclined, was of great importance. most earnest cares. In these businesses he Herein at the first, Antigonus sped so well confumed a year and three months; not by large effusion of his treasure, that he idly. For he took Joppe and Gaza, which drew to him the Lacedamonians, and other were yielded unto his discretion, and well Peloponnessans, of whom he waged eight used. The strong City of Tyrus held out thousand; and caused Polysperchon (who had long, but was compelled in the end by fa- a good while made hard thifts) to rowfe mine, to render it felt upon composition, that himself again, and taking upon him the title Ptolomies Souldiers might depart with their of Captain of Peloponnesus, to make head Arms; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not affeep, whilft thefe things were in doing, though he kept himfelf within the bounds of Egypt, as indeed it behoved him to do. His forces were not able to stand against Antigonus in plain field, but likely they were to encrease, which made him willing to protract the time. Nevertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he fent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof selencus had the chief com-

mand.

all the rest.

Seleucus passed with an hundred fail along the coast of Syria, in the full view of Anticonus and his Army, to their no little difcomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which was then governed by many petty Lords: of whom the greatest adhered to Ptolomy, the greater parentage than he, to joyn with him rest were by the Factors of Antigonus, bought in marriage. That in meer despite of those the Fgyptian with tharp fteel.

The same commodity of aid by Sea, encouraged the President of Caria (cal- by his own name Cassandria; and had reled also casander, but not the Son of edified the City of Thebes, which for the Antipater, howfoever by the painful great treason of the Inhabitants, was leveland Learned Writer Reinerus Reineccius, ed with the ground by the victorious hand he is, by some overlight, counted for of Alexander. For these reasons he required the fame) to declare for Ptoloms and them to make a Decree, that Cassander his Confederates, and bufily imploy in should restore to absolute liberty the Lady their quartel all his forces, which he Roxane, and her Son; and should yield obehad hitherto kept in good neutrality, and dience to the Lord Lieutenant General of

6. III.

Greece. Antigonus his declaration against Cassander the son of Poly. sperchon revolteth from Antigonus, who had fet bimup.

IN the mean feafon all care possible was taken on both fides, to affure unto them

against Cassander.

These hopeful beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kind. Wherefore to make Cassander the more odious, he called together both his own Souldiers, and all the Greeks and Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that Cassander had very cruelly (lain Olympias, Mother to the great Alexander; and not herewith contented, had thut up in close prison the poor Lady Roxane, Alexanders Wife, and his Son begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a defire to make himself King over the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady Theffalonica . Daughter to King Philip, a match unfit for a man of no for him with gold, but now redeemed by dead Princes, Philip and Alexander, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by Thilip, in a new City by him built, and called thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw the Empire (by which name Antigonus himhimself into dangerous War, chusing ra- self was understood) or else should be reputher to undergo trouble at hand, than to teda Traytor, and open Enemy to the State. fall under certain ruine, though some- Furthermore he propounded, that all the what further distant, which would have Cities of Greece should be restored into freeoverwhelmed him, if Antigonus had beaten dom: this hedid, not because he was care ful of their good, but for the need which he had of their affistance.

These things being decreed, Antigonus

opinion, and think him the most faithful of others. all others to the Royal blood. But concernwhich afforded men far more serviceable in trol. War, than were to be found in any Province of the Empire.

was openly pretended.

much blood-shed, grievously afflicted the her Subjects and Neighbours. contrary faction, and he himself perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as ene mies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that Alexander came furnished with plenty of gold, wherewith he was able not only to win the doubtful, but to corrupt fuch as might feem best affured; he thought it a part of wildom, to furrender upon fair conditions, that which he could not affure himself to hold any long

was perswaded, that not only the Greeks well perswade himself, that the Country was beautify would adhere unto him, as to their loving which his Father could not keep, when he Patron, and fall off from Cassander, but that was indeed the Lieutenant of the Empire. the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto should not in haste be won by him, that was fulpected him as a man regardful of nothing only the Factor of a proud injurious man, for but his own benefit, would correct their stiling himself, but not acknowledged by

Alexander had lived a while with Antigoing his loyalty to the young Prince, the new fince the beginning of these wars, among world was too wife to be deceived with vain whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent (which he did not carry very fe-Greek was more effectual, and got easie be- cret) of making himself absolute Lord of all. lief, in regard of his present hatred to Cas- Therefore he was soon entreated to accept Guder. Yet hereinalso Ptolomy strove to be so good an offer; and did not stick to enter as earnest as he, making the like decree, in into that league, whereby he was to become hope to win to himself that valiant Nation, a free Lord, and subject unto no mans con-

Howbeit, this his honor continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, And this indeed was the point at which by treason of the Sicyonians; who thinking both fides aimed. Wherein Antigonus think- thereby to have made themselves free, were ing to make all fure, deceived himself, not soon after vanquished in battel by Crateshowithout great cost. For he gave to Alexander lu, Alexanders Wife, a discreet and valiant the Son of Polysperchon five hundred talents, Lady. She in revenge of her Husbands death a willing him to set the War on foot in Pelo- crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in ponnelus, whereby it might appear, that on fight; and having by severity taught them his fide was meant nothing elfe, than what obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed those pla-In Peloponne fue, Caffanders men had with ces that the held, with the commendation of

s. IV.

The Ætolians rife against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. A Fleet and Land Army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Ptolomies Lieutenant. In what terms the War stood at this time. Antigonus draws nearer to Greece.

Ntigonus, when he found, that with fo much money he had only bought an time by force. Therefore he sent one to deal enemy, began to raise troubles to Cassanwith Alexander about the matters in contro- der, and his other Adversaries in Greece, versie; telling him, that Antigonus was very by stirring up the Etolians against them: skilful in fetting men together by the ears, Likewise he laboured to win to his party not caring who prevailed, but only defiring the Islands in the Greek Seas, by whole afto have them weary themselves, whilst he sistance he might be the better able to deal was busied elsewhere; that so at length he with Ptolomy, that greatly prevailed by reamight find opportunity to let upon the strong- lon of his strong Fleet. But neither of these er. If therefore Alexander were fo wife, as attempts had the success which he expected. to keep in his purse the five hundred talents The Ætolians, a factious Nation, and which he had, and, without stroke stricken, to alwayes envying the greatness of their receive the whole Lordship of *Pelopomelia*, Neighbours, were often in commotion, but it should be freely put into his hands by Caffo, that commonly their gains equalled not their losses, provided that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with Gountry, fortified the Acarnanian against thingons, and enter into a sure and faithful them, and compelled Glassian, King of the Illyrians, whom he vanquished in batof the Confederates. Otherwise he might |tel, to forsake their side, and bind him-Xxxx felf,

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friends. were drawn to joyn with Antigonus; so the commonly is not long wanting to them, that Fleet of the Rhodians under Theodatus, who want no money. was Admiral to Antigonus, paffing along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Ar- attempts of his enemies upon Asia the less: my under conduct of Perilans marching on wherein though as yet they had gotten litthe shore for mutual affistance, was quite tle, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people overthrown by Ptolomies Navy. Polycytus, being tied unto him by no bond of allegiwho in Ptolomies behalf had been fent into ance, might upon fmall occasion revolt from reloponnesus against Alexander, finding no him, to men of as honorable reputationas need of his fervice in that Country, because he himself. To prevent this, and to be neerer Alexander was come over to their fide, re- to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be turned homewards, and by the way heard there in person, where his affairs did seem to of the course which these Antigonians held, prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. whom he very cunningly furprized. He rode Therefore he left part of his Army in Spria. with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the under his Son Demetrius, to whom being enemies were to double; his Land-forces he then but two and twenty years old, he applaced in ambush, whereinto Perilans fal- pointed many ancient Captains, as Affistants, ling was taken prisoner, with many of his or rather as Directors: the rest he carried men, and many were flain, making littlere- with him into Phrygia, where he meant to fistance. Theodatus the Admiral perceiving winter. this, made all haste to help his fellows that were on Land; but whilft he with all his Fleet were intentive only to that business. Polyclytus appeared at their backs; who as How Lysimachus and Cassander vanquished foon as he perceived their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behind, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused Antigonus to deal with Ptolomy about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yield unto the demands of Ptolomy: fo the parley the process of his business thereabouts. For

was vain. differently sped in the War, and thereby to were held over-hardly to their own work have equal cause of hope and fear. This on Europe side. Seuthes a King of the Thralate Victory, with the good success of his cians, joyning with some Towns that reaffairs in Coprus, did seem to make amends belled against Lysimachus, brought also the to Ptolomy for his losses in Syria. Likewise bordering Soythians into the quarrel. All the revolt of Alexander from Antigonus did these relied upon Antigonus, who was to equal the confederacy made between the help them with money and other aid. The Ætolians and him; as also those petty skir- Ætolians likewise took courage, and rose mishes, that had been in Asia the less, to against Cassander, having Bacides, lately re-

of his own Empire. Concerning other act them his own Bands. The like success had

felf to bear no Arms against Cassanders cidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, he means On the other side, as many petty Islands to proceed as occasion should direct, which

That which most molested him, was the

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some enemies, raised against them by Antigonus. The good success of Antigonus in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of mamy Cities against Cassander.

"He coming of Antigonus into those parts, wrought a great alteration in his enemies had short leisure to think upon Hitherto each part seemed to have in- molesting him in Asia: they themselves Antigonus his advantage, were sufficiently stored to the Kingdom of Epirus, their Afrecompenced by others of like regard, but liftant. But Lylmachus gave unto his Readverseto him, and by the troubles brought bels no time to confirm themselves. He sudupon his estates in those parts by the two denly presented himself before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them Contrariwise, Antigonus valued the loss by fear to return unto their former duty. of his men, money and ships, no otherwise He fought a battel with the scythians, and than as the pairing of his nails, that were left wilde Thracians, and drave them out of the long enough, and would easily grow again, Country. Finally, he overcame Seuthes; but the enlargement of his Territory by ad- and following the heat of his Victory, flew dition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate; Pausanias in Battel, whom Antigonus had as if thereby he had fed upon a limb of Pto- fent over with an Army; and all his menhe lomy his enemy, and strengthened the body did either put to ransome, or fill up with Philip, Caffanders Lieutenant, against the yond all measure, than backward upon Atolians. For he wasted their Country; their miserable nullity, that held them unfought with the Epiroles, that came to help capable of being any thing. them: and after the victory, fought again with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, and, killing Eacides that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the Atolians out of most of their Countrey, and forced them to feek their fafety among the wild Mountains. Of the Epirotes he fent as prisoners to Cassander, the principal Authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present

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Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. A great Battel at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus wan, against Demetrius the Son of Antigonus.

A S the presence or neerness of Antigonus gave life to his affairs in the lower Yet these actions required some time, and Asu and Greece; so the designs of his encwearied Antigonus his Adversaries with mies, taking advantage at his absence, painful travel; after which they remained ruined the very foundations of those great only favers. Antigonus himself at fair works in the Eastern parts, wherewith in leifure wan all Caria the whilft, and fent the year preceeding he had over-topped Armies into Peloponnesus, and other parts of them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes Greece, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities wavered between contrary affections, inhe took out of Cassanders hands. The clining one while to Antigonus, another whole Country of Peloponnesus (excepting while faintly regarding their covenant with siegon and Corinth) with the lile of Eu- Ptolomy, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, bes, and many places of the firm Land, wherewith Ftolomy, in his own person easily were by those means won to be his intrue reduced them to a more settled order, putand vehement affection, ready to do or fuf- ting fome to death, carrying others away fer any thing for him that had made so evi- priloners, and leaving a Lieutenant of his own dent ademonstration of his readiness, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had Country. With the same Fleet he ran along promifed in idle words. Many States desi- the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria promised in tale words.

ous of the same benefit, would sain have and Cilicia, with the spoils of which he enfoused their good will; but they were kept riched his followers, and returned loaden to inby Cassanders Garrisons, who was too wife Cyprus. Demetrius the Son of Antigonus, to trust them loose. Therefore Antigonus hearing frequent reports of the miteries, made shew as if he would pass over into Ma- wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressedon: by which terror he forced Cassan- sed, made all haste out of syria to the relicue, der to repair thither in all hafte, with the best taking only hishorses, and light-armed foot of his strength, leaving many good Towns with him, because the business required ex-of Greece to weakly guarded, that well they pedition. But in vain did he tire himself might takecourage to help themselves, if and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that any foreign succour appeared. The aid which by lanching out into the deep, could in a they defired was not long wanting. The few minutes delude the labour of fo many Lieutenant of Antigonus, taking the advan- days, if need had so required. Answerab'e to tage of Cassanders departure, entred the the vanity of this expedition was the success. Country; drave his Garrisons out of divers For Ptolomy was gone, before Demetrius Cities; forced the Governor of Athens to came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, enter into league with their Lord; wan the whether having lightned his ships of their Citadel of Thebes, and set the people at liber- burthen in Cyprus, he would return upon ty. This last action was somewhat remark-those maritime Countries, or make towards able. For Thebes had not long before been Syria, where his coming was expected. He raifed out of her old ruines by the meer was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with power of Cassander; of which act he was Seleucus was describing a Royal Army, which accused by Antigonus, as if it had been some he levied with all convenient speed, for hainous crime. Yet now the same Antigonus the recovery of Syria. This was more than winneth the City, and the love of the In- Demetrins knew. Therefore he was fain to habitants, only by expelling him that was chuseout of uncertainties the most likelitheir Founder. So much are men readier to hood, and return the way that he came, with thank the Increaser, than the Author of their all his companies, which were fitter for sergood; and rather to look forward upon vice in the open field, than to be bestowed in those hopes, which vainly they extend be- Garrisons among the Cilicians. He had fcarce. Xxxx 2

fearer refreined his men and horses in Syria, sance, the greater number holding better when the news arrived of Ptolomies coming out, the error of Demetrius, who upon no with a puillant Army, to give him battel, necessity would needs fight a battel with Hereupon he called to countel his principal disadvantage, began to appear by his losses. friends, who advised him to give way to the He had committed himself to Fortune, hatime, and expect some better opportunity ving more to lose by her than he could get: in the future, being a young man, and weak- but in this fight the was idle, and left all to ly furnished with means to resist such ancient be decided by strong hands; unless it may and famous Generals, as Itolomy and Seleucus. This couniel feemed rather to proceed men, by the loss of his Elephants, was bad from the cold temper of those aged men luck. Those beafts were in that kind of that gave it, than from any necessity grow- War hardly to be resisted on plain ground; ing out of the present business. For Demetrius confidering himfelf to be the Son of Antigonus, and now General or his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names ken. This disaster caused the horsemen of of those two great Commanders. Neither Demetrins to faint. They had laboured hard, found he much reason that should move him and prevailed little, till now perceiving that to diffrust his forces, as intufficient. His men all must lye upon their hands, who were ill were better exercifed than the enemies, and able to make their own places good, they promited as much as could be required began to shrink, and many of them to pro-Therefore perswading himself, that such vide for their safety by timely slight, which ode's of number, and of great fame, would example the rest quickly followed. When rather ferve to adorn his victory, than hinder Demetrius had stroven fo long in vain to him in obtaining it, he resolved to put the make his men abide, that he himself was matter to tryal, without expecting the ad-likely to be loft; he was fain to give place vantage of more help. So animating his to the stronger, making a violent retrait as Souldiers with hope of spoil and rewards, far as to Azotus, which was about thirty he abode the coming of the Enemics at Ga- miles from the place of Battel. A great part zd, with purpole to encounter them, as foon of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some as they had finished their wearisome jour- of his company turned aside, hoping to save ney over the Defarts of Arabia.

a Province as Egypt, came so well provided ction, and the loss of the Town. For, whilst of all necessaries, that their Army felt not they, forgetful of the danger, had filled the any great grievance of the evil way, when ftreets with sumpter-horses, and cloyed up battel was presented them, which confident the gates, thronging, some to get in and ly they undertook. In all things else they fetch; others, to carry out what they had had the odds of Demetrius; of Elephants already loaden, Ptolomy's Army brake in they were utterly unprovided. But how to without refistance, taking them with their deal with those Beatts they were not ignorant. They had prepared akind of Palilado. fastened strongly together with chains, and best part of syria, a Province more easie in tharpened in tuch a manner, that the Elephants could not feek to break uponit, without receiving much hurt. Therest of their forces (which (belides that they had advantage in multitude ) were heartened with many fortunate fervices, by them performed that year, whilit the enemies had wearied themselves, either with vain journeys, or long and dulling expectation) they disposed in fuch order, as belt answered to the form. wherein Demetrius was embattelled. The right began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part striving more to win honor, than to fatisfie any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after fome continu-

be faid, that the terror brought upon his and therefore at the first they made great poil amongst Ptolomy's men. Afterward teeking to break thorow the Palifado, they were forely hurt, and every one of them tafuch goods, as in haste they could pack up. Ptolomy and Sciences issuing out of forich This foolish covetousness was their destrugoods and the City altogether.

This Victory restored unto Ptolomy the those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way unto all the greatness of Seleucus. For between Gaza and Phanicia no place offered refistance. In Caloffria and Phanicia, some Towns held out a while but were soon taken in by Ptolomy. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sydon; of which sidon was given up by the Inhabitants; Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captain, who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by Ptolomy, and honorably entertained in respect of his fidelity.

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on of Seleucus.

try his own fortune; which he found fo did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had comtry and that recovering first his own mitted his Army in Media, joyning unto province, he became at length mafter of the himfelf, out of Perfix and other Countries, better part of Alexanders purchases.

confitted of no more than eighteen hundred out of that which he had won. foot, and two hundred horse, a number too Against this power, Seleneus had only fmall to have been placed as Garrison, in four hundred Horse, and tomewhat above fome one of those main great Cities, against three thousand Foot, wherewith to oppose nome one of those many great black. But himfelf: his large Conquest of unwarlike which ne carried it into the night roma. But little force is needful, to make way into fitness having yielded him many loving ftrong places, for him that already ftands trong piaces, for min that already training pieces are obtained. A liver of Tigh's, he with The name of Scheuur was enough; whom the Babylonians had found fo good a work of the with the with the place where his refiftance was expected, into certain was considered. fection fo general, it was not a safe course for yielded unto selencus: whose gentle dethe Antigonians, to thrust themselves into meanor, after the victory, drew all Media, the Towns of most importance: for every sustana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to man of them should have been troubled acknowledge him their Lord without any with daily enemies in his own lodging. It further stroke stricken. remained that they should issue forth into mia and Babylon.

minion. In the Countries about Euphrates he (as it ought) the calculation of Bunting;

had not done the like; for his own great Army lay between them and all enemies. How Seleucus recovered Babylon, and made Therefore when the victory at Gazat had himself Lord of many Countries in the opened unto Sciences the way into those highest Asia. The Bra of the Kingdom of parts, he found little impediment in the the Greeks, which began with the Domini- rest of his business. Having now gotten what he fought, it behaved him to feck how he might keep his gettings; for his own forces With fuch prosperity, seleucus took were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his leave of him, and went up to Babylon, to friends could not do for him, his enemies all needful help, came, with ten thousand This expedition of Seleucus was very Foot, and feven thousand Horse, either to frange, and full of unlikelihoods. His train fave all from being loft, or to drive Selencus

Governor, that none of them would find marifhes not far off; where he lay fecretly courage to refult him; but left that work to waiting for some advantage. Nicanor Antigorus his own men, wishing them ill to thought that he had been sled, and was the fpeed. Some of the Macedonians that were less careful in fortifying his Camp. In recomin those Countries, had the like affection; pence of this vain security, his Camp was others made a countenance of War, which taken by furprize, the first night of his arriby easie compulsion they left off, and fol- val; the satrapa, or Lieutenant of Persia, lowed new Enfigns. This added courage to together with fundry of the Captains, were the people, who came in apace, and submit- slain; he himself was driven to slee for his ted themselves joyfully to Seleucus. In a de- life into the desarts, and the whole Army

This victory of Seleucus gave beginning the field, and try the matter by fight. But unto the new stile of, The Kingdom of the the treason of one principal man, who re Greeks, an accompt much used by the Greeks. volted to the enemy, with more than a thou- Chaldeans, Syrians, and other Nations in fand Souldiers following him, fo difmayed those parts. I will not make any long difthe rest, that they did no more than seek to putation about the first year of this Eru. make good one strong place, wherein were The authority of that great Astrologer Flokept the Hostages and Prisoners, that Anti- long, from which there is no appeal, makes gonus held for his security in those quarters. it plain, that the five hundred and nineteenth page. This Castle, belike, they had not tortified in year of Nabonassar, was the fourscore and seein in times of leisure, against dangers, that were cond year of this accompt. Other inference not then apparent. Sciences quickly took it; hereupon is needless, than that note of the and so got the entire possession of Mesopota- learned Gauricus, That the first of these years - Go was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together into Antigonus had bestowed in Media and with the end of four hundred thirty and eight and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those years after Nabonassar. With the observati-Provinces, that were the utmost of his Do- on of the Saturn, recorded by Piolomy, agrees

finding the same Planet to have been so pla- advertising his Father of his misfortune, beced in the fign of Virgo, as the Chaldeans Sought him to send a new supply, wherewith had observed it, in the same year; which he might redeem his honor lost. Antigonas was from Nabona far the five hundred and upon the first news of this overthrow, had nineteenth; from Sciences the fourscore and said, That the victory which Ptolony wan fecond year; and the last of the hundred upon a beardless Boy, should be taken from thirty and seventh Olympiad. These obser-him by bearded men: yet upon desire that vations of the celestial bodies, are the surest his son, whom he tenderly leved, should marks of time: from which he that wilfully amend his own reputation. he was content varies, is inexcusable. As for such occur- to make a stand in Phrygia. Filling hearing rances in History, and the years of succeed- of Demetrius his preparations, that nevering Princes (that are not feldom ambiguous, theless follow his own business in Catalyria; by reason of unremembred fractions) if they thinking it enough to spend part of his Arfeem to behere-against, it is not greatly ma- my under cilles his Lieutenant, against the terial. Yet thus much is worthy of note; remnant of those, that had been already that these years of the Greeks were not vanquished, when Cilles too much underreckoned in all Countries from one begin-valued the power of such an Enemy. He ning; as plainly appears in the difference of thought that this young Gallant, having one year, that is found between actions, re-lately faved his life by flight, would now be lated by the feveral Authors of the two more careful of having a a fair way athis Books of the Maccabees, who follow divers back, than adventurous in fetting further accompts. He that shall adhere to the time forward, than urgent reason should prodefined by Ptolony, may apply the other voke him. In this confidence he paffed on Supputations thereunto, as being no farther without all fear; as one that were already from it, than a years distance.

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go up to Babylon, with so few men as his had almost ruined: but further it enabled friend could then well spare: for had he him, to recompence the bounty of Piolony, ftayed longer upon hope of getting more with equal favour, in restoring to him cilles, Souldiers, Ptolomy could have spared him with many other of his friends, accompanied none at all. Demetrius the fon of Antigonus, with rich presents. But neither was Ptolomy having lost the battel at Gaza, received from so weakned by this loss, nor Demetrius so Ptolony all his own goods, his Pages, and emboldned by his victory, that any matter

in Demetrius an earnest desire of requiting already he possessed. him, with some as brave liberality. Which Antigonus, indeed, was nothing flow in to effect, he gathered together the remain- his way towards Syria; whither he made der of his broken Troops; drew as many as all hafte, not so much to relieve his son, as could bespared, out of the Garrisons in Ci- to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceed-

Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would iffue out of their places of strength, to make refistance. When Demetrius was informed of this careless march; How Ptolomy lost all he won in Syria. What he took the lightest of his Army, and made the causes were of the quiet obedience, per- his journey with such diligence, one whole formed unto the Macedonians, by those that night, that early in the morning, he came had been subject unto the Persian Empire. upon Cilles unexpected, and was on the sudof divers petty enterprizes, taken in band den, without any battel, Master of his by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill Camp: taking him alive, with his Soul-

This exploit served not only to repair the IN a happy hour did Selencus adventure to credit of Demetrius, which his loss at Gaza Servants, in free gift, and therewithal a of consequence thereupon ensued. For Decourteous message, to this effect: That no metrius feared the coming of Ptolomy; and personal hatred was the ground of this War, therefore he fortified himself in places of which he and his Confederates held with advantage: Ptolomy on the other fide was Antigonus; but only terms of honor, where- loth to engage him elf in an enterprize, in they would feek to right themselves after wherein he might perceive, that if the comfuch manner, that other friendly Offices, ing of Antigonus found him entangled, he without reference to the quarrel, hould not should either be driven to make a shameful retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his This Noble dealing of Ptolomy, did kindle whole estate, in hope of not much more than

licia, or other Provinces thereabouts, and ing, that the young man had fo well ac-

ration of this late victory, he brought fuch convenience. forces, as might serve to re-conquer all sy-

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pounding that course; not without remem- members. brance of the good fuccess against Perdiccas, great Province.

after him. The hot contentions for superiority between the King of Ifrael, and those

quitted himself, and being left to his own ty: and how these proud Conquerors were advice, performed the office of a good Com- glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather mander. Wherefore to encrease the repu- friends than servants, for fear of further in-

It must therefore be noted, that most of ria: meaning, that the honor of all should these Countries had always been subject he referred unto the good foundation laid unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom by his son; whom from this time forwards, the Babylonians and Persans long since had he imployed in matters of greatest impor- rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than Prolomy had now less reason to encounter the command of foreign Masters. This had with Antigonus, than before his coming to utterly taken from them all remembrance have affailed the Camp of Demetrius. Yet of home-born Princes, and incorporated he made it a matter of confultation; as if them into the great body of the Persian Emhe had dared more than he meant. But all pire: fo that wanting within themselves all his Captains advised him to retire into Egypt, soveraign power, or high authority, the life alledging many good arguments to that pur- and spirit of every Estate; they lay as dead. pole: which they might well perceive to be and were bereaved of motion, when that agreeable to his own intent, by his pro Kingdomfell, whereof they lately had been

Why the Persian Satrape, or Princes of in the like defensive War. So he departed that Empire, did not when Darins was taout of Spria, preserving his honor; as being ken from them, as the Macedonian Captains rather led by mature deliberation, than any after the death of Alexander, strive to lay fidden passion of fear: and he departed at hold upon those Provinces, which had many fair leisure, not only carrying his treasures ages been subject unto them, and scarce four along with him, but staying to dismantle years in quiet possession of their enemies; or fome principal Cities, that he thought most why at least they contended not (when the likely to trouble him in the future. All the terrible name of that great Conqueror did Country that he left at his back, fell pre- cease to affright them) to get their shares fently to Antigonus, without putting him to among his followers, if not wholly to disposthe trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie fels them of their new purchases: it is a quewas it in those times, for the Captain of a stion, wherein who is not satisfied, may find strong Army, to make himself Lord of a no less reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirm it. For we feldom We may justly wonder, that these King- read, that any small Kingdom, prevailing doms of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many against a far greater, hath made so entire a other Nations (which the victory of Alex- conquest, in the compass of ten years, as left ander had over-run with so hasty a course, as unto the vanquished no hope of recovery. gave him not leisure to take any good view nor means to rebel; especially when such of them) were so easily held not only by disorders, or rather utter confusion hath himself, but by the Captains of his Army ensued, by the fury of civil War among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so of Damascus; between Egypt and Babylon; quietly the Persian Empire, is well set down Babylon and Nineve; the Persans and many by Machiavel; and concerns all other King-Countries; argue a more manly temper, to doms, that are subject unto the like form of have once been in those people; which are Government: the sum whereof is this; now so patient of a foreign yoke, that like Wheresoever the Prince doth hold all his Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be Subjects under the condition of slaves, there distributed, fought for, won, lost, and again is the conquest easie, and soon assured: recovered by contentious Masters ; as if they Where ancient Nobility is had in due rehad no title to their ownheads, but were gard, there is it hard to win all, and harder born to follow the fortune of the Macedo- to keep that which is won. Examples of nians. This will appear the more strange, this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingif we shall consider, how the several States dom of France. If any Invader should preof Greece (many of which had never pof- vail fo far upon Turky, that the great Sulsessed so large Dominion, as might cause tan and his Children (for Brethren he useth their spirits to swell beyond their ability) not to suffer alive) were taken or slain: did greedily embrace all occasions of liber- the whole Empire would quickly be won,

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and easily kept, without any danger of re- doth leave unto them no means, whereby bellion. For the Bassaes, how great soever to oppose themselves against the flourishing they may feem, are meer flaves; neither estate of their Prince; so would it weaken is there in all that large Dominion, any one both their power and their courage in giman, whose personal regard could get the ving him assistance, if adversity should make people to follow him in fuch an attempt, him ftand in need of them. For there is scarce wherein hope of private gain should not any one among the Turks Bassaes, or Provincountervail, all apparent matter of fear. cial Governors, that knows either from Contrariwile, in France, it were not enough whence he was brought, or from whom defor him that would make a conquest, to get scended, nor any one among them, that by into his hands the King and his Children; the loss and utter ruin of the Turkish Empire. though he further got the better part of the can lose any foot of his proper inheritance; Country, and were by far the strongest in and it is the proper inheritance of the subthe field. For, besides the Princes of the ject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, Royal blood, there are in that Kingdom which makes him fight with an armed heart ftore of great men; who are mighty in their against the Conqueror, who hath no other feveral Countries, and having certain Royal- device painted on his Enfign, than the pities and Principalities of their own, are able cture of flavery. to raise War in all quarters of the Realm ; As is the Turkish Empire, so was the Perwhereunto the remembrance of their own fian, void of liberty in the Subjects. and ancient Families, and long continued Nobi- utterly destitute of other Nobility, than lity, will always stir up and inflame them: such as depended upon meer favour of the so that until every ones piece were won, Prince. Some indeed there were of the and every one (an endless work) of the Royal blood, and others, descended from chief Nobility brought under ordeltroyed, the Princes that joyned with Darius, the son the victory were not compleat, nor well of Hystaspes, in oppressing the Magi: these affured. It is true, that such power of the were men of reputation in Persia, but their Nobility, doth often times make way for an reputation confifted only in their Pedigree, Invader; to whom the discontentments of and their safety in not medling with assairs a few can easily make a fair entrance. But of State, which made them little esteemed. fuch affiftants are not fo eafily kept, as they In what small account these Persian Princes are gotten; for they look to be satisfied at were held, it may appear by this, that the full, in all their demands; and having what Kings Uncles, Coulin Germans, and Brethey would, they foon return to their old thren, were called by the Kings, Their allegiance, upon condition to keep what Slaves, and so did stile themselves, in speakthey have, unless they be daily hired with ing unto these great Monarchs. That upon new rewards: wherein it is hard to please every light occasion of displeasure they were one man, without offending another as good handled as Slaves, it is easie to be discerned, as himself. The Turk, on the other side, in that example of cruelty, practised by needs not to fear any peril, that might arise | Xerxes upon his own brother Mafftes; from the discontented spirits of his principal which hath been formerly noted, in place men. The greatest mischief that any of them more convenient. As for the Satrape, or could work against him, were the betray- Governors of the Provinces, it is needless ing of some frontier Town, or the wilful to cite examples, proving them to have lois of a battel: which done, the Traytor been meer flaves: it may suffice, that their hath spent his sting, and must either sly to heads were taken from them at the Kings the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he will; that is, at the will of those Women formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing and Eunuchs, by whom the King was gofome further harm, he must adventure to verned. excuse himself unto his Master, who seldom To this want of Nobility in Persia, may forgives the Captain, that hath not strived be added the general want of liberty conveby desperate valour against missortune. As nient among the people: a matter no less for making head, or arming their followers available, in making easie and sure the conagainst the great Sultan, and so joyning quest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned themselves unto any Invader ; it is a matter by Machiavel. For as Esop his As did not not to be doubted: for none of them have care to run from the enemies, because it any followers or dependants at all, other was not possible, that they should load him than fuch as are subject unto them, by ver- with heavier burthens, than his Master cautue of their Offices and Commissions. Now sed him daily to bear: so the Nations, that

as this base condition of the principal men, endure the worst under their own Princes,

are not greatly fearfull of a forein yoke or So that of this tameness, which we find in

those that had been subjects of the Persian Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeed been abso-Arabians bordering upon Syria: against it as his own assured. whom Antigonus fent part of his Army ; thinking therewith to bring them under, or tory commandment, to return unto him at rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as hesent, fell upon the Nabatheans, at such time | may seem ) that in such an unsettled state of as they were bussed in a great Mart; wherein things, either the War might be ended, by they traded with the more remote Arabians | the fury of the first brunt; or else it would for Mirrh, Frankincense, and other such com- be vain to strive against all difficulties likely modities. All or most of these rich wares, to arise, where want of necessaries should together with five hundered talents of filver, frustrate the valour, that by strength of time and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid waslike to become less terrible to the enehold upon: for their coming was sudden my. Demetrius therefore leaving behind him and unexpected. But ere they could reco- five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, ver Syria, the Nabathaans overtook them, rather to make shew of continuing the War. foot, and fix hundered horse, only fifty horse thing, forsook the enterprize, and went back escaped To revenge this loss, Demetrius was to his Father. fet out with a great power: yet all in vain; for he was not refifted by any Army, but by the natural defence of a vast Wilderness, lack of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him prefents. Returning from the Nabatheans, he viewed that hope vanished.

There perty enterpriles, with the ill fuccels Nor will be halty to shake it off, if by ex- accompanying them, had much impaired perience they find it more light, than was the good advantage against Pta'amy: when that whereunto they had been long accu- the news of selencus his victories in the high fromed. This was it that made the Gajcoignes | Countries, marredall together. For neither bear such faithful affection to the Kings of was the loss of those great and wealthy Pro-England; for that they governed more vinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was mildly than the French. This enlarged the it fafe to transport the War into the parts unitian jurisdiction in Lombardy; for the beyond Euphrates, whereby Spria, and the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the lower Afia thould have been exposed to the hands of Tyrannous oppressions: and this did danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle cause the Macedonians, with other Nations course was thought the best; and Demetrithat had been subject unto the posterity of us, with fifteen thousand foot, and three Alexanders followers, to serve the Romans thousand horse, was sent against Selencus. patiently, if not willingly; for that by them These forces being sent away, Antigonus did they were eased of many burthens, which nothing, and his Son did less. For seleneus. had been imposed upon them by their own was then in Media; his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept: Demetrius could hold nothing that he got, without fetting in Carrifon more men than of these there were, that could not so easily he could spare, neither did he get much: and therefore was fain to let out the bravery of his Expedition, by burning and spoiling lutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Country: which he did thereby the more the Sogdians, Battrians, and other Nations alienate, and, as it were, acknowledge to beabout the Caspian Sea. Such also were the long unto his enemy, who thenceforth held

Antigonus had laid upon his Son a perempand finding them weary with long marches, than to effect much, where himself with made fuch a flaughter, that of four thousand greater forces could do little more than no-

ø. IX.

A general Peace made and broken. How all the boufe of Alexander was destroyed.

Hese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectual the Lake Asphaltites, whence he conceived travel, in seeking to get more than any one hope of great profit that might be raifed, by of them could hold; were contented at gathering the Sulphure. With this good length to come to an agreement: wherein husbandry of his Son, Antigonus was well it was concluded, that each of them should pleased, and appointed men to the work: hold quietly, that which at the present he but they were flain by the Arabians, and so had in possession. As no private hatred, but meer desire of Empire, had moved them to

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reconciliation, but only a dulness growing upon the flow advancement of their feveral hopes, that made them willing to breathe

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fight again. late renowned King.

All this either little concerned Antigonus; or tended greatly to his good. The young readiness to acknowledge the true Heir, had freed himself from that ill-favoured imputa- before. tion, of feeking to make himself Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

Thelike advantage had he in that Article, Of restoring the Greeks to their liberty. This liberty had hitherto been the subject of that they had under them: fearing none other much idle discourse: but it never took effect. Antigonus held scarce any Town of arise by chance of War; wherein every one theirs, Cassander occupied most of the Coun-perswaded himself of success, rather better try : which if he should set free, he must be than worse. Hereupon all of them (except a poor Prince; if not, there was matter Lysimachus and Selencus, that had work enough of quarrel against him, as against a enough at home began to rowze themselves: Disturber of the common Peace.

between Euphrytes and the Greek Scas, toge Lieutenants were busie in Feloponnesus, and ther with a great. Army, and mony enough about Hellespont: while their Master was

enter into the War; so was it no friendly | to entertaine a greater, might serve to hold up the credit of Antigonus, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had been.

With much difadvantage do many men a while, till occasion might better serve to contend against one that is equal to them all in puissance. Cassanders friends had left Besides that main point, of retaining the him in an ill case; but he could not do with-Provinces which every man held, there were all: for, where every one mans help is nerwo Articles of the peace, that gave a fair, ceffary to the War, there may any one make but a false colour, to the bulines; That the his own peace; but no one can stand our son of Alexander by Roxane, fould be made alone, when all the rest are weary. The best King when became to full age: and, That all was, that he knew all their affections : which the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty. tended to no such end as the becoming Sub-The advancement of young Alexander to his jects unto any man, much less to the Son of Fathers Kingdom, feems to have been a an Allatique woman, of whom they had matter forceably extorted from Antigonus; long fince refused to hear mention. Therein whom was discovered a purpote, to have fore he took a short course, and caused both made himself Lord of all. But this, indeed the Child and his Mother to be slain: freemore neerly touched Cassander. For in his ing thereby himself in a trice, from the dancustody was the young Prince and his Mo- gerous necessity of yielding up his Governther: neither did he keep themin a fort and ment, which he must have done when the fwerable to their degree; but as close pro- Child had come to age. Roxane was a Laners, taken in that War, wherein they had dy of fingular beauty, which was perhaps the feen the old Queen Olympias taken and mur- caufe, why Perdiccas defired to have her Son. dered, that fought to put them in polletion being as yet unborn, proclaimed Heir to of the Empire. The mutus said and fear the great Alexander. Immediately upon the between them, rooted in congrounds, of death of Alexander, the had used the favour injuries done, and revenge expected; upon (if it were not love) of Perdicess, to the fatifthis conclusion of peace grew up faster than fying of her own bloody malice, upon staany time before, in the heave of Cassander: tira, the Daughter of King Darius, whom who saw the Macedonians turn their favou- Alexander had likewise married, according rable expectation, towards the son of their to the custom of those Countries, wherein plurality of Wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit Letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poor Lady into her hands, Prince must first have possession of Macedon: she did, by affistance of Perdiecas, murder whereby Cassander should be reduced to his her and her Sister, and threw their bodies poor office, of Captain over a thousand men, into a Well, causing it to be filled up with if not left in worle case. As for them that earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, held Provinces abroad, they might either were the and her Son made a way, in the do as they had done under Aridaus; or bet-like secret fashion; even at such time as the ter, as being better acquainted with their neer approaching hope of a great Empire own strength. He, in the meane time, by his had made her life, after a wearisome imprifonment, grow dearer unto her than it was

The fact of Cassander was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all change of their estates, than such as might as if now the time were come, for each man In the mean feafon, the Countries lying to improve his own stock. Antigonus his

Commander, but discontented with the ill and Corinth in his own possession. requital of his fervices) whom finding short-Towns of Sycion and Corinth.

and affiftance, would all of them take heart Throne. ing it to fall into their mouthes.

their Town and Territory.

careful in following other, and some greater much moderation : but, in spight of their matters that were more fecretly to be hand-hearts, as being fet over them by Casander. matters and the liberty of Greece: yet By this base temper of the principal Cities. did the same argument minister unto Ptolo- it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Counms matter of quarrel, against both him and try stood affected. Stolomy could not see my mater and them to let their helping hands to their own taken the matter deeply to heart) that Antiquents had put Garrifons into fome Towns, implies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, which ought, in fair dealing, to be fet at li- that he had a true meaning to deliver them herty. Under colour of redreffing this enor- from thraldom; as judging the commodity. mity, he sent an Army into Cilicia, where he won four Towns, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his own or his ene that Cassander should receive thereby, who could hardly retain them, it once Antigonus After this, putting to Sea with a strong took the work in hand. But when he found Fleet, he ran along the coast of Asia, winning such difficulty in the business, he changed many places: and in that voyage allured un- his purpose: And renewing his former to him a Nephew of Antigonus (a good friendship with Cassander, he retained sycion

Before the coming of Ptolomy into Greece, ly, as falseto himself as he had been to his Casjander had been held occupied with veown Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But ry much work. For (besides his pains taken in doing these things, his desire to set the in Wars among barbarous Princes) he Greeks at liberty, appeared not so plain, as found means to allure unto himself the Lieuhe wished that it should: for their case was tenants of Antigonus, that were in Peloponno way bettered by his molesting Anti-nejus, and about Hellespont: making his gonus in Asia. Therefore to get the love of own advantage of their discontentments. that valiant Nation, he made at the last an By the like skilful practice he freed himself Expedition into Greece it felf: where ha from a greater danger, and made those murving fet free some little Islands, and landed thers which he had committed seem the less in Peloponnesus, he raised so great an expe- odious, by teaching his enemies to do the dation of finishing the long-defired work, like. Old Polysperchon, that had made so that Cratespolis, the Widow of Alexander, great a stir in the reign of Aridems, did af-Poliferchons Son, gave up into his hands the ter the death of Roxane and her child, enter again upon the Stage: leading in his hand Itolomy had conceived avain belief, that another Son of the great Alexander, and the Greeks, emboldened by his countenance meaning to place him in his Fathers

and rife up in arms; whereby with little The name of this young Prince was Herlabour their liberty might be gotten ; and he cules: he was begotten on Barfine the daughbe acknowledged as Author of this immor- ter of Artabazus Persian ; but had been less tal benefit. But long servitude had well- esteemed than the son of Roxane. either neer extinguished the ancient valour of that for that his Mother was held no better than Nation: and their ill fortune, in many like- a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of ly attempts to recover freedom, had so tired the favour which Perdiccas, and after him their spirits, that they would no more stir in Olympias, did bear unto Roxanc. At this time pursuit thereof; but sate idly still, as wish-the death of his Brother had moved such compassion, and regard of his being Alexan-The Lacedamonians, about these times, ders only living child, had procured unto began to fortifie their Town with walls; him fuch good will, that the demand which trusting no longer in their vertue (for both Polysperchon made in his behalf, was deemed it, and the discipline that upheld it, were too very just and honorable. There were inmuch impaired) that had been a wall to deed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not The Athenians were become as humble sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of servants, as they had been in times past in- him that least ought, had not been most false. folent Masters: erecting as many statues in Cassander had raised an Army to withstand honor of Demetrius Phalereus, as there were his entry into Macedon: but little trust could days in the year. This Demetrius was now he repose in that Army, whose wishes he pertheir Governor; and he governed them with ceived to be with Hercules. Therefore he Yyyy 2

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affailed Polysperchon himself with gifts and ther in Asia; hoping belike to find a new promises; wherewith at length he prevailed Husband in his Camp. But neither any of fo far, that the old Villain was contented to those brave Captains, that were, in times folmurther his Pupil; chufing rather with many curses and foul dishonor, to take the offered Lordship of Peloponnesus, and Commander of an Army; than to purchase a noble tame with dangerous travel, in maintaining being a lufty Widow, fuffered her blood fo

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afleep; though his loffes were hitherto the of this, turned it to a jest: faying, That she chief witnesses of his having been a stirrer in was his Sister, and must be allowed this lithese commotions. He thought it enough for berty, as her portion of the Empire. When himat the present to retain his own: and by his death the Empire lay in a manner ther efore took order for the recovery of void, and the portion due to her therein those places which Ptolomy had taken pains grew, in mensopinion, greater than it had to win. As for the rest, it no way grieved been: then did many seek to obtain her, him to fee Cassander incur the general hatred while she her self defired only a proper man, of men, by committing those murthers of with whom the might lead a merry life. To which the profit was like to redound unto this purpose did the invite Leonatus unto him that was the most powerful, or to see her; who made great haste, but was cut off have afforded them leifure , and have nus, Ptolomy, Lylimachus and Caffander , bethought the time well spent in beholding ing all her earnest Wooers. All these (Antitheir contentions. For he was throughly gonus excepted) had Wives already; Ptolo-

lay for the most part in Sarches: whom he rus, after whose death she came to her Bro- nus freed from blame, at the least in his own

lowing fo hot in love with her, durst then afpire unto her marriage: nor did her Brother, full of other cares trouble himfelf with providing her of an Husband. Shetherefore, his faith, unto both his dead and living far to prevail against her honor, that she supplied the want of an Husband by enter-Antigonus had not all this while been tainment of Paramours. Alexander hearing Pobligerchon and Ptolomy five at in a buffe by death cre he came to her presence. Now War against Cassander. If they would have at the last, after long tarrying, she had her continued their quarrels, he could well choice of all the great Commanders, Antigoperswaded, that when the rest had wearied my had many Wives, and many Concubines themselves in vain with long strife, his Armies whom he respected as much as his Wives, beand Treasures, wherein he exceeded them ing noted of too much dotage in that kind. all, would bring all under. According to This hindred not his fuit : peradventure it these haughty conceits, he demeaned him- advanced it, by giving to Cleopatra some hope felf among his followers; looking big upon of mutual toleration. To him therefore the them, and like a King before his time. This bequeathed her felf, and was taking her was it that caused so many of them to revolt journey from sardes towards him; when from him : but it was no great loss to be Antigonus his Deputy in that City, made forsaken by those that looked with envious her to stay, until his Masters further pleaeyes upon that fortune whereon their own fure should be known. Antigonus had now thould have depended. Against this envy of a Wolf by the ears: he neither could well his men, and the malice of others, Antigo- hold her, nor durft let her go. She would nus busily sought a remedy, such as was like not be his Wife; he had no honest pretence to give him a goodly title to the whole Em- to force her; and to keep her prisoner, had been the way, by which he might have in-Cleopatra Sister unto the great Alexander, curred a general hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by Cafhad a great desire to take to Wife. This his fander against Roxane (a Lady less respected desire was not without good hope : for how- than Alexanders own Sister) did well testifie. foever she discovered much unwillingness Therefore he thought it the wisest way to thereunto, yet was she in his power, and procure her death: for to let any other enjoy might therefore be entreated, were it only the commodity of fo fair a title to the Kingfor fear of being enforced. But it was not dom, it was no part of his meaning. To this his purpose to get her by compulsive means : purpose he sent instructions to the Governor either because his saucy, being an old man, of sardes, willing him in any case to do it sewas not over-violent; or rather because his cretly. So the sact was committed, and cerambition, whereunto all his affections had tain women about her put in trust with the reference, could have made small use of her, murther: which women afterwards were put by doing such apparent wrong. She had to death, as mischievous conspirers against been married unto Alexander King of Epi- the life of that good Lady. So was Antigoto be fo deluded. How the murther was himself to Thebes under fate conduct, only detected, we need not ask: for feldom is the Garrison in Munichy. strove to make Authors.

Alexander the great extinguished, and it was der, and so restored the City to liberty. extinguished by the hands of such as thought I think it not importinent, sometimes to noon nothing less than the execution of relate such accidents, as may feem no betthe ruines, as the sequel will declare.

liberty to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of Callander out of those parts. The immo-Antigonus and Demetrius.

the Country free.

out into loud acclamations: Demetrius Pha- till she had wound up the thred of his life,

opinion: but the world was less foolish, than lereus for took the Town, and withdrew that bloody crime unrevealed, and never fo good that piece, which after a while was ill mothered, as when great persons are the won upon them by force. During the siege of Ainnychia'. Demetrius went to Megara; Thus was the whole race of Philip and whence he expelled the Garrison of Cassan-

Gods justice, due unto the cruelty of their ter than meer trifles: for even by trifles are powerful, but merciles Princes. Wherefore the qualities of great persons as well disclothe ambitious frames, erected by these Ty- sed, as by their great actions; because in rants, upon fo wicked foundations of inno matters of importance, they commonly cent blood, were foon after cast down, over- strain themselves, to the observance of gewhelming themselves or their children, with neral commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their own Natures. The Lady Cratesipolis lay in Patras, and had a great defire to fee Demetrius; hoping, belike, that she might by his means How Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, gave better her estate, and recover her Towns of whose Lieutenant in those places, Demetrius derate be sor decreed by the Athenians to ly bufiness pretended was love. He being One being left alive that had any title to the Kingdom; it stood with good Country of Megara, and taking a company reason, that they which were Lords of the of his lightest armed, for guard of his per-Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, son, made a long journey to meet with should freely profess themselves Kings in her. This troop also he caused to lodge a name, as they were already in substance. great way from his Tent, that none might Yet had this name ill-beseemed the weaker, see her when she came. As closely as the buwhile the strongest of all did forbear it: siness was carried, some of his enemies had neither seemed it convenient in the judge- gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conment of Antigonus, to crown his last action ceived good hope, that the diligence of a with such a title, as if he had attained unto very few men might overthrow all the great greatness by that foul murther, the infamy preparations of Antigonus; and bring him whereof he was careful how to discharge to any terms of reason, by taking his dear from his own head. He purposed therefore fon prisoner. Their project fell but a little to undertake a plaufible enterprize, even the short of the effect. For they came so suddenliberty of Greece : whereby it was apparent, ly upon him, that he had no better shift, than that he might get fuch honor as would not to muffle himself in anold cloak, and creep only drown all bad reports, but make him away difguifed; leaving them to ranfack his be thought equal to any name of Royalty, Tent. There was in this Prince a strange whereof in feeming modelty, he was not co- medly of conditions; especially an extreme vetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong dissoluteness in wanton pleasures, and a pain-Army, with a Navy of two hundred and fifty ful industry in matters of War. He was of a fail, and fifty thousand talents of filver, unto most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, Demetrius his son: willing him to begin at and a good wit; excellent in devising En-Athens, and thence to proceed, in fetting all gines of War, and curious in working them with his own hands. He knew better how Demotrius came to Athens before he was to reform his bad fortune, than how to rule expected: fo that without refiftance he en- his good. For advertity made his valour tted the Haven; it being thought that a more active: prosperity puffed him with fleet of Ptolemy, Cassanders good friend, had over-weening, wherein he thought that he been arrived. But when it was known, might do what he lifted. His fortune was both who he was, and what was the cause changeable, as were his qualities: turning of his coming; the joy of the Citizens brake often round, like the picture of her Wheel,

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business at Megara; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assail Munychia by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of Athens: which, until it was The great victory of Demetrius against Ptofully wrought out, he refused to enter into the City. Munychia was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the atlault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walls, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wan the place in two days. The walls, and called away Demetrius, unto a business all the defences of that piece against the Ci- of greater difficulty; meaning to employ ty, were levelled with the ground, and so his service against Ptolomy, in Csprus. Bewas it freely put into the Citizens hands, fore his departure out of Creece, he was to whom withal was given their liberty, willed to establish a general Council, that with promise to aid them in maintain-should treat of matters concerning the com-

of any other victory gotten by Demetrius with greater skill and industry. For the Athenians, having forgotten how to employ their might appear, that as he would not perhands, laboured to make up that defect with mit any other to oppress the Greeks, so their tongues: converting to base flattery, would he be far from doing it himself. This that eloquence of theirs which the vertues was enough to hold his reputation high,

manly arguments.

They decreed unto Antigonus and Demetrius the name of Kings; they consecrated mies. the place in which Demetrius leaped from

Apollo. shortly after, desiring him to relieve them it, and themselves together. with Corn and Timber to build ships; he

in such manner as followeth to be shewed. Oracle: or rather so weak is great power Returning to his Camp, and finishing his in resisting the assauls of flatterv.

#### 6. XI.

lomy in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius took upon them the flile of Kings; wherein others followed their ex-

Rom this glorious work, Antigonus mon good of the Country. About the same The fame of this action was lowder, than time Antigonus withdrew his own Garrison out of Imbros, committing their liberty entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it of their Ancestors had suited unto more among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Ene-

A pitiful Tragedy had lately hapned in his Chariot, when he entred their City, and cyprus, through the indifcretion of Menebuilt there an Altar, calling it of Demetrius, laws, Ptolomies brother, and his Lieutenant The alighter; they called them by the names in that Ifle. Nicocles, King of Paphos, wasenof the gods their Saviours, ordaining that tred into some practice with Antigonus : yet every year, thereshould be chosen a Priest not so far that he thought himself past exof these gods; and further, that such as were cuse; by which considence, he was perhaps employed by their State, in dealing with the more easily detected. To cut off this neeither of these two Princes, should not be gotiation, and the false-hearted King of Facalled Embassadors, but Theori, or Conful- phos at one blow, Menelaus was sent thither: ters with the gods; like as were they, whom who furrounding Nicocles his house with they sent unto the Oracle of Jupiter, or Souldiers, required, in Ptolomies name, to have him yielded to the death. Nicocles It were a frivilous diligence to rehearse offered to clear himself; but Menelaus told all their flatteries, these being so gross. Here- him, that dye he must, and bad him come by they not only corrupted the young torth quietly. This desperate necessity caused Prince; but made that acclamation, which the unhappy King to rid himself of life : and best would have pleased the old man, to be his death struck such an impression into his of no use. For he could not handsomely wife, that she not only slew her self, but pertake upon him the name of King, as imposed swaded the wives of her husbands brethren by the Athenians, unless he would feem to to do the like. Also those brethren of Nicoapprove their vanity, in loading him with cles, unto whom Ptolomy had intended no ill, more than humane honors. Yet was he so being amazed with the suddenness of this tickled with this their fine handling him, calamity, did shut up the Palace, and setting that when their Theori or Consulters came it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in

Whatsoever the crime objected was; Nigave them almost a hundred thousand quar- cocles perished as a man innocent, because he ters of wheat, and matter sufficient to make was not suffered to make his answer. Of this a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first sad accident, though Menelaus deserved the the furthest removed occasion.

opposition that Ptolomy was like to make. Fleet, puts to Sea against Ptolomy. The Copriots did little or nothing against Most of them were Mercenaries: but all might follow some other time.
their goods were in Egypt, which was enough
tokeep them faithful. Yet could not this

There fell out in this battel no unusual
tokeep them faithful. Yet could not this

of Sycion and Corinth.

vice; and very well furnished with Engines as great necessity required.

blame, for his rigorous proceeding; yet it on his back: in which cafe, it was very likeis to be thought, that much dislike fell also ly that all would go very ill with him. unon Ptolomy: as men that are grieved, cast Against this mischier, he bestowed ten of his anill affection even upon those that gave own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keep Menclaus from illuing forth, and fetting Not long after this, Demetriss came into his horsemen on the shore, to give what af-Cprus, with a power fufficient, against any fiftance they could, he with the rest of the

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The fight began early in the morning, him, either because they had small strength and continued long, with doubtful success. orfor that they held it a matter indifferent, The generals were not ranged opposite one whom they acknowledged as their Lord, to the other; but held each of them the left being fure that they should not themselves wing of his own Fleet. Each of them prehave the rule of their own Country. Mene- vailed against the squadron wherewith he lass therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew encountered; but the success of Demetrius forth an Army, and fought with Demetrius. was to better purpole. For his victory in one Buthe was beaten, and driven to save him- part was such, as caused others to fall out of felf within the walls of Salamis, where he was order, and finally drave all to betake themso hardly besieged, that without strong suc- selves unto speedy flight. As for Ptolomy, he cour, he had no likehood to make good the was fain to leave his advantage upon the place, much less to retain possession of the enemy inonepart of the fight, that he might whole Illand. His greatest help at the present relieve and animate those of his own which was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no needed him in another: wherein he found his rewards could win from him, nor good usage loss over-great to be repaired, by contend-(when any of them were taken priloners, and ing any longer against the fortune of that inrolled in the enemies bands) keep from day; and therefore he laboured only to returning to him, with the first opportunity. save himself, in hope of better event, that

their resolution have stood long against the could have been expected. The occasions odds of number, which Demetrius had of men whereof were, partly the great skill in Seaasresolute, and against his terrible Engines services, which the Greeks and Phanicians of battery, if Ptolomy had not hasted to the that were with Demetrius, had above those which followed Ptolomy: partly, the good Ptolomy brought with him a hundered and furniture of the Ships, wherein confifted no forty Gallies, besides two hundered Ships of less, than in the quality of those with whom burden, for transporting his Army and Car-they were manned. Further, we may reariages. This Fleet made a terrible shew, sonably judge, that the two hundered ships of when it was described afar; though more burthen, carrying the strength of Ptolomies than half of it was unfit for service in fight Army, did not more encourage his own men, at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of and terrine his enemies the day before the his forces the more dreadful, Ptolomy fent fight, than breed in each part the contrary unto Demetrius a threatning meffage: willing affections, when in the beginning of the fight him to be gone, unless he would be over- they fell off, and stood aloof. For though it whelmed with multitudes, and trampled to were fitting that they should so do; yet a deathin a throng. But this young gallant re- multitude, prepossessed with vain conceits, payd him with words of as much bravery, will commonly apprehend very flight occapromifing to let him escape upon condition, sions to think themselves abandoned, Bethat he should withdraw his Garrisons out sides all this, the expectation that Menelaus, issuing with his fleet out of Salamis should Demetrius had no more than one hundered charge the enemy in the stern, was utterly and eighteen Gallies; but they were, for frustrate. He was kept in perforce, by the the most part, greater than those of Ptolomy; ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of better stored with weapons fit for that ser-the Haven: which they manfully performed,

in the prows, to beat upon the enemy. Ne- Such disappointment of expectation doth vertheless he stood in great doubt of three- much abate the courage of men in fight: score Gallies that lay in the Haven of Sala- especially of the affailants: whereas on the mis, left Menelaus with them should set up- contrary, they find that some part of their

and conceive an opinion of their own abili- with a great throng at his heels (that ferved ty, to do more than they thought upon, out well to let out his Pageant) until he came in of their not suffering the harmthat they had light of Antigonus, who could not contain imagined.

were, the fruit was very great. For Ptolomy flodemus, upon the fudden, with a high had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight : all the rest of his uttering the greatness of the victory (with fleet was either taken or funk. Neither did as much pomp, as before he had covered it. Menelans any longer strive against the vio- with silence) in the hearing of all the peolence of fortune; but yielded up all that he ple; who with loud acclamations, gave that held in Cyprus, together with his Army, confilting of twelve thousand foot, and a thoufand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Haven of Salamis. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the Egyptian by Land; none of them repoling any more confidence in Ptolomy, but willingly becoming followers of a new Lord, whole Army they now in-

depended on the event of this fight, than the Kings; it was not long eretheir fellows were Ife of Cyprus, for which they contended. ready to follow the good example. Ptolomy Wherefore the common expectation was his friends would by no means endure, that great; especially Antigonus, whomit most their Lord should be thought a mandejectconcerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, ed for the loss of a fleet; therefore they fathinking every day a year, till he were ad- uted him alfo King. Lysmachus in Thrace had vertised of the issue. In this mood Aristode- boldness enough to put the Diadem about mus foundhim, a noble flatterer, whom De- his own head. Selencus had, before this metrius had honored with the Message of time, among the barbarous people, taken these good news. Arishodemus had be-upon him as King: but now he used the stile thought himself of a trick, whereby to indifferently, as well among the Greeks and He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a ly Cassander held himself contented with his might intimate the purport of his errand, and judgement, than in the Scenes already could be won from this demure Gentleman. past.

fears vain, do easily gather hopeful spirits, Thus marched he fair and softly forward himfelf, but went down to meet him at the Whatsoever the causes of this victory Gate, and hear the news. Then did Arivoyce falute Antigonus by the name of King; name of King, both to Antigonus and his fon Demetrius. Antigonus, in requital of the long suspence, wherein Aristodemus had held him. faid. That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and fent the like to his fon.

When it was once noised abroad, that It was generally believed, that much more | Antigonus and Demetrius called themselves double the welcome of his joyful errand: Macedonians, as in dealing with others. Ongood diffance from the shore; he himself own name: whereby, howsoever he might landed in a Cock-boat, which he fent imme shadow his pride, he no way leffened the diately back to the ship; and so all alone fame of his cruelty against his Mastershouse. he went forward, looking very fadly, that But the name which he forbore, his sonsafno part of his tidings might appear in his ter him were bold to usurp, though with countenance. Report of his arrival (for it ill success, as will appear when they shall was not known where he had been) came enter upon the Stage, whereon these old presently to Antigonus, who sent Mellenger Tragedians, under new habits, as no longafter messenger to meet him on the way, and er now the same persons, begin to play bring fpeedy word how all went. But nei their parts, with bigger looks, and more ther any answer, nor so much of a look, as boiltrous actions, not with greater grace

CHAP.

of the History of the Morld.

Of the Wars between the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: untill all Alexanders Princes were confumed.

ø. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill success.

fuch as gave him hope to swallow them ceased when it did, and Antigonus appeared up, together with their new titles. Being in fight, from whom these over-wearied. not ignorant of his own strength, he re- thirity and Sea-beaten Souldiers received pared an Army of eighteen thousand foot. metrius was Admiral.

haste he made: thinking by celerity to pre- ill attended. cover : Demetrius himself, with the best and leaving Egypt.

LI the rest of these Kings had ta-strongest Vessels, did so long bear it up ken that name upon them, in imita- against the winde, that all his fresh water tion of Antigonus himself, as be- was spent; in which extremity, he and all feeming his greatness: which was his must have perished, had not the tempest not ignorant of the following and make him and cate of the content be able to stand, when the greatest of purpose; for Piolomy had so fortified all the them was fallen. To this purpose he pre passages upon the River of Nilus, as he affured himself either to end the war there, or parca and almy of the control of the an hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hun- weakning of the Affailants, as he should afdred ships of burthen. The Land forces terward, with a second Army ( which he he commanded in person: of the Navy De- held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that Antigonus When all was ready for the journey, the lought, was to come to blows speedily: Pto-Sea-men advised him to stay yet eight dayes long on the contrary, to beat Antigonus by longer, and expect the setting of the Plei- the belly. It is true that Nilus gave him waader. But his hasty desire to prevent all pre- ter enough, but wood he had none to warm parations for refistance that Ftolomy should it : and while Antigonus assaulted the Ramparations for rentrance that risonal models imputing it make, rejected this counfel; imputing it maker to their fear than skill: wherefore he departed from Antigonia (a Town which he had built in Spria, and called after his own name, that was foon changed into Se out Antigonia thrult fome affured Regiments lencia, by his mortal enemy) and came to upon the passages next the enemy, and in Gaza, where he met with his Fleet. The the mean while taken a resolution to reneerer that he drew to Egypt, the more turn, Ptolomy had turned him out of Egypt

vail more than by his great power. He | Some of them indeed he laid hands on. cansed his Souldiers to carry ten dayes pro- in the way of their escape, and those he put vision of Victuals; and had many Camels to death with extreme torments; but in all loaden with all necessaries for passing the likelihood with the same ill success that Fer-Defarts, over which he marched with no dicess had formerly done, when he invaded inall toil, though he met with no resistance. Egypt, had he not readily removed his Ar-At Mount Galfins, which is near adjoyning my further off, from the noyle of their ento Nilm, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, tertainment, that had already been won not far from the shore, in ill case, and many from him. To prevent therefore as well Ships wanting. It had been forely beaten the prefent danger of his stay, as the shame with foul weather, wherein some were lost, following a forc'd retrait, he secretly praothers driven back to Gaza, or scattered ctised the advice of his Councel, upon whom elsewhere into such creeks as they could re- the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and

Kings; on the Directed, than on the Directory. ftor: for the honour and reputation of a At this time the City of Rhodes was very Prince is far more precious than that of a mighty, being well governed, and having Vaffal. Charles the fifth, as many other Prin-long held it felfin good Neutrality; it drew ces have done, laid the loss and dishonour he the better part of all the trade of those received in the invafion of France, by the parts, and therein a great deal of riches to way of Provence, to Antony de Leva, whe- it felf; to maintain which, and to encrease ther justly or no, I know not; but howfo-ir, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet ever, all the Historians of that time agree, of well armed Ships, by which it not only that the forrow thereof cost that brave Cap- beat off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but tain his life. Certainly to give any violent the reputation of their strength was thereby advice in doubtfull enterprises, is rather a so much increased, as all the Neighbour testimony of love, than of wisdom, in the Princes sought their alliance and confeder giver; for the ill success is always cast upon racy. the Counsel, the good never wants a Father, In this so dangerous a time (in which though a falle one, to acknowledge it. Yet they must either refuse all that sought them. I have fometime known it, that great Com- and fo stand friendless and apart; or joyn manders, who are for the present in place of themselves to some one, and thereby forego Kings, have not only been diffwaded, but the peace, by which their greatness had a Marshals Court.

ø, I I.

metrius.

deal of joy in Egypt. Ptolomy held a folemn openly and strongly. All things soon after Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden ordered according to the greatness of the with glad news, to Selencus, Lysimachus, and enterprise, he employed his Son Demetrius Cassander, his Confederates: strongly encou-raging all that side, with the report of this brought such terror upon the Citizens, that his late felicity, though it appeared but in a laying a fide all respect of friendship and hodefensive War. Antigonus on the contra-nour, they offered him their affisfance and ry, flattered himfelf with another interpre- fervice against whomsoever. Demetrius, who tation, calling the joyes of his enemies for knew from whence this change came, and being but bare favers by the last bargain, an intollerable height, requiring a hunand himself, as he supposed, having lost but dred Hostages to be delivered him, and lia little time, and no part of his honour in berty to lodge in their Port as many thipsof the late retrait. Howloever it were, yet he War as himself pleased These conditions, meant to follow his affairs henceforth in more properly to be imposed upon a State another fashion; for that which he could already conquered, than on those who as not cleave afunder by great blows, he yet had heard of nothing but a constrained purposed by little and little to pare off, by affistance, restored unto the Rhodians their cutting off the branches first, to fell the lost courage, and made them resolve to de-Tree it felf with the more facility. To effect | fend their liberty to the last man: this taught which, he resolved (leaving the great ones them to infranchise all their able bond-men, to grow a while) to root up the Dependants and wisely rather to make them their felof his Enemies: Dependants, whom the low-Citizens, than to make themselves felfore-named Confederates should be forc't low-slaves with them. either to relieve, or to lose; and hereby he Demetrius having refused the fair condi-

It is indeed less prejudicial in such like doubted not to draw them into the field, cases, that errors, dishonours, and losses, be where the advantage of power, and of all laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on other warlike provision promised him vi-

held, in a kind, by strong hand, from haz- grown) their affections carried them to the zarding their own persons, and yet have Egyptian: both because the greatest part of those kind of Mutiners never been called to their trade lay that way, as also for that Antigonus his disposition, greatness, and neighbourhood was fearfull unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrel to How the City of Rhodes was besieged by De- Antigonus, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other griev-His departure of Antigonus, left behind ances, while he made a more weighty preit many dead Carcasses, and a great paration, to pursue the War against them witnesses of his own greatness, seeing they that the alteration was perswaded by fear, arose but from so little things: his enemies and not by love; raised his demands to

tions offered (as the Rhodians the fearfull ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long fiege, and finding no ap- How Demetrius prevailed in Greece. Caspearance to carry the place in fury, he fet in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he did never shew himself a greater Artisan, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had fuftained all the affaults given them for a Officers of the City.

gotten by fetting all Greece at liberty.

ther it were not lawfull to call him a god. gods, and just with men. The Priests which attended in the Temple that they would needs be called gods.

s. 111.

fander delires peace of Antigonus, and cannot obtain it. Great preparations of War against Antigonus.

Demetrius coming with a strong Fleet and Army into Greece, quickly draye whole year, after many brave fallies out of Cassander out of Attica; and pursuing his the Town, and the famine which they en- fortune, chased him beyond the straits of dured within the Town, which had proved Thermopyle. Herein his reputation did much far more extream, if Ptolomy had not with avail him; which was fo great, that fix many hazzards relieved them, Demetrius by thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted mediation of the Grecian Embassadors, gave unto him. So, partly by the greatness of his over the fiege; a hundred hostages they gave name, partly by force, he recovered in short him for performance of the peace made, but space all that Cassander held in those straits. with exception of all the Magistrates and and giving liberty unto the people, he bestowed upon the Athenians those pieces, Hereunto Demetrius was brought by the which had been fortified against them, to usual policy of War, and State: for while block them up. Then went he into Pelowith the flower of all his Fathers forces he ponnefus, where he found the like or more lay before Rhodes, Cassander recovered ma- easie success: for he suddenly took Argos. ny of those places in Greece, which Demetri- Corinth, Sicyon, and the most of the Counns had formerly taken from him; neither did try, bestowing liberty upon such as needed Callander make the War as in former times, it. The Town of Sicyon he translated by by practice and surprise, but by a strong and consent of the Citizens, from the old seat well compounded Army, which he himself into another place, and called it after his lead as far as into Attica, and therewith own name, Demetrius. This done, he betook greatly diffressed and endangered Athens it himself to his pleasure. At the Isthman games felf. On the other fide ( though with less he caused himself to be proclaimed Captain tucces) did Polysperchon invade Peloponnesus. General of Greece, as Philip and Alexander These dangerous undertakings upon Greece, had been in former times: whereupon (as advised the Athenians and Ætolians to di- if he were now become as great as Alexanspatch their Embassadours towards Demetri- der) he despised all others, making it a w, and adviced Demetrius rather to abandon matter of jeft, that any, fave himself or his the enterprise of Rhodes, than to abandon father, should usurp the Name of King. But the great honour which he had formerly in his behaviour he was so farr unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leafure, he Demetrius was no sooner out of the Island, deserved none other name than of a drunthan that the Rhodians erected Statues in ken Palliard. Yet were the Athenians as reahonour of Lysimachus and Cassander; but for dy as ever to devise new honours for him; Ptolomy, whom they most affected, and from among which they made one Decree, That whom they received their most relief, they whatsoever King Demetrius should comconfulted with the Oracle of Jupiter, whe- mand, ought to be held facred with the

All Greece being now at the disposition of of Hammon, gave the same fair answer for Antigonus, Cassander stood in great sear, lest Ptolomy, which they had formerly done for the war should fall heavily upon him in Alexander his Master; for as Alexander con- Macedon: which to avoid he knew no betfulted the Oracle with an Army at his heels, ter way than to make peace with his eneso was Ptolomy at this time Lord of the soil : mies betimes. And to that purpose he sent and yet was this a far more cleanly creation Embassadors; but had no better answer than that done by the Athenians, who dei- from Antigonus, than that he should submit fied Antigonus and Demetrius by decree of his whole estate to his discretion. This proud the people. A mad age it was, when so ma- demand made him look about him, and lany of Alexanders Captains could not con- bour hard in folliciting his friends, both to tent themselves with the style of Kings, but assist him, and take heed to themselves; neither found he them flow in apprehending the common danger: for Lysimachus knew

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that if once Cassander had lost Macedon, De- end he might not be driven to leave any the common Enemy.

at that time in his Town of Antigonia (a name each of them might freely apply himself that it must shortly lose) where he was care- to the tryal of the main controverse in fully providing to let out some stately game Asia. and Pageants, in oftentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous news of Lysmackus his victories about Hellespont. For Cassander had committed un- How Antigonus was slain in a great battel at to Lysimachus part of his forces, wherewith to pais over into Afa, while he himself with the rest should oppose Demetrius on Europe the reit inould oppose Demerrint on Europe fide. So Lysmachus passing the Hellesport, began to make hot war upon the subjects of Armigonus; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyn with him by fair means: the feriour to that of the Enemy. In greatness that the subjects of the Cities in those parts, to joyn with him by fair means:

Countrey round about. tigonus made hasty journeys, and came soon adversaries: for Antigonus had of long time enough to recover his loffes, but not strong kept them under with a mastering spirit, and enough to drive Lysmachus home, or com- had been reputed a King indeed, when the pell him to come to battel. Lysimathus waited rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. for the coming of Selencus; keeping him-Likewise Demetrius was generally acknowfelf the whilest from necessity of fighting, ledged a brave Commander, having given But Babylon was far off; and Seleucus his proof of his worth in many great services preparations were too great to be soon in a of all kinds, and enriched the art of War readiness. The Winter also did hinder his with many inventions, which even his enejourney: which inforced them on both mies, and particularly Lysimachus, did much fides to rest in some quiet, without perform- admire. Selencus, who had some times flating any matter of importance. This delay tered Antigonus, and fearfully stoln away of debating the quarrel in open field, held from him to fave his life, with young Antiall those Nations in a great suspence, and ochus, a Prince not heard of before this jourbred much expectation. Yet might all have ney; and Lysmachus, that had lived long in come to nothing, had not Antigonus been so a corner, hardly keeping his own from the forward, that he refused to yield upon any wilde Thracians; wanted much in reputatipeaceable conditions. At length Selencus on of that which was yielded to their oppopeaceanie conditions.

A mighty Army of his own fites: yet fo, that as ancient Captains under (for he had gathered strength in that long Philip and Alexander, two of them were time of leasure, which Antigonus had given held worthy enough to receive any benefit him) and with great aid from Ptolomy, that that Fortune might give, and the third a was joyned with his forces.

To help in this needful case, Demotrius to make experience. was called over into Asia by his Fathers let- The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the ters: which he readily obeyed. Before his most part hardy and well exercised: many departure out of Greece, he made peace with of them having served under Alexander; Caffander, upon reasonable terms: to the though of those old Companies, the long

metrius would foon be Master of Thrace. part of his Army for desence of the Coun-Neither were Ptolomy and Sciencus igno- trey; and that his journey might be without rant of that which was like to befall them, any fuch blemish of reputation, as if he had if Antigonus were suffered to put himself in abandoned his Dependants: for one Article quiet possession of those Provinces in Eu- of the Peace was, that all the Cities of Greece rope. Wherefore it was agreed, that with should be at liberty. Cassander was glad to joint forcesthey should all together set upon be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done Hereof Antigonus had notice: but scorned him little good, if things had fallen our all their preparations, faying, That he would contrariwife than they did in Afa; feeing the as cafily featter them, as a flock of birds ratification thereof was referred unto Antiare driven away with a stone. With these gonus. It sufficed, that for the present, eveconceits he pleafed himself, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemy. He lay incumbrances else-where, to the end that

#### 6. IV.

Ipfus,neer unto Ephefus; wherein his whole estate was lost.

winning others by force, and wasting the of name (that helpeth much in all Wars, but especially in the Civil) they were ra-To repress this unexpected boldness, An- ther unanswerable than unequal to their Prince of great hope, whereof he now came

foace of two and twenty years had confumed on the enemies battel, wherefoever it lay the greatest number. But concerning their most open, he did so terrifie the Antigonians, affections, the followers of selenem were that a great part of them rather chose to easily perswaded, that in this battel they revolt from their Lord, whilest they were must either get the upper hand, or put in fairly invited, than to sustain the fury of so

private with his Son whom he commended troublesome life. to the Army as his Successor: whereas in His great ability in matter of Arms. former times he had never been so jocund, together with his unsatiable desire of as towards the hour of battel, nor had Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the been accustomed to make his Son, or any whole Volume of his actions. He was other private to his counsel, before it requi- more feared by his enemies, than loved by red execution. Other tokens of bad luck, his friends; as one that could not modeeither foregoing the fight, or afterwards de- rate his Fortune, but used insolence tovised, I hold it needless to recount. Diana of ward all alike, as if it had been some Epheliss dwelt neer to the place of battel, a vertue neerest representing a Kingly Mabusie goddess in many great fights; and jesty. This was the cause that so many therefore likely to have been thruit into the of his followers revolted to his enemies; racle, had chanced.

The description of this Arracle, had chanced.

The description of the Arracle, had chanced.

The description of the Arracle, had chanced.

charged valiantly upon young Antiochus; rified upon his Son. whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good fuccefs, that he never gave over his pursuit, but left his Father naked, and loft thereby both him, and the victory. For when selencus perceived this advantage, he interposed his Elephants, between Demetri-" and the Phalanx of Antigonis; and with many troops of horse offering to break up-

extreme danger all that belonged unto the dangerous an impression. This cowardize, Confederate Princes; whereas Antigonus or rather Treaton of some, discouraged his men could difeern no other necessity of others; and finally, cast them all into slight; fighting, than the obstinate quality of their exposing their General to the last end of Lord, that needs would be Master of all. his destinies. Antigonus was then fourscore Antiganus had about threefcore and ten years old, very fat and unweildy, fo that he thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three- was unapt for flight, if his high spirit could fore and fifteen Elephants. His enemies have entertained any thought thereof. He were fix thousand short of him in number of had about him some of his most trusty foltheir foot; in horse they had the odds of lowers, and as many others as he could hold five hundred; of Elephants they had four together. When one that perceived a great hundred, and an hundred and twenty arm-troop making towards his person, told ed Chariots of War: which helps, though him, Sir King, Jonder company means to they little had availed the Persans, yet were charge you; He answered, Well may they; they not to be despited, in the hands of a for who defends me s but anon Demetrius will relieve us. Thus expecting to the ve-Antigonus himself, either troubled with ry last, that his Son should come to the the unexpected greatness of his enemies rescue, he received so many Darts into his forces, or prefaging little good like to en- body, as took away his lately ambitious, fue, grew very pensive, communing much in but then fearfull hopes, together with his

racie, nad cnanced.

It is easie to believe, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well neer all the sarefull endeavours of their Vassals, only strength of Alexanders whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such nish the least offences, than to reward the worthy Commanders, and whom the iffue greatest services: shall finde themselves upthereof did highly concern. Yet are few of on the first change of fortune, ( seeing it the particulars recorded : an easie loss in re- is love only that stayes by adversity) not gard of the much variety, wherewith every only the most friendless, but even the flory aboundeth in this kind. The most me-most contemptable, and despised of all morable things in the battel, were these: other. This Antigonus found true in part, Demetrius with his best force of Horse, while he lived; in part he left it to be veCHAP. VI

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tune, and shortly entring into quarrels.

all quite loft, was glad to fave himfelf, with and all Syria, being no otherwise divided four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, from his own Territory, than by the River by a speedy retreat unto Ephesius, whence he of Euphrates, For there had not any order made great haste unto Athens, as to the been taken by the Confederates, for the diplace, that for his fake would fuffer any ex- vision of all those Lands: because they did tremity. But whilest he was in the midst of not expect so prosperous an issue of that his course thither, the Athenian Embassa- War, which they made only in their owa dours met him with a decree of the people, common defence. It was therefore lawfull which was, that none of the Kings should for selcucm, to make the best benefit that he be admitted into their City. These were could of the Victory, at which nevertheless Embaffadours, not Theori, or Consulters others did repine; and though they neither with the Oracle. It was a shameless ingra- could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for titude in the Athenians, to reward their the present, yet seeing the over-greatnes of Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: Selencus brought no less danger to the rest neither did any part of his calamity more of the new Kings, than that of Antigonus afflict the unfortunate Prince, than to see his had done, they consulted upon the same reaadverfity despised by those whom he had fon of State as before, how to oppose it in thought his furest Friends. Yet was he fain time. Neither was Seleucus ignorant of what to give good words. For he had left many they had determined; for he read it in the of his ships in their Haven, of which he now Law universal of Kingdoms and States, needflood in great need; and therefore was fain ing no other intelligence. Hereupon they to speak them fair, that sometimes had grof- forget friendships on all sides, and cure ly flattered him. But he shall live to teach themselves of all unprofitable passion: the them their old language, and speak unto hatted of each to other, and their loves bethem in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the Ishmus, where on the other, were found so far too light, as he found nothing but matter of discomfort. Selencus, who had to day slain Antigonus the ne round nothing out matter of disconnicted.

His Garrifons were every where broken up;

the Souldiers having betaken themfelves to disconnicted to match himsenemies pay. So that he was King only of a fmall Army and Fleet, without money or means wherewith to furtain him and his followers any long time. All the reft, or the lowers any long time. All the reft, or the greatest part of his Father's large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquetors, and those few places which as yet held selected his Father, to save his wife, and to differenced, as Selected his Father, to save his wife, and to the work his Father, to save his wife, and to the work his Father, to save his wife, and to the work his father, to save his wife, and to the work his father, to save his wife, and the work his wife, and to the work his wife, and the work his wi for him (having not perchance heard the her (though she were his Wife) unto him; worft of what had happened) he no way and how his paffion was discovered by his knew how to relieve: for to put himself in pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But to the field on that side of the Sea, he had neither did this alliance between Selected no power; and to inclose himself in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeed to bury himself and his estate: He for the present it brought him again into therefore creeping thorow those bushes that the rank of Kings; otherwise tye any of had fewest bryers, fell upon a corner of Ly- them to each other, than the marriages bestimachus his Kingdom, whereof he gave all tween Christian Kings have done in latter the spoil that was gotten, to his Souldiers, times, namely between the Austrians, the repayed again by fmall prizes.

ces had wherewithall to busie themselves, in the partition of those Provinces, of which How Demetrius, forsaken by the Athenians their late victory had made them Lords : after his overthrow, was reconciled to Se- wherein Selencus had a notable advantage leucus and Ptolomy, beginning a new for- by being present, and Master of the field; for neither Ptolomy nor Cassander were at the overthrow given, having only fent certain OR Demetrius, at his return from the troops to re-inforce the Army which Seleucus idle pursuit of young Antiochus, finding led, who took hold of a part of Asia the less.

his own losses having been too great to be Arragonians, the French, and other Princes; neither have the Leagues of those elder In the mean while the Confederate Prin- times been found more faithfull, than those

on it as a lawfull heir ; neither would Seleucw lend him any help, as by the Rule of Confederacy he should have done against the common enemy. So Plistarchus with very angry complaint, as well against seleucus as Demetrius, went unto Cassander; whither Phila, their Sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keep all quiet; being fent for that purpose by Demeenough to deal with Caffander; and therefore glad to make use of that bond of alliance betwixt them, whereof in his own prosperity, he never took notice to the others good. About the same time he took to Wife a Daughter of Ptolomy (plurality of Wives beany good, otherwise than might seem to advance their own ambitious desires.

Seleucus and Ptolomy could both of them have been contented better, that Demetrius, with help of their countenance, should seek his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate under their noses. Particular-Father-in-law upon the neck of Lysimachus; City, both by Land and Sea. or whether he were indeed greedy of the

of the same latter times have been, as in the meant to keep as much Land as he could. fiories of Charls the Eighth of France, and of having already found in Cilicia twelve charls the Emperour, of Francis the First, thousand talents of his Fathers Treasure. and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan, that would serve him to make sport a while. and others, the Reader may observe : be- This refusal so displeased seleucus, that in rween whom from the year of our Lord, one angry terms he demanded the Cities of Trre thouland four hundred ninety and five, when and sidon, to be furrendred unto him; which charls the Eighth andertook the Conquest were the only places in Syria, that had not of Naples, to the year One thousand five hun- followed the fortune of the late great batdred fifty and eight, when Henry the Second tel. Instead of giving them up, Demetrius died; the Histories of those times tell us, took present order to have them better that all the bonds, either by the Bed, or by manned; and spake it stoutly, That were he the Book, either by Weddings or Sacra- overcome a thouland times, yet would he mental Oaths, had neither faithfull purpose not hire seleucus to become his Son-in-law. nor performance. Yet did Demetrius reap In this quarrel Seleucus was generally reprethis profit by giving his Daughter to his hended, as one of a malignant disposition. enemy Selencus, that he recovered Silicia that would break friendthip with his Fafrom plistarchus, the Brother of Cassander, ther-in-law for two Towns, from whom he who had gotten it as his share in the divi- had already taken more than well he knew fion of Antigonus his possessions: for the In- how to govern. But the fire consumed it truder was not strong enough to hold it by self in words, which had it fastned upon his proper forces, from him that entred up- arms, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envy to the stronger.

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How Demetrius wan the City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of Caffander.

tring her Husband, that was not strong IN the mean while, the Athenians not knowing how to use the liberty which Demetrius had bestowed on them, were fallen by fedition, under the Tyranny of Lachares. Through which alteration their distempered City was so weakned that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due ing familiar with these Macedonians, that to their late ingratitude. This advantage had learned it in their Eastern Conquests) hastened him, whom they had once called and so was he by two marriages rather freed their God and Saviour, to present himself unfrom two enemies, than strengthened with to them, in the habit of a revenging surv. He two friends; for neither of them wished him brought against them all the force that he could well spare from other employments. which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Eastern friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any businel, hat might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill success; a great part of his Fleet perishing in a tempest. ly, seleucus thought that Cilicia lay very fit- But he foon repaired the loss; and (after ly for himself: and Ptolomy had a great ap- some Victories in Peloponnesus, where he wan Petite (which yet he concealed awhile ) to divers Towns that had fallen from him) rethe Isle of coprus. Now whether it were so, turning to the enterprise, wasted the Counthat selenens would fain have fet his new try of Attica, and cut off all relief from the

Athens was not able to feed the great bargain; he offered to buy of Demetrius for multitude within it, any long time: for it ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia. Stood in a barren foil, and wanted now the Hereunto Demetrius would not hearken, but command of those Islands, and places abroad.

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from whence it was wont to be stored with ander, fought for the Kingdom. In this quarvictuals; being also destitute of means to rel Thessalonica the Daughter of King Philip keep fuch a Navy as might bring in fupply, whom Caffander had married, feemed better or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that affected to Alexander, than to her elder Son. of Demetrius. Yet was there some hope of suc- who thereupon grew so enraged, that most cour from Ptolomy, who (trufting thereby to barbaroutly he flew his own Mother. The win the love of Greece) had loaden an hun- odiousness of this fact gave a fair lustre to dred and fifty ships with Corn, and sent them Alexanders cause: drawing the generality to relieve the hungry City. But these hun of the Macedons to take his part, as in redred and fifty were unable to deal with three venge of the Queens death, upon that wickhundred good fighting-ships, which Demetri- ed parricide Antipater. But Antipater was us had; rather they feared to become a prey to strongly backed by Lysimachus, whose to him, and therefore hasted them away be Daughter he had married; that alexander times, as having done enough, in adventuring could not hope to make his party good with to come so near that they might be described out some foreign aid. For which cause he This brake the heart of the people, among called in both Pyrrhus and Demetrius; who whom the famine was so extreme, that a Fa- how they dealt with him, it will soon appear ther and his Son did fight for a dead Mouse, in the following Tragedy, of him and his which dropped down between them from the Brother. Their Father Caffander had been house top. Wherefore they sent Embassa- one that shifted well for himself, at such time dours to yield up the Town, and crave par- as every man fought how to get somewhat. don, having fo far offended, that out of de- in the ill-ordered division of the Empire. He speration, they made it a capital offence to was cunning in practice, and a good Soulpropose any motion of peace. Yet were they dier: one of more open dealing than were fain to abolish this Decree, rather because his Companions, but withall more impudent. they knew not what elfe to do, than because rudely killing those, whom others would they hoped to be forgiven.

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the Victory, did not only forbear to take knocked his head against a wall, upon some away the lives of these unthankfull men, opinion of contempt. With Olympias he had which they had submitted unto his mercy an hereditary quarrel, derived from his Fabut out of his liberality gave them food, and ther, whom the could not abide. Her femiplaced in Office amongst them such as were nine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelmost acceptable to the people. Nevertheless ty that she used against his friends both alive he was grown wifer than to trust them so far and dead; as it made him adventure upon as he had done in times past. And there-shedding the Royall blood: wherewith, fore, when (among other flattering accla- when once he had frained his hands, he did mations) they bade him take their Havens, not care how far he proceeded in that course and dispose of them at his pleasure; he was of murder. His carefulness to destroy those ready to lay hold upon the word, and leave women and children, whose lives hindred a fure Garrison within their Walls, to keep his purpose, argues him to have been rather them honest perforce. After this he went skilfull in matters of Arms, than a valiant into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedamo- man; such cruelty being a true mark of cownians in two Battels, and was in very fair ardize, which fears a far off the dangers, possibility to take their City: when the that may quietly pass away: and seeks to dangerous news of Lysimachus and Ptolomy, avoid them by base and wicked means, as cares out of his head.

two younger Brethren, Antipater and Alex- his Masters.

more wisely have made away. He deeply, Demetrius, contented with the honour of hated the memory of Alexander, that had that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, never thinking it self safe enough, until there than himself did upon his enemies in Greece, be nothing left, that carries likelihood of called him in all haste. Lysimachus had won danger. Of Olympias and Roxane it may be many Towns in Alic; Ptolomy had gotten all faid, that they had well deserved the bloody the Isle of Cyprus, except the City of Sala- | end which over-took them; yet ill-beseemed mis, wherein Demetrius had left his Chil- it Caffander to do the Office of a Hang-mandren and Mother, that were thrairly befreged. But Alexanders children had by no Law of Whilest he was bethinking himself which men, deserved to dye for the tyranny of their way to turn his face, a notable piece of bu- Father. Wherefore, though Caffander died in finess offered it self, which thrust all other his bed, yet the divine Justice brought fwords upon his wife and children, that well Caffander was lately dead in Maccdon, and revenged the cruelty of this bloody man, by foon after him, Philip his eldest Son, whose destroying his whole house as he had done

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of Macedon with Lytimachus.

against Cassander, was hardly preserved, be- was, that Alexander himself was feasted and Epirus; more beholding now to Ptolomy, long) studying how to erect his own house, than to Demetrius. When he had fully re- that fell down upon his grave, ere the earth tovered the Kingdom of Epirus, and was on it was throughly settled. fettled in it, then fell out that bufiness beboth him and Demetrins into Macedon.

forced the Brethren to composition:but their composition would not satisfie Demetrins, of Pyrrhus and his doings in Macedon. The who took the matter hainoully, that he was death of Cassanders Children. Demetrius sent for, and made a fool to come so far gets the Kingdom of Macedon; prevails in with an Army, and finde no work for it. This War against the Greeks; loseth reputation in was a frivolous complaint; whereby it aphis War against Pyrrhus, and in his Civil peared, that Demetrius had a purpose to Government, and prepares to win Asia. How do as Pyrrbus had done; and so much more, all constire against Demetrius. Pyrrhus by how much he was stronger. Hereupon and Lyfimachus invade him, his Army it feemed to Alexander a wife course, to rewields to Pyrrhus, who shares the Kingdom move this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus Demetrius reported the story, and it might be Prince Excides, which perished in War the wisest, believed it not. But the isue ing a fuckling Infant, from the fury of his Fa- flain by Demetrius; who took his part of thers enemies. When his Fosterers had conthe Kingdom, as a reward of the murder; veved him to Glaucius King of Illyria; the excusing the fact so well, by telling his own deadly hatted of Caffander would have danger, and what a naughty man Caffander hought his life with the price of two hun- had been, that all the Mucedonians grew. dred Talents. But no man can kill him that glad enough to acknowledge him their shall be his heir. Glaucias was so far from King. It fell out happily, that about the betraying Pyrrhus, that he restored him by same time Lysanachus was busied in War force to his Fathers Kingdom, when he was with a King of the wild Thracians: for therebut twelve years of age. Within the com- by he was compelled to feek peace of Demepassoffix years, either the indiscretions of his tring, which to obtain, he caused the reyouth, or the rebellious temper of his Sub- mainder of Macedon to be given up; that is, jects, drave him out of his Kingdom, and the part belonging to Antipater, his Son-inleft him to try the world anew. Then went law. At this ill bargain Antipater grievoully he to Demetrius (who married his Sifter) stormed, though he knew not how to amend became his Page, followed him a while in it: yet still he stormed; untill his Fatherhis Wars, was with him in the great Battel in-law, to fave the labour of making many of Ip/us, whence he fled with him to Ephefus; excuses, took away his troublesome life. and was content to be hostage for him, in Thus in haste, with a kind of neglect, and as his reconciliation with Ptolomy. In Egypt he it were to avoid molestation, were flain the so behaved himself, that he got the favour of Children of Cassander: of Cassander that had Berenice, Ptolomies principal Wife; so that flain his own Masters Children, in a wise he married her Daughter, and was there- course of policy, with carefull meditation upon fent home, with money and men, into (fo much the more wicked as the more

It might be thought, that such an access of tween the Children of Caffander, which drew Dominion, added much to the greatness of Demetrius. But indeed it shewed his infirmi-Antipater, the elder of Cassanders Sons, ty; and thereby made him neglected by mawas so far too weak for Pyrrbus, that he had ny, and at length hated by all. For he had no defire to attend the coming of Demetrius, no Art of Civil Government: but thought but made an hasty agreement, and divided (or shewed by his actions that he thought) the Kingdom with his younger Brother Alex- the use and fruit of a Kingdom, to be none ander; who likewise felt the aid of Fyrrbus other, than to do what a King listed. He so troublesome, that he was more willing to gave himself over to Women and Wine, fend him away, than to call in fuch another laughing openly at those which offered to helper. For fyrrhus had the audacity to trouble him with supplications, and the terequest, or take as granted, by strong dious discourse of doing Justice. He had hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, and much more more skill in getting a Kingdom, than in ruof the Country, as the reward of his pains: ling it: War being his recreation, and leaving the two Brethren to agree as well as Luxury his nature. By long rest (as fix years they could about the rest. Necessity en- reign is long to him, that knows not how to reign one year) he discovered so much of his profitable Journey into Epirus (for he had worst conditions, as made the people both wasted much of the Countrey, and brought weary of his idlenes; and the Souldiers of home his Army in good case) as of his Insohis vanity. He was freed from care of mat-lence, that grew daily more and more intoters in Asia, by hearing that all was lost: lerable. His apparel seemed, in the eyes of though more especially, by hearing that the Macedons, not only too sumptious and Fishing had with great honour, entertained new-fangled, but very unmanly; and ferand dismissed his Mother and Children. This ving chiefly to be a daily witness, how afforded him the better leifure of making much he contemned them and their good War in Greece: where he vanquished the The- opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retchbans, and wontheir City twice in short space, less: and suffered unwisely this unprincely but used his Victory with mercy. Against sentence to escape out of his mouth; That Lysimachus he would fain have done some- the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. what ( the peace between them notwith- He made a mockery of Justice; and (asit ftanding) at fuch time as he was taken by were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how the Thracians; but Lyfimachus was freely little he esteemed it or them) having by a dismissed, and in good case to make resi-shew of popularity invited Petitioners, and stance ere Demetrin came; so as this Jour- with a gracious countenance entertained ney purchased nothing but enmity. Another their Supplications, he led the poor Suters expedition he took in hand against Pyrrhus, after him in great hope, till coming to a with no better, or rather with worse event. Bridge, he threw all their Writings into a Pyrrhus held somewhat belonging to Mace- River; pleasing himself, in that he could don, which he had indeed as honeitly gotten, as Demetriar the whole Kingdom; he had other men. By these courses he grew so odialso made excursions into Theffaly. But there ous, that Pyrrhus gathered audacity, and inneeded not any handsome pretence of quar- vading Macedon, had almost won it all with rel, seeing Demetrius thought himself strong little resistance. Demetrius lay then sick in enough to over-run his enemies Country, his bed: who recovering health, and taking with two great Armies. It is a common the field, had fuch great odds of strength, fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, as made Pyrrhus glad to forsake his winnings whom they have known raw Novices in and be gone. that faculty, wherein themselves are noted At length he began to have some feeling as extraordinary. Pyrrhus was a Captain, of the general hate; which to redrefs, he whom latter Ages, and particularly the did not (for he could not) alter his own great Hannibal, placed higher in the rank of conditions; but purposed to alter their ide Generals, than either Demetrius or any of discourses of him, by setting them on work Alexanders followers. At this time, he mif- in such an action, wherein his best qualities fed that part of the Army, which Demetrius might appear; that is, in a great War. His led, and fell upon the other half: which he intent was to invade Affa with a Royal Aroverthrew, not with more commendations my: wherein the fortune of one Battel of his good conduct, than of his privateva might give him as much, as the fortune of lour, shewed in single combate against Pan- another had taken from him. To this end, tauchus, Demetrius his Lieutenant; who be- he first made peace with Pyrrhus; that so ing a strong man of body, challenged this he might leave all safe and quiet at home. young Prince to fight hand to hand, and Then did he compose a mighty Army, of was utterly beaten. The loss of this Battel almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve did not fo much offend the Macedonians, as thousand Horses, with a Navy of five hunthe gallant behaviour of Pyrrhus delighted dred fail, wherein were many ships, far exthem. For in him they feemed to behold ceeding the greatness of any that had been quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counthat the greatness was least part of their terfeit manner, some of Alexanders graces, commendation. and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (faid they) none, fave Pyrrbus, made Selencus and Ptolomy (ufpect their own is like him in deed, in performing the office forces, and labour hard with Lylimachus and of a Captain.

by the verrue of the Fpirot, than by dislike dangerous to them all, than ever was his of their own King; whom they began to dif- Father. It was eafily discerned, that if Deesteem, not so much in regard of his un- metrine once prevailed in Asia, there could be

the lively figure of Alexander in his best feen before; yet so swift and useful withal,

The terrible fame of these preparations, Pyrrhus, to joyn against this ambitious Son These Rumours were not more nourished of Antigonus, that was like to prove more hague foever were of old concluded would not hearken to the good counsel of Therefore they refolved to begin with him his friends; or whether his behaviour dehetimes, and each to invade that quarter of prived him of such friends, as would dare to Macedon, that lay next his own Kingdom. let him hear the unpleasant found of neces-Issumachus came first, and against him went sary truth. Demetrius with a great part of his Army: but whilest he was yet on the way, news were phant entry into the Kingdom of Macedon: brought into his Camp, that Pyrrhus had Lysimachus came upon him very unseasonawon Berrbea. The matter was not over- bly, and would needs have half: faying, that great: were it not that minds prepared with he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the War; long discontent, are ready to lay hold upon and therefore had reason to challenge his fmall occasions of dislike. All the Camp was part of the gain. The bargain was quickly

gone to Lysimachus.

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When Demetrius perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wifest way, to lead the Macedonians further off from Lysimachus their own Country-man, against Pyrrhus that was a stranger : hoping by victory against the Epirot, to recover the love of his followers, in such fort that he might afterwards at leifure deal with the other. But herein his wisdom beguiled him. For the fouldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with Pyrrbus; not intending to hurt him, but longing to fee that noble Prince, of whom they had been in former times. For they they daily heard the honourable fame. Some presently for sook his friendship, and called spake of his valour; some enquired, others Pyrrhus out of Macedon to be their Patron. answered, of his person, his armour, and Demetrius, when he went against Lysimaother tokens whereby he might be known; chus, had left a great part of his forces in as particularly, by a pair of Goats-horns, Greece, under his Son Antigonus. Therethat he wore on his creft. It was not like fore it is like, that he had soon gotten an ly, that these men should hurt him. Di- Army, though Phila his Wife ( who is vers of them stole away, and ran over in highly commended for a wise and vertuous to Pyrthus his Camp: where the news that Lady) did poyson her self, upon desperate they brought, were better welcome than grief for his misfortune. The first, upon to set eye on him. His face was not so well Caria. known as his Helmet; therefore he was ad- At his first coming into those parts, for-

no fecurity for his friends in Europe, what this calamity: whether it were fo, that he

Whilest Pyrrhus was making this triumin uproar: fome wept, others raged, few or made, and the division agreed upon: each of none did forbear to utter seditious words, them being rather desirous to take his part and many defired leave of Demetrius, to go quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoto their own houses, meaning indeed to have ping each of them, to work his sellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

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How Demetrius gathering Forces, enterprised many things with ill success, in Greece and Afia. How he was driven upon Seleucus, and compelled to yield himself. His impri-Sonment and death.

THE Athenians were as unthankfull to Demetrius in this his adversity, as their persons. For they said, and it was whom he attempted to shew his anger. true, that if the Macedonians might once get fight of Pyrrbus, they would all falute it. He began to lay fiege to their Town: him King. To try this, Pyrrhus rode forth, but was pacified by Crates the Philosopher, and prefented himself bare-headed in view whom they had made their spokes-man; of the Camp, whither some were sent be- and taking fair words instead of satisfaction, fore to prepare his welcome. The news of passed over into Assa, with eleven thousand his arrival found a general applause, and Souldiers, meaning to try his fortune against every one began to look out, with desire Lysimachus, for the Provinces of Lydia and

monished to put it on: which done, all came tune seemed to smile upon him. For many about him, and proffered their fervice; good Towns, willingly, or by compulsion, neither were there any, that spake for De- vielded to his obedience. There were also metrius; only fome (and they the most some Captains that fell from Lysimachus to moderate of tongue) bade him be gone him, with their companies and treasures. betimes, and shift for himself. So Demetri But it was not long ere Agathocles the Sonw threw aside his Maskers habit, and at- of Lysimachus, came upon him with an Artyring himself poorly, did fearfully steal my so strong, that it was not for Demetrius away out of his own Camp, deferving well his good, to hazard his last stock against it. Wherefore,

CHAP. VI

Wherefore he resolved to pass through Phry- otherwise he used him with as much favour. gia and Armenia, into Media, and the Pro- as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vinces of the higher Asia; trusting to find a under sure guard in a demy-Island, wherein Kingdom somewhere in those remote quar- were goodly Walks, Orchards, and Parks ters. The execution of this councel was for hunting. He had all that he asked grievoully impeached by Agathocles: who royally, and friends allowed to vifit him, purfued him close, and cut off all his pro- at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty visions, driving him to take which wayes was referved unto the coming of young he could, without following his intended Antiochus and Stratonica, out of the high course. In many skirmshes Demetrius vanquished this troublesome enemy; neverthenow merrily all the while (as one that quined this troubletonic enemy. Inverted now meeting an the wine (as one that left, he could not be shaken oif, but continued afflicting the poor titulary King, with much travel and blood-shed, he had sought extream famine. At length in passing the riin vain) and then dyed, leaving to his Son

ver Lycus, so many of Demetrius his men were

Antigonus, the same which his Father had
left unto himself; that is, friends and hope. fiftance: but were driven to travel with His ashes were honourably buried in Cofuch speed as might well be called a plain rinth; his qualities have appeared in his flight. So that with famine, peltilent discases actions, and the fortune of his House will following famine, and other accidents of thew it felf hereafter, in times and places war, eight thousand of them were consu- convenient. med : the rest with their Captain, escaped into Cilicia. Seleucus had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilest Demetrius was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of Demetrins his The death of Ptolomy, of Lysimachus, and errand, to lay claim to the Country; but with vehement and humble Letters he be-

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with an Army.

vield unto Seleucus. Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, dren fled unto Seleucus for aid. and fent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his own humanity having spent their first heat of admiration, by his followers, was such, as renewed his began to hearken so well to Lysmachus, their jealous thoughts; and hindred him from natural Countrey-man, that they forfook admitting Demetrius to his presence, though Pyrrbus, upon none other ground than

#### ø. IX.

of Seleucus, that was the last of Alexanders Captains: with other occurrences.

fought his Son-in-law to call to mind their Bout the same time that Demetrius died, alliance, and to pity him in his great mifery. These Letters at the first wrought A died also Ptolomy King of Egypt, a verwell with Selencus, and he condescended to tuous Prince, war-like, gentle, bountifull, the request: yet considering further how and (which in those times was a rare com-Demetrin had carried himself, when he re-mendation) regardfull of his word. He covered strength after the battel at Ipsus, he had, by many Wives and Concubines, changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

many Children, out of whom he selected ptolony Philadelphus, and caused him to Many treaties were held between them; reign together with himfelf, two or three of which none took effect, through the jealouse of seleucus. Therefore meer despe- firm him in the Inheritance of the Kingdom. ration enforced Demetrius to fight like a At this, Ptolomy Ceraumus (for all of that mad man, and his furies got him some victo- house assumed the name of Ptolomy) was grieries, though of small importance. At length vously incensed. But no man cared for his fickness took and held him forty days, in langer. Therefore he went to Seleneus, who which time, a great number of his few men gave him loving entertainment. There were ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he now only two of Alexanders Captains left, ftill held out, and once had like to have Seleucus and Lysimachus. These two needs taken Selencus in his bed, had not his com- would fight for it, who should be the longest ing been discovered by Fugitives, that gave liver of that brave Company. The true alarm. Finally, when all his Army had ground of their quarrel, was their neer furfaken him, and left him with a few of equality or strength, and want of one to part his friends to shift for himself, he was com-them. The pretence was the murders which pelled by the last of those adherents (for Lysimachus had committed upon many of even some of those few forsook him) to his Nobles, together with his poyloning 4gathocles his eldest Son: whose wife and chil-

The Macedons, after feven moneths pause,

hown we's enough before: but they die here he ended his days, and within feven him no great wrong in taking lightly from moneths followed Lyfinachus, and others him, that they lightly gave him. Listima bus of his fellows, by a bloody death, being had reigned about five years alone, when treacherously slain by Ptolomy Ceraunus, the City of Liftmachia (built by him, and whole friend and Patron he had been, Secalled after his name) falling by an earth- venty and feven year old he was, when he

Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where first purchased.

because he was en Alien. This they had there was none to withstand him. But quake, appeared by events, to have fore- fought with Lysimackus, and Lysimackus was the fall of his house. His own jea- seventy and four. With them ended the loulie, and the infligation of a mother-in-generation of old Captains, that had feen law, caused him to poyson his son Aga- the dayes as it were of another World unthocles; which drew upon him that der the Persian: yet was there lest one equal War, wherein (after the loss of all his to any of them in the Art of War: even fifteen Children that were taken away Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake beby divers accidents) he perished him fore; that is now ready to enter into war with the Romans, a more warlike people seleucus was encountred by Lysimachus than Alexander himself did ever encounters on Alfa fide, where one battell concluded Of which war, and of which people, it is the war, with Lyfimachus his death. It plea- needfull that we here make mention, as of fed Seleucus more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes that followed Alexander. For now he seemed to doms that were held by Alexanders Successions himself as Lord and Heir of all the con- fors, with less (and still decreasing) verquered World. So he passed over into tue, than was that, by which they were

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome, and fettling of the Eastern Kingdoms.

ø. I.

How the Romans enlarged their Dominions in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, unto such time as they were affailed by Pyrrhus.

important.

TOW Rome was founded by Romulus; After the death of Tullus Hostilius (who rome was founded by rooms. After the death of rainer confirms (who she he had reigned two and thirty years, permitting) and by many (though was burnt together with his house by lightfinall) Victories, gathered strength, and of such time as it became the Head of Prompilius by his Daughter, and not much Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Reign of Tullus Hostilius: it hath been Kingdom of Rome. He walled the City already noted in due order of time. But about; enlarged it with the Hill Aventine, whereas now the Roman greatness begin- which he enclosed; built a bridge over Trneth to encounter the power of Grecce; bris, and the City of Offia upon the Sea, fixand extending it self out of Baly, to over- teen miles distant from Rome. Finally, whelm the Dominions of other States and having reigned 24 years, he dyed, and by Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like his last Will he lest his Children in charge cases I have done) briefly to set down the with one Lucumon, the son of Damaratus, a growth of this mighty City, in a compen- Corinthian, who avoiding Cypfelus King of dious relation of those many actions, which Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, could not have been delivered in the ages, wherein they were feverally performed, Town he was alterward called *Tarquinius*. without much interruption of the History, From that City in Hetruria coming to Rome, that was then occupied in matter more and encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife Tanaquils prophefic, he grew a favourite of Ancus Martius ; Tarquinius Superbus King; returning home by his Greeian wit humouring the factions enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariof the Roman Court, infomuch, that after ot over her fathers corps: whereupon the his decease he became not only Protector to street had the denomination of Wickedthe children, but Governour to the City. Street. This Tarquine, exercising cruelty He doubled the number of Senators, and without justice, and tyranny without mercy, enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: nei-upon the people and Senators; having tired ther was he less eminent in war, than in himself and them at home, used the same peace: for he prevailed often against the rage of treachery upon his borders. He took Instant, and from his victories, the chiefest Oriculum, Suessa, Pometia, and the Gabii. The ornaments of triumph took their original. liffue of befieging Ardea, a Town eighteen When this Lucius Tarquinius had reigned mile distant from Rome, was of bad success. 38. years, he was flain by the Sons of An- In the heat of which War, his Son Sextus cus Martius, to whom he had been left Tarquinius violently ravished that chaste Guardian. But Tanaquil his wife, perceiving Lady Lucretia, his kiniman Collatines wife: what was done, informed the people, from who in way of expiation for fo unchafte a out of an high Turret, that her Husband deed, thought good to "ash out those spots was wounded, and fick, but not dangerouf- of infamy with her own blood; fo (having ly. And withall fignified unto them, that in first bequeathed the revenge unto her fathe interim of his fickness, one Servius Tul- ther Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, her husband lius, whom from his birth she alwayes pro- Collatine and Junius Brutus ) she kill'd her phefied to be born to great hopes (the fon felf:whereupon (chiefly by Junius Brutus his of P. Corniculanus, and Ocrifia a well descen-resolution) Tarquinius Superbus, with his ded, but captive woman) brought up in her wife and children, was deposed and banishhouse, and husband unto her daughter, ed; and fled to Porsenna King of Hetruria for should supply her husbands place, in go- succour, in the five and twentieth year of verning the State, untill his recovery: which his reign, and the two hundred forty and government, being thus at first obtained by fourth from the building of their City: in cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. which space Rome had scarce gotten possession He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies and on of fifteen miles round about her. Valuations of the peoples wealth; among Junius Brutus by the help of Collaine, whom, at that time, fourfeore thousand were having expelled Tarquine, and freed his mustered, of which number confisted their Country from that heavy yoke of bondage, whole Corporation; and by diffinction of inforced the people by solemn oath, never Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he man- to admit any government by Kings amongst aged the Kingdom in as good fort, as if it had them: whereupon they ranfacked their Kings been a private houshold. At length, have goods, consecrated their fields to Mars, and ing two daughters of different natures, the conferred the government of the State upon one milde and gentle, the other fierce and Brutus and Collatine. But because the name outragious: and finding also that the two of King was odious in their ears, they changfons of Tarquinius Priscus, Sextus and Aruns, ed the manner of their government, from which had been committed unto his tuition, perpetual to annual, and from a fingle Gowere of different dispositions, proportiona-vernment to a double; lest perpetual or sole bly answering to his daughters; he (willing dominion might be some motive to uluro add water, not oyl, to sire) gave the pation; and instead of Kings they called mild daughter to Sextus the hor-headed them Consuls, fignifying, as it may be interfon, and the violent, to Aruns the gentle in preted, Providers: that their titles might

marriage. But whether by intended cour-remember them of their place, which was fes, or by accident, it hapned; the two to be alwayes mindfull of their Citizens welmild ones being made away, the furious na- fare. And yet was it so hard setling of tures were readily joyned in marriage: troubled waters, that the people, after this who foon concurring, and calling the Senate innovation of State, scarce daring to assure together, began to lay claim to the King-themselves of their own security, enforced dom. Upon this tumult, Servius Tullius Larquinus Collatine to resign up his authohastening to the Senate, (where he thought rity, fearing that tyranny would be herediby Authority to have bridled Insolency ) tary, and supposing that the very name and was thrown down the stairs, and going home affinity with the house of Tarquine, savoured fore bruifed, was slain by the way, when he already of their condition. In his room was had reigned 44 years. Then Tullia his substitute Valerius Publicola, who that he daughter, first proclaiming her Husband might (as his name importeth) be gracious

to the people, and that he might as wen in Bruin, his enemy, in lingle combat, had goods as in person, avoid occasion of suspiring flain each other. And here the Romans, altion, caused his own house to be pulled though they lost, Ernius got the field, and down, because it was built in a place defentheir Ladies, whose Champion he was, for fible, as if it had been a Cittadel. Neither their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the was Brutus any wayes deficient in matter of loss of him one whole year. Into this place, was brane any wayes deficient in matter of lates of find one whose year, into this place, greater moment; which concerned as well for the refidue of his year, was fubrogated the peoples fafety, as their favour: for ha-ving got intelligence, that fome greener tia: and in his room (deceasing naturalwits, and in the first rank his own sons, were ly before the year expired ) Horatius Palitching after innovations, hoping to restore villus. the banished Kings; he caused them, publickly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and lackly in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the against the stream, but spent the residue of block.

blemished integrity of Brutus, well appealed Mamilins Tusculanus, itomaching a-fresh at to obtain the rest.

him again in his Kingdom.

in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters yet the edge of Tarquinius his fpleen was not in the peoples eyes, gave morty, in matters yet the eoge of Larquinum his spleen was not of controversite to appeal from the Consuls quite abated, though Aruns his Son, and to the people, and that he might as well in Brutus, his enemy, in single combat, had

his time, which was about fourteen years. Hitherto the Romans, having by the un-privately at Tusculum. Yet his Son-in-law all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter those old repulses, because Porsenna had imployed their military defignments against made peace with the Romans, and denved Forragners: first, for their liberty; second-further succour unto the Tarquines, mustered ly, for inlarging of their possessions; and up his Latins, and gave battel to the Rolastly, for defending their confederate Pro- mans, at the Lake Regillum; where the convinces, and extending their Empire. For flict was fierce, and the iffue uncertain, untill Rome, fituated as it were in the mid-way Anlus Posthumus, the Roman Dictator, (for between Latium and the Tuscans, having as they had created this Magistracy greater yet but narrow bounds, being in her mino- than Confuls, purposely for this war, when rity, could not but give occasion of offence first it was expected) to exasperate his Soulto her neighbours; untill by main opposit diers courage, threw their own Ensigns tion, having prevailed against her border- amidst the Enemies; and Cossus, or Spurius ers, the used them as instruments, whereby cassius, (Master of the Horie-men, an attifrant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to Their first war, in the first year of Con- take off their bridles, that they might run fuls, was against Porfenna King of Hetruria: with free violence, to recover again their who being over-perswaded by Tarquins la- Ensigns. This fight was so well performed mentation, came to Rome, together with the that a report went of Castor and Pollux, two banished King, and with great forces, to seat gods, who came on milk-white Steeds, to be eye-witneffes of their valour, and fellow In the first conslict, Horatius Cocles, having helpers of their Victory; for the General long time born the main brunt of his ene-consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend mies on the Bridge over Tibris, at length, feeling himfelf too faint to stand against so seeling himfelf too faint to stand against so seeling himfelf too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be reflected upon themselves at home; and the broken down, and with his armour leaping fixteenth year after the Kings expulsion, upinto the River, like a hunted Stagg, refresh-on instigation of some desperate banckrours, ed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his thinking themselves wrongfully oppressed fellows, with the like resolution to sustain a by the Senate and Consuls, they made an new charge. Porfenna, although by this he uproar in the holy Mount; until by Menehad well-nigh won the hill Janiculus, which nius Agrippa, his discreet allusion, of the inis the very entrance into the City, and found convenience in the Head and Belly's discord, the Victory, in a manner, affuredly his own: to that present occasion, they were reconyet admiring their valour, and terrified by ciled to the Senate: with condition, that the constant resolution of Mutius Scavola they might have some new Magistrates (who having by errour flain Porsenna his Se-created, to whom they might appeal in cacretary, in ftead of the King himself, did in fes of variance, and make them Solicitors in from of torments threatned, burn off his all their controversies, the Consuls authoown hand) he thought it not any whit pre- rity notwithstanding. This was enacted, judicial either to his fafety, or credit, to en and they were called the Tribunes of the ter league with them at the worst hand. And people. After this attonement among the Latines, concerning their bounds and try in the space of fixteen dayes. In the conlimits, and with other neighbouring States. tinuance of this Volfcian war, it was that Ap-Among these, the Volici and Equi held them pius Claudius, one of the ten men, whom they longest; who made War of themselves upon had two years before chosen Governous the Romans: whereby they lost the best of the State, and Inactors of Solons Laws City in their whole jurisdiction, Corioli.

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In this conquelt, T. Martins got the furname of Coriolanus: a name honourable all other Magistrates) would have ravished then, as drawn from a great Victory; al- Virginia, the daughter of T. Virginius, Capthough, by reason of the poverty of the tain of a company, and lying then in a Camp Town, a Roman General, in after times, at Algidum. Hercupon the people in an would have been ashamed of that title. But uproar took the Hill Aventine, and after vet these graces had been no occasion of dis- much variance, enforced the ten men to paragement, had he not afterwards in a great refign up their authority again to new time of dearth, advised to sell corn, which Consuls. they procured from siril, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon Decius Mus, their to revenge old losses, drew the Romans into Tribune, in their behalf, accused him, and a new war against the Veientes and their after judgement banished him. Coriolanus adherents, upon whom, having tried their flying to the Voljei, whom lately before he forces with diversity of Captains, and variehad vanquished, incensed them to renew ty of event, they vanquished the Falisci, and their forces again; which being committed the Fidenates, and utterly subdued the Veiunto him, and to Attius Tullus, he prevailed entes. In conquering the Falifei, Furius in field, fo far forth, that he was come within Camillas shewed no less integrity than fortifour or five miles of the City. Incamping tude. For when a Schoolmaster, by trainthere, he made to sharp war, and was at such ing forth into the Roman camp, many childefiance with his Country, that he would dren of the principal Citizens, thought to not relent by any supplication of Embassa-dours, until his mother *Peturia*, and *Volum*-hostages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor dours, untill his mother Veturia, and Volumnia his wife, with a pitifull tune of depreca- bound unto his Souldiers, willing them to tion, shewing themselves better Subjects to whip him back into the City; which forththeir Country than friends to their Son and with yielded unto him in reverence of his Husband, were more available to Rome than Justice. The siege of Veii was ten years, and was any force of Arms. Hereupon Coriolanus fo troublesome, that the Romans were there dismissing his Army, was after put to death first inforced to winter abroad under beasts among the Vollei, as a Traitor, for neglecting fkins (to which they were the more easily fuch opportunity: or (as others surmise) induced, because then first they received turally.

Not long after this the Veii in Hetruria, provoked the Romans; against whom the they got solarge spoils, that they consecrated Fabii, three hundred and fix in number, all their tenths to Apollo Pythius: and the whole of one Family, intreated and obtained, that people in general were called to the ranthey only might be employed, as it had been facking of the City. But yet they were no vanquished Hannibal.

troubled with the Volsci, at the hill of Aleidum, two miles from Rome; where Lucius with fucce's answerable to his expedition, Countries. Some of them lighting on Italy,

themselves, they had continual War with dispersed his enemies, and freed his Counamongst them, procured from Athens (abrogating in the mean while the Confuls, and

After this, either new quarrels, or defire living with them untill old age, he died na- pay) and to make vows never to return

without Victory. At length winning the City by a Mine, in a private quarrel. These Fabii, after less unthankfull to Camillus for his service, fome good services, lying incamped at Cre- than before they had been to Coriolanni; mera, were circumvented, and all slain: one for they banished him the City, upon some only of that whole house had been left, by occasion of inequality in dividing the spoils: reason of infancy, at home; from whom yet he requited their unkindness with a new afterward sprang Fabius Maximus, who piece of service against the sury of the Gauls; who being a populous Countrey, In process of time, the Romans were also and very healthfull, the fathers (as some times now ) lived to long, that the fons destitute of means, were enforced to roave Minutius their Conful, with his whole Army, abroad, feeking some place where to set up had been discomfitted, had not L Quinting their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste Cincinatus chosen Dictator, and taken from in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in the plough to the highest honour in Rome, conditions, wandred as Rovers over many

CHAP VII. fer upon Cluffum a Town in Hetruria: where with their blood, forcing them to reffore of Rome having information (and being care- the spoils with advantage, and forbear the tul of her Confederate Towns) fent Embaf gold, in accepting which they had lately tation is said and the said from fuch been fornice. Further, having rid the City of injurious enterprises. But the barbarous them, he to hotly puriued them thorow a people, not regarding the meffage, upon great part of Haly, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was dours, converted their forces from Clusium very small. Other Armies of the Gauls towards Rome; and giving a great overthrow unto the Romans, by the River Allia, upon cefs. They were often beaten by the Romans; the fixteenth day before the Calends of Au- especially the victories of M. Jorquatus, and goff (which day was after branded for un- of M. Valerius Coroinus (each of which in lucky, and called Alliensis in the Roman Ka- single fight slew a several Champion of the lendar) they hastned towards the City. Then Gauls) abated their presumption, and rewas Rome the true map of milery and defola- ftored courage to the Romans, Camillus, for tion. For some leaving the City; some creep- his notable service, was afterwards accounting into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; ed a second Romulus. and, every one shifting for himself ere the enemy came, Rome was abandoned as in- City, were earneftly bent to go to the Veii to defentible. The Vestal Virgins, in this tu- inhabit; but Camillus disliwaded them. mult, were fafely conveyed away; the An- About the same time, somewhat before cients of the City, gathering boldness out of the siege of Veii they changed their govern desperate fear, did put on their Robes, and ment from Consuls to military Tribunes. taking their leave of the world, did fet The government of these also, after some themselves in Thrones, in their several years, was by civil diffention interrupted:

good the Capitol. Gails, with open insolency, made their est City then in all Italy.

The people, after this destruction of their

houses, hourly expecting the messengers of to that one while Consuls ruled, another death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, while there was an Anarchy. Then the Triin State. The younger fort, with M. Manlius bunes were restored and ruled again, till, aftheir Captain, took upon them to make ter many years expired, the Confular authority was established, it being enacted, that By this the Gauls were entred the City, one of the Consuls should alwayes be a Plewho seeing all quiet, at first suspected some beian. This was after the building of the ambush; afterward finding all secure, they City 365 years. And now Rome, by suppresfell to the spoil, committing all to the fire sion of her neighbour Countries, creeping and fword. As for the old Senators, they fate | well forward out of her Minority, dares fet in their Majesty with a grave resolution; forth against the warlike Samnites, who having first reverenced them as gods, anon dwelt almost one hundred and thirty miles they tryed whether they would dye like off: situated between Campania and Apulia. men. When the City was throughly rifled, These did so strongly invade the Campanians they attempted the Capitol: which held their neighbours, that they forced them to them work for the space of seven months. yield themselves subjects to Rome, and un-Once they were like to have surprised it by dergo any conditions of Tribute, or whatnight, but being descried by the gaggling of soever else to obtain protection: which the Geele, M. Manlius did awaken, and kept Romans, although both Countries had been them from entrance. At lengtha composition their confederates, yet not willing that the was agreed upon: the Gauls being weary, greater, like fish, should devour the less and the Romans hungry. The bargain was, eafily allowed of; aiming themselves at the that the Gauls should take a thousand good situation of Campania, the abundance pound weight in gold, to desist from their of Corn and Wine, pleasant Cities and liege. Whilest the gold was in weighing, the Towns, but especially Capua it self, the fair

weights too heavy: Brennus their Captain, The families of the Papprii and Fabii were casting his sword into the ballance, and with most imployed in the managing of this Wa. a proud exprobration, faying, that the van- which endured the space of fifty years. And quished must be patient perforce. But in the in this season were the Romans often times midst of this cavilling came Furius Camillus dangerously encountred by the Samnites, with an Army from Ardea, (where he had as when T. Veturius and Sp. Fosthumius lived in his banishment) and fell upon the were Consuls, and discomsited by Pontius Gauls with fuch violence, that he dispersed at Caudium, with no small ignominy : and their troops, quenched the fire of the City when Q. Fabius Gurges lost the field with Вьььь

748 three thousand men. But for those losses, ver Nar and Velia, to the Adriatique Sea.

many great Victories made large amends: brought them into quiet subjection. The greatest whereof were gotten by L. Papyrius, and by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

their quarrel. But the force of the Samnites selves as mediatours between the Romans was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the and Samnites; with a peremptory denungreater and richer, but less warlike Nation) ciation of War, unto that party which should began to stir. So the one and the other of dare to refuse peace by them tendred. These these two Countries, became at length, tribu- threats which discovered their bad affection tary to Rome. In the continuance of this long unto Rome, ended in words; but when the war it was (though in time of truce between Samnites were utterly subdued, matter the Romans and Samnites) that the Latins enough of quarrel was found to examine began to challenge equal freedom in the their ability of performance. Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassathe Consuls yearly chosen out of them.

made offer to change their name, and to be and Apulians, joyning with the Tarentines.

the vertue of the Confuls.

were then Confuls, whom the Soothlayers as the Tarentines also were) great hope was advertised, that the side should be victorious conceived, that the Dominion of Rome which loft the General in fight. Hereupon should be confined unto more narrow Decius the Consul exposed his life to the ene- bounds than all Italy, which already in a my and purchased victory (as was believed) manner it did over-spread. by his death. In which kind of devoting himself for his Army, the son of this Decius being after Consul, did imitate his father in the Hetrurian war. But (as Tully well notes) How Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans, and it was rather the desperate resolution of these Decii, that purchased victory, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a Religion, as compelled a while to live in rest: which he required the lives of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Country. The disci- have desired. He had a strong Army, and a pline of Manlius was no less resolute, than enemy. For breach of which order he caufflain a Captain of the Latins, being challenged in fingle fight.

When the Latins, the Equi, Volsci, Herwici , Campani , Samnites , and Hetrurians .

Yet the Sabines adventured to try their fortune, and found it bad. For Curius Den- defire of finding it, the Tarentine Embaffatains, the Roman Conful, wasting all their dours came very fitly to Pyrrhus : and they Country with fire and fword, from the Ri- came with brave offers, as needing no other

The last of the Italians that made trial of the Roman arms, were the Tarentines and The Sammies drew the Hetrarians into their adherents. These had interposed them-

The Romans complained that certain ships dours unto Tarentum, to require amends. This demand of the Latins was not un- Upon some wrong done to these Embassareasonable. For the Romans themselves were dours, was laid the foundation of that War. a Latin Colony; besides all which, they wherein the Lucans, Messapians, Brutians, all called Romans. But the Romans were too procured the Samnites, and other Subjects proud to admit any such capitulation. So a of Rome to rebell and take their part. But great battel was fought between them : fome experience of the Roman strength. wherein the fortune of Rome prevailed, by taught all these people to know their own nevertue of the Confuls.

e vertue of the Confuls.

Manins Torquatus and the elder Decius for Pyribus, by whose aid cheing a Greeian,

### 6. II.

vanquished them in two battels.

D'rrhus, forsaken by the Macedonians, and unable to deal with Lylimachus, was abhorred no less than a wifer Prince would good Fleet, which in that unfettled estate of the valour of Decius. He forbade any one things, was enough to purchase a Kingdom: to for take his place, and fight fingle with an but the fall of Demetrius had so increased the power of Lysimachus, that it was no point ed his own fon to be put to death, who had of wisdom to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces : Antigonus, the fon of Demetrius, held Corinth at the fame time, and some other Towns, with the remainder of his Fathers Army and treasures, with some other people, were brought un- lest in his hand. Upon him it is like that der obedience; it was a vain labour for any Pyrrhus might have won; but it was better people of Italy to contend against the Ro- to let him alone, that he might serve to give fome hindrance to Lysimachus.

In this want of imployment, and covetous

CHAP. VII. they would cast themselves under his pro- ces: than the issue of their vaunting promirection. They had in their company some of fes. He was now driven either to fet forward the Samnites, Lucanians, Messapians, and others; which promifed, in behalf of their several Nations as much as could be defired. alking what he meant to do after every of marched. the victories which he hoped to get : that contented with his own.

he prepared his Army, of almost thirty thou- nor feared him their enemy. fand men, well forted, and well trained inperson. At his coming, he found the Taarms, and making fuch a strict muster, as ly behooving to their estate.

Whilst he was occupied with these cares, Levinus the Roman Conful drew near, and derate with the Tarentines in this War.

The Lucanians were not ready to defend their own Countrey; the Samnites were careless of the harm, that fell not ( as yet ) their valour was little : all of these had been accustomed to thrink for fear of the Roman fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily,

aid than his good conduct, which to obtain, I that Pyrrkus relied more upon his own forwith those that himself had brought into Italy, and the affiftance of the Tarentines, wherein little wasto be reposed; or else to This encouraged Fyrrhus, and filled him weaken the reputation of his own fufficienwith hopes of goodly conquests; that he cy, which by all means he was careful to upnightenlarge his Empire to the West, as far hold. In good time a great part of his foras Alexander had gotten Eastward; and ces, that had been scattered by foul weather fill by one victory open the gate unto ano- at Sea, were fafely come to him: with ther. To which effect it is faid, that once which he resolved to assay the valour of he answered Cyneis his chief Counsellour, the Romans, against whom he proudly

Levinus the Conful was not affrighted having won Rome, he would foon be Master with the terrible name of a great King; but of all Italy; that, after Italy he would came on confidently to meet him, and give quickly get the Ille of sicil; that, out of him battel ere all his adherents should be sicil, he would pass over into Affrick, and ready to joyn with him. This boldness of win Carthage, with all the rest of the Count the Roman, and the slackness of the Messatrev; and being strengthened with the force pians, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom of all these Provinces, he would be too hard the danger most concerned, caused Pyrrhue for any of those that were now so proud to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have and troublesome. But Gyneas enquired yet the quarrel between the Romans and his further, what they should do, when they Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement. were Lords of all. Whereunto Pyrrhus Whether he did this to win time, that the (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that samnites and their fellows might arrive at they would live merrily; a thing (as Cyne- his Camp; or whether, confidering better as then told him ) that they prefently might at near distance, the weight of the busine's do, without any trouble, if he could be which he hadtaken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short Nevertheles, this Italian Expedition answer that was returned to his proposition, seemed unto Pyrrbus a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard other: for the Romans fent him this word. of any scholastical disputation. Wherefore that they had neither chosen him their Judge,

Hereupon both Armies hastned their fouldiers: part of which he sent over before march unto the River of siris: Lavinus inhimunder Cyness, with the rest he followed tending to fight before the arrival of the Samnites ; Pyrrhus, to hinder him from pafrentines, very prompt of tongue, but in mat- fing that River, until his own Army were ter of execution, utterly careless to provide full. Upon the first view of the Roman Camp, for the war. Wherefore he was fain to it was readily conceived by Pyrrhus, that he that up their Theatre, and other places of had not now to do with barbarous people, pleasure and resort, enforcing them to take but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a was to them very unpleasing, though great- strong Corps de garde upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, until he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was began to waste Lucania, a Province confe- not only skilful in the Art of War, but couragious in execution. For the Roman Army entred the Foord, in face of his Corpse de garde; and their horse, at the same time began to pass the River in sundry places: which upon themselves; the Tarentines were better caused the Greeks to forsake the defence of prepared than they would have been, but their bank, and speedily retire untotheir

This audacity forced Pyrrbus to battel; wherewith he thought it best to present Вывыь 2 them. them, ere the whole Army had recovered than he could many such victories. Therefirm focting, and were in order. So direct- fore he thought it good to compound ing his Captains how to marthal his bat- with them whilest with his honour he tels; himself with the horse charged upon might; and to that purpose he sent unto the Romans: who stoutly received him as them Cyness his Embassadour, demanding men well exercised in sustaining surious im- only to have the Tarentines permitted to pressions. In this fight, neither did his cou- live at rest, and himself accepted as their rage transport him beyond the duty of a especial friend. This did Cyness, with all careful General; nor his providence in di- his cunning, and with liberal gifts labour to recting others, hinder the manifestation of effect: but neither man nor woman couldbe his personal valour. It behooved him indeed found in Rome, that would take any bribe to do his best; for he never met with better of him; neither did their desire of recoveroppofers. Once, and shortly after the fight ing their captives, or their danger, by the began, his horse was slain under him: after- riling of many States in Italy against them. wards, he changed armour with a friend ; so incline them to peace, as the vehement but that friend paid his life for the use of exhortation of Appius Claudius, an old and his Kings armour, which was torn from his blind Senator, did stir them up to make back. This accident had almost lost him good their honour by war. So they rethe battel; but he perceiving it, discovered turned answer, that whilest Pyrrhus abode his face, and thereby restored courage to in Italy, they would come to no agreement his men, and took from the Romans their with him. vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater loss (at least of more emiliais return, of the Roman puissance andvernent men) on Pyrrhus his fide, as long as tue, as kindled in Pyrrhus a great defire of only spear and sword were used. But when confederacy with that gallant City. Herethe Elephants were brought into the wings, upon many kind Offices passed between whose unusual form and terrible aspect, the them: but still when he urged his motion horses of the Romans (unaccustomed to of peace, the answer was; He must first depart the like ) were not able to sustain; then out of Italy, and then treat of peace. was the victory quickly gotten. For the In the mean feafon, each part made pro-Roman battels, perceiving their horse put vision for war; the Romans levying amore to the rout, and driven out of the field; mighty Army than the former; and Pyrrhus finding also themselves both charged in being strengthened with access unto his flank, and over-born, by the force and forces of all the East parts of Italy. So huge bulk of those strange beasts; gave they came to the trial of a second battel, way to necessity, and saved themselves, as wherein (though after long and cruel fight) well as they could, by hafty flight: in the boifterous violence of the Elephants which consternation, they were so forgetfull gave to Pyrrhu a second victory. But this of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Camp, but ran quite beyond it, had been: rather it gave him cause to say, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, that such another victory would be his utentitely to Pyrrhus.

over Italy; and the reputation was no less drave the Romans into their Camp, yet than the fame. For it was a matter very rare he could not force them out of it, nor

Such was the report that Cyneas made at

ter undoing. For he had loft the flower of The fame of this victory was foon spread his Army in this battel: and though he to be heard, that a Roman Consul, with a se- saw any likelihood of prevailing against lect Army, should lose in plain battel, not them, that were like to be relieved with only the Field, but the Camp it felf, being daily supplies, whilest he should be driven so notably fortified as they alwayes were. to spend upon his old stock. Neither And this honour was the more bravely won could he expect that his Elephants should by Pyrrbus, for that he had with him none of alwayes stand him in stead. A little knowhis Italian friends, fave the unwarlike Taren- ledge of their manner in fight would foon tines. Neither could he well dissemble his teach the Romans, that were apt Scholars content that he took, in having the glory in fuch learning, how to make them unof this action reculiarly his own, at fuch ferviceable. Wherefore he defired nothing time as he blamed the Lucans and Samnites, more, than how to carry his honour for coming (as we fay ) a day after the safe out of Italy: which to do (seeing Fair. Nevertheless he wisely considered the the Romans would not help him, by offerstrength of the Romans, which was such, ing or accepting any fair conditions of as would better endure many such losses, peace, or of truce) he took a slight occasibe related.

#### ø. 111.

goes back to his own Kingdom.

Patron selenems, he prefently feized upon long, ere he flew them, and drave her into all the Dominions of Lysimachus in Europe, as exile. an the boundaries and the due reward unto him. In the pride of this good fuccess, which that had lain the Conquerour. The houses his villany found, vengeance came upon of Caffander and Lyfinachus were then fal-himfrom a far, by the fury of a Nation that len to the ground: neither was there in he never heard of. Belgius a Captain of the Macedon any man of ftrength and reputa- Gauls, having forced his paffage through tion enough to advance himfelf against ce many Countreys, unto the contines of Maramus. The friends of Lysmachus were rather cedon, fent a proud message to Ceraunus, pleased to have him their King, that had (as commanding him to buy peace with money, heprofessed) revenged their Lords death; or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of than any way offended with the odiout war. These Gauls were the race of those, ness of his fact, by which they were freed that iffued out of their Countrey, to seek from subjection, to one, against whom they new seats in that great expedition, wherein had flood in opposition. Many there were, Brennus took and burnt the City of Rome. that upon remembrance of his fathers great They had divided themselves, at their setvertue, gathered hope of finding the like ting forth, into two companies; of which in Ceranus: perswading themselves that the one fell upon Haly; the other, passing his reign might prove good, though his en- through the Countreys that lye on the Nortrance had been wicked. These affections of thern side of the Adriatick Sea, made long the Macedonians did serve to defeat Antigo- abode in Pannonia, and the Regions adjoynnus the fon of Demetrius, that made an ating, where they forced all the neighbour tempt upon the Kingdom. As for Antigonus Princes to redeem peace with tribute, as the fon of selencus, he was far off, and might now they would have compelled Cerannus be questioned about some part of Asia, ere todo: unto whose borders they came about he should be able to bring an Army neer un- an hundred and eight years after such time to Europe. Yet he made great shew of mean- as their fellows had taken Rome. ing to revenge his Fathers death: but being ftronger in money than in arms, he was content, after a while, to take fair words, and was, that he would be contented to give make peace with the murtherer. While these them peace, but it must be with condition, three strove about the Kingdom, Pyrrhus, that they should put into his hands their who thought his claim as good as any of Princes as hostages, and yield up their arms; theirs, made use of their diffention: threat-otherwise he would neither pardon their ming war, or promifing his affiftance to eve-boldness, nor give any credit to their words. ry one of them. By these means he strengthe- At this answer, when it was returned, the ned himself, and greatly advantaged his Ha- Gauls did laugh; saying, That they would questing money of Antiochus, ships of Antigostrong power of Macedonian Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them restored at two years end) more for fear than for love : that fo he might free himfelf from trouble, and quietly enjoy his Kingdom.

on, prefented by fortune, that followeth to Thus Ptolomy grew mighty on the fudhe had gotten, by means as wicked he eacreafed.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the The great troubles in Macedon and Sicil. How strong City of Cassandria was held by Arlinee pyrrhus, being invoited into Sicil, forfook his filter, the widow of Lylimachus, who lay ltaly; wan the most of the Ise, and lost it therein with her young children. Her he in hort space. Pyrrhus returns into Italy, circumvented by making love to her, and m poor pace. Fyrings Romans, and fo (according to the fashion of those times, (anguinity ) taking her to wife, with pro-WHen Prolomy Ceraums had traited mife to adopt her children: a promife that roufly murdered his Benefactor and he meant not to perform; for it was not

When their Embassadours came to Ptololian voyage, which he had then in hand : re- foon confute with deeds, the vanity of such proud words. It may feem strange, nu, and fouldiers of Ptolomy, who gave him that he, who had given away part of his his daughter in marriage, and lent him a Army unto Pgrrhus, for very fear ; should be so confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the Dardanians offered to lend him twenty thousand men against the Gauls: but he scorned the offer; saying. That he had the children of those, which unall the East. Thus he issued forth against all thage. To him therefore the Syracusans, Leon. the barbarous people with his famous Ma- times, and Agragentines, principal Estates of cedonians, as if the Victory must needs have the Isle, sent Embassadours, earnestly desifollowed the reputation of a great Name. ring him to take them into his protection. But he foon found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not on- fuch notable occasions of enlarging his Doly equal in strength of body, and sierceness minions, should fall out so unluckily, both at of courage, but lo far superiour to the Maecdonians in number, that few or none elcaped their fury. Fiolomy himself grievously of likelihood; or whether perhaps he bewounded, fell into their hands, whilest the lieved (as came after to pass) that his adbattel continued; and they prefently strook vantage upon Macedon would not so hashiv off his head, which they shewed to his men pass away, but that he might finde some ocon the top of a Lance, to their utter afto casion to lay hold on it at better leisure; nithment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all Macedon with fuch desperation, that the people fled into walled Towns, and abandoned the whole Country as loft. Only Softhenes, a valiant Captain, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper-hand, and hindred Belgius from using the Victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his tumultuous, than well-ordered, or notevertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefs do seldom come alone) the good fuccess of Belgius drew into Macedon, Brennus, another Captain of the Gauls, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse ; against which mighty Army, opposition, he was easily beaten, and the Macedonians again compelled to hide themfelves within their walls, leaving all their Countrey to the spoil of the Barbarians.

too little for a King of Macedon.

ried to Pyrrbus in Italy, who fought a fair them of all that they had. pretext of relinquishing his War with the Romans; had not other tydings out of sicil for Italy; but was first beaten by the Caribadistracted him, and carried him away in pur-fuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of affailed in Italy it self, by eighteen hundred Agathocles, who reigned over the whole Mamertines, that attended him in the straits Illand, the Caribaginians sent an Army to of the Country. Lastly, after he had recoconquer sicil, out of which, by him, they had vered Tarentum, he fought a third battel been expelled. This Army did so fast pre- with the Romans, led by M. Curius, who was vail, that the silicians had no other hope to victorious over him, and forc't him out of avoid flavery, than in submitting themselves Italy into his own Epirus. to the rule of Pyrrhus; whom, being a Gre- A Prince he was far more valiant than cian, and a noble Prince, they thought it constant; and had he been but a General of an more for their good to obey, than to live Army for some other great King or State, and

der the conduct of Alexander had subdued under the well-known heavy yoak of Car-

It grieved Pyrrhus exceedingly, that two one time. Yet whether he thought the bufiness of sicil more important, or more full over into sicil he transported his Army, leaving the Tarentines to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them. but with a Garrison in their Town to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of Italy was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature advice; fowere his actions following, untill his return into Epirus, rather many and worthy. The Army which he carried into that I'le, confifted of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse: with which, foon after his descent into sicil, he forc't the Carthaginians out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He also won the strong City of Eryx; and having beaten the Mamertines in battel, he began to change when softhenes with his weak troops made condition, and turn Tyrant. For hedrave Softratus (to whom this cruelty was suspected) out of the Island, and put Thenon of Siracuse to death, being jealous of his greatness; which two persons had faithfully serv-Thus were the Macedonians destitute of ed him, and delivered the great and rich a King, and trodden down by a Nation that City of Syracufe into his hands. Afterthis, they had not heard of, in less than fifty years his fortunes declined so fast, as he served after the death of Alexander, who fought to himself, and salved the dif reputation of his discover and subdue unknown Countries, as leaving Sicil, by an Embassage sent him from if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia had been the Tarentines, and Samnites, imploring his present help against the Romans, who fince Very feafonably had these news been car- his leaving Italy, had well-neer disposses

Taking this fair occasion, he imbarked

one Country or Kingdom, it is to be thought, Army. that he would have purchased no less howhereof not long after he died in Argos.

#### ø. IV.

How Antigonus, the Son of Demetrius, delinered Macedon from the Gaules. How from Antigonus.

don; and the fortune which had accompa- gius. Their coming was terrible and sudden; nied him against Belgius, failing him in his yet not so sudden, but that Antigonus had noattempts against Brennus: the Macedonians tice of it, who distrusting the courage of his felves from the impotent rule of his Father woods adjoyning, where he lay close. Demetrius. His coming into the Country with an Army, Navy, and Treasure beseem were not hasty to pursue him, but fell to ing a King, did rather breed good hope in ranfacking the empty Cabbins of the Soulthe people, than fill them with much confi- diers; in hope of finding all that was either dence: for he was driven to use against the lost or hidden. At length, when they had Barbarians, only those forces which he searched every place in vain, angry at their brought with him, having none other than loft labour, they marched with all speed togood wishes of the Macedons to take his wards the Sea-side; that they might fall uppart. Brennus with the main strength of his on him, whilst he was busie in getting his Men Army, was gone to fpoil the Temple of Apollolo and Carriages a ship-board. But the success to at Delphos, having left no more behinde was no way answerable to their expectation. him, than he thought necessary to guard the For being proud of the terrour which they borders of Macedon and Pannonia; which had brought upon Antigonus, they were fo were about fifteen thousand foot, and three careles of the Sea-men, that without all orin the absence of their fellows: and there- ground. fore fent unto Antigonus, offering to fell him ved. He thought hereby to make them un- to the service of Antigonus. derstand how great a Prince he was, and

had been directed to have conquered any how able if need required, to wage a mighty

To which end, he likewise did shew unto that he would not of War, either preceding them his Camp and Navy, but especially his nour man any man for a greater Captain, or Elephants. But all this bravery ferved only or man, hath be n no where found to kindle their greedy appetites; who see-But he never trayed upon any enterprife; ing his ships heavy loaden, his Camp full of which was, indeed, the difeate he had wealth, and ill fortified himself (asit teemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferiour unto the Gauls, thought all time lost wherein they suffered the prefent possessions to spend the riches which they accounted affuredly their own. They returned therefore to their companions with Pyrrhus won the Kingdom of Macedon none other news in their mouths, than of spoil and purchase: which tale carried the Gauls head-long to Antigonus his Camp, THE vertue of softbenes being too where they expected a greater booty, than weak to defend the Kingdom of Mace- the victory over Ceraunus had given to Belwere no less glad to submit themselves un own men, dislodged somewhat before their to the government of Antigonus, than they arrival, and conveyed himself, with his had been formerly desirous to free them whole Army and Carriage, into certain

The Gauls, finding his Camp for faken, thousand horse. These could not be idle, der, they fell to the spoil of what they found but thought to get somewhat for themselves, on the shore, and in such ships as lay on

Part of the Army had left Antigonus, peace, if he would pay well for it; which by where he lay in covert; and had faved it felf the example of Ceranns, he had learnt (as by getting aboard the Fleet: in which numthey thought) not to refuse. Antigonus was ber were some well-experienced men of unwilling to weaken his reputation by con- | War: who discovering the much advantage descending to their proud demands: yet he offered unto them, by the desperate prejudged it unfit to exasperate their furious sumption of their enemies, took courage, and choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as encouraged others to lay manly hold upon Ceraums had over-fondly done. Wherefore the opportunity. So the whole number, both he entertained their Embaffadours in very of Souldiers and Mariners, landing togeloving and sumptuous manner, with a royal ther, with great resolution, gave so brave a feast: wherein he exposed to their view such charge upon the disordered Gault, that abundance of massie gold and silver, that they their contemptuous boldness was thereby were not so much delighted with the meat, as changed into sudden fear, and they, after a with light of the vessels, wherein it was fer- great slaughter, driven to cast themselves in-

The fame of this Victory caused all the barbarous CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VIL

were overthrown.

To (peak more of the Gauls in this place, them were flain) after a sharp fight: whereand to flew how, about thefe times, three in it feems that Antigonus keeping his Mucedo-Tribes of them passed over into Asa the nian Phalanx within the streight, and not adlefs, with their wars and conqueits there; I vancing to their fuccour, took away their hold it needles: the victorious Armies of courage, by deceiving their expectation. The the Romans taming them hereafter in the Captains of the Elephants were taken foon Countries which now they wan, shall give after; who finding themselves exposed to better occasion to rehearse these matters the same violence that had consumed so ma-

got him reputation among the barbarous antigonus and his Macedonians, to their great people; yet hisown Souldiers, that without discomfort; which emboldened Pyrrhu his leading had won this Victory, could not to charge them where they lay in their thereupon be perswaded to think him a strength. Where the Phalanx could be chargood man of war: knowing that he had no ged only in a front, it was matter of extreme interest in the honour of the tervice, where- difficulty (if not impossible) to force it. But in his conduct was no better than creeping the Macedonians had feen fo much, that they

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ly helpfull unto Fyrrhus: though as yet he adventured to draw near in person, and exknew not so much. For Fyrrhus, when his af-hort them to yield. Neither the common fairs in Italy stood upon hard terms, had Souldier, nor any Leader refused to become

fand foot, and five hundred horse: an Army to those Towns afar off in Peloponnessus, in too little to be employed, by his restless na- which he had formerly lurked, before such ture, in any action of importance; yet great-time as he looked abroad into the world, er than he had means to keep in pay. There- and made himself a King. fore he fell upon Macedon; intending to take what spoil he could get, and make An- Epirot, and caused him to forget all forrow tigonus compound with him, to be freed of his late mil-fortunes in the Roman War: from trouble. At his first entrance into this so that he sent for his Son telenus (whom he bufines, two thousand of Antigonus his soul- had lest with a Garrison, in the Castle of diers revolted unto Pyrrhus; and many Ci- Tarentum) willing him to come over into ties, either willingly or perforce, received Greece, where was more matter of conquell, him. Such fair beginnings easily persivaded and let the Italians shift for themselves, the courage of this daring Prince to fet upon Antigonus himself, and to hazard his fortune, in trial of a Battel, for the whole Kingdom of Macedon.

It appears, that Antigonus had no defire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wifest way, by protracting of time, to weary him out of the Country. For Pyrrhus had now conceived a great hope weary him out of the Country. For Pyrrhus overtook him in a streight passage, and stand him; seeing that in open fight he had charged him in the rear; wherein were the vanquished the Gauls, and beaten Antigonus,

barbarous Nations in those quarters to re- Gauls and the Elephants, which were entertain their ancient belief of the Mace- thought the best of his strength; a manifest donian valour: by which the terrible and proof that he was in retrait. The Gauls verefiftle's oppressors of so many Countries ry bravely sustained Pyrrhus his impression: vet were broken at length ( when most of

ny of the Gauls, yielded themselves and Howfoever the good fuccess of Antigonus the beafts. All this was done in full view of had no defire to fight against Pyrrbus; who This (as prefently will appear) was great-discovered so well their affections, that he feet unto Antigonus for help: not without his follower. All forfook Antigonus, a few threats, in case it were denyed. So was he horse-men excepted, that sled along with fure to get either a fupply, wherewith to him to The falonica; where he had some small continue his War against the Romans; or forces left, and mony enough to entertaina fome feeming honourable pretence, to for- greater power, had he known where to lefake Italy, under colour of making his word by it. But whilft he was thinking how to algood, in feeking revenge. The threats lure a fufficient number of the Ganls into which he had used in bravery, meer necessity his service; whereby he might repair his los: forced him at his return into Epirus, to put Piolomy, the Son of Pyrrhus, came upon him, and easily defeating his weak forces, drave He brought home with him eight thou- him to flie from the parts about Macedon,

This good success revived the spirits of the

6. V.

How Pyrrhus affailed Sparta mithout success. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.

was not in all Greece, nor, indeed, in all ftoutly defended. The delperate courage of the Lands that Alexander had won, any the Citizens preserved the Town the first Leader of fuch name and worth, as deserved ay; whereinto the violence of Pyrrhus had ed to be fet up against him: which filled forced entrance the second day, but that his him with the opinion that he might do wounded horse threw him to the ground, what he pleased. He raised therefore an which made his Souldiers more mindful of Army, confisting of five and twenty thou- faving the perion of their King, than of find foot, two thousand horse, and four breaking into the City, though already they and twenty Elephants; pretending War had torn in sunder the Barricadoes. Preagainst Antigonus, and the giving liberty fently after this, one of Antigonus his Capto those Towns in Peloponness, which the tains got into Sparta, with a good strength to more some held in subjection; though of men; and Areus the King returned out it was easily discovered, that such great pre- of Crete (where he had been helping his parations were made, for accomplishment friends in War) with two thousand men, little of fome design more important than War knowing the danger, in which his own against a Prince already vanquished, and Country stood, until he was almost at home. almost utterly dejected. Especially the La- These succours did not more animate the edemonians feared this expedition, as made Spartans, than kindle in Pyrrhus a defire to avainst their State. For Chonymus, one of prevail against all impediments. But the ther Kings, being exp wat of his Coun-third dayes work shewed how great his ertry, had betaken hir to Pyrrhus: who rour had been, in forbearing to affault the readily entertained nim, and promifed to Town at his first coming. For he was so restore him to his hangdom. This promise manfully repelled, that he saw no likeliwas made in secret; neither would Pyrrhus hood of getting the place, otherwise than make thew of any displeasure that he bare by a long siege: in which tedious course he unto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, had no desire to spend his time. that it was his intent, to have two of his own Antigonus had now raised an Army, younger Sons trained up in that City, as in though not strong enough to meet the Enea place of noble discipline. With such co-my in plain field, yet able to hinder all his lours he deluded men, even till he entred purposes. This made Pyrrhus doubtful upon Laconia; where presently he demean-what way to take; being diversly affected, edhimself as an open enemy; excusing him-by the difficulty of his enterprise in hand, felf and his former diffembling words with and the shame of taking a repulse in his first a jest; That he followed herein the Lacede- attempt. Whilst he was thus perplexed, monian custom, of concealing what was truly letters came from Argos, inviting him this purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner ther; with promise to deliver that City into of the Lacedemonians, to deal in like fort his hands. with others, whom, in the time of their | Civil Diffention raging then hotly in Argreatness, they sought to oppress: but now gos, caused the heads of several factions to they complained of that , as falshood, in call in Pyrrhus and Antigonus; but the come-Pyribus, which they alwayes practifed in ing of these two Princestaught the Citizens wisdom, till it made them distrusted, for- wit, and made them desirous to rid their faken, and almost contemptible. Neverthe- hands of such powerful affistants, as each of less, they were not wanting to themselves in the two Kings pretended himself to be. Anthis dangerous extremity. For the old men tigonus told the Argives, that he came to and women laboured in fortifying the fave them from the tyranny of Pyrrhus: and affurance of prevailing.

time, otherwise than with armed Citizens : part, if they so desired.

and wonthe Kingdom of Macedon. There Pyrrhus exceeding fiercely; and no lefs

Town; caufing fuch as could bear arms to that he would be gone, if they need not reserve themselves fresh against the assault: his help. On the other side, Pyrrhus would which Pyrrhus had unwifely deferred, upon needs perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them fafe from Sparta was never fortified, before this Antigonus; offering in like manner, to de-

foon after this ( it being built upon uneven The Argives took small pleasure in hearground, and, for the most part, hard to apling the Fox and Kite at strife, which proach) the lower and more accessible pla- of them should keep the Chickens from his ces, were fenced with walls, at the present on- enemy : and therefore prayed them both ly trenches were cast, and barricadoes made to divert their powers some other way. with Carts, where the entrance seemed most Hereunto Antigonus readily condescended, whie. Three days together it was affailed by and gave hostages to assure his word: for

CHAP. I.

good will. But Tyrrhus thought it enough led to mind an Oracle, which threatned to promise: Holtages he would give none him with death, when he should behold a to his inferiours, especially meaning deceit. Bull fighting with a Wolf: and that here-This made them suspect his purpose to be upon he made retrait. fuch, as indeed it was. Yet he less regarded Indeed, the coming of Antigonus to the tended to break ere the next morning.

should be opened by night unto Pyrrhus, by been away. The tumult was such, that no his Complices within Argos: which was directions could be heard; but as some gave accordingly performed. So his Army with back, fo did others thrust forward, and out any tunult entred the City: till the the Argives prefling hard upon him, forced Elephants, with Towers on their back, cloyed the way, being too high to pass the Gate. own fword. The tops of the houses were The taking off, and fetting on again of those covered with Women, that stood looking on Towers, with the trouble thereto belong the fight. Among these was one, that saw ing, did both give alarm to the City, and her own Son in dangerous cafe, fighting with fome leifure to take order for defence, before

Pyrrhus. Wherefore the took a tile-ftone, to many were entred, as could fully master or slate, and threw it so violently down on guard) being ignorant of the wayes in the dark night. The Citizens, on the other tide, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by-pallage: and fetting up returned the Kingdom of Macedon to Antion the enemies on all fides, did put them to gonus; who forthwith possessed the Army, great loss and more trouble.

contused noise, and unequal shoutings of his and was given by Antigonus unto Helenus his own men, that they were in distress, entred the City in person, to take order for their sent home into his Fathers Kingdom of Epipediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, until break of day. Then began he to make his pallage by force, and fo quiet possession of the possessio place. It is faid, that reeing in that place the line image of a Wolf and a Bull, in fuch po-body of her own Empire.

he was the weaker, and stood in need of litture as if they had been combatant, he cal-

their opinions, than to hold them worthy of rescue, the disorder and confusion of his affurance, by giving fuch a bond, as he in- own men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of It was concluded, that a Gate of the City the City, though the Wolf and Bull had it. Argor was full of ditches, which greatly the head of Pyrrhuo, that he fell to the hindred the Gaules ( that had the Vant- ground aftonished with the blow; and ly-

the body, and the children of his Enemy. Pyrrbus therefore understanding by the The body of Pyrrbus had honourable burial, relief, and allurance of the place. But the rus. From this time forwards, the race of darkness, the throng, and many other im- antigonus held the Kingdom of Macedon; har prevailed, that he got into the Market- the City of Rome, twallowing all up, dige-

Finis Libri quarti.

FIRST PART OF THE OF THE

Intreating of the Times from the settled Rule of Alexanders Successors in the East, untill the Romans, prevailing over all, made Conquest of Aha and Macedon.

## THE FIFTH BOOK.

CHAP. I. Of the first Punick War.

ø. I.

A Discussion of that Probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have relisted the Great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equal valour to the English.



HAT Question handled and little store of mony, or of other needful by Livie, Whether the helps in War, vanquish them in two Bat-Great Alexander could have tels, and endanger their Estate, when it was prevailed against the Romans, well settled and held the best part of Italy, and a support of the set of Forces against them, hath provided of all which is needful to a Conbeen, and is the subject of much di- querour, wanting only matter of employfpute; which (as it feems to me) the argument, coming upon them before their Domentson both fides do not fowell explain, minion washalf fowell feeled? It is cafie to as doth the experience that Pyrrhus hath fay, that Alexander had no more than thirty given of the Roman power in his dayes. For thousand foot, and four thousand horse (as if he, a Commander (in Hannibals judge- indeed, at his first passage into Asia, he carriment ) inferiour to Alexander, though to ed over not many more) and that the rest of none else, could with a small strength of men, his followers were no better than base effeArmies of Perdiccus, Antipater, Crate- them not, at some time, both before and rus . Fumenes . Itolomy , Antigonus and Ly- after this ) have opposed their valour and tinachus, with the actions by them per- good military discipline, against the power torned, every one of which (to omit others) of all Countreys to them known, if they commanded only fome fragment of this would have made refiftance. How they dead Emperours power, shall easily find, could have sped well, in undertaking such a that such a reckoning is far short of the match; it is uneasie to find in discourse of truth.

Horfes Elephants, Engines of Battery, and cowardly fools, and the unfortunate: for the like : of all which the Macedonian who foever contends with one too might had abundance; the Roman having nought, for him, either must excell in these, as much fave men and arms. As for Sea-forces; as his enemy goes beyond him in power; he that shall consider after what fort the or else must look both to be overcome, and Komans, in their first Funick War, were to be cast down so much the lower, by how trained in the rudiments of Navigation; much the opinion of his fortune and verfitting upon the shoar, and beating the fand tue renders him suspected, as likely tomake with poles, to practife the stroke of the head another time against the vanquisher. Oar, as not daring to lanch their ill-built Whether the Roman or the Macedonian veffels into the Sea; will eafily conceive were in those dayes the better Souldier. I how far too weak they would have proved will not take upon me to determine: though in fuch fervices.

Now for helpers in War; I do not fee own opinion, and preferr that Army, which why all Greece and Macedon, being abso-followed not only Philip and Alexander, but lutely commanded by Alexander, might also Alexanders Princes after him, in the not well deserve to be laid in ballance against those parts of *Italy*, which the fore any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning foromit therefore all benefit that the Eastern tune, who can give a rule that shall al-World, more wealthy, indeed, than va- wayes hold? Alexander was victorious in liant, could have afforded unto the Mace- every Battel that he fought: and the Roclonian: let us only conjecture, how the mans in the iffue of every War. But for-States of Sicil and Carthage, nearest neighbours to such a quarrel (had it happened) worthy of consideration; I think it a great would have stood affected. The sicilians part of Romes good fortune, that Alexander were for the most part Grecians; neither came not into Italy: where in three years is it to be doubted, that they would readi- after his death, the two Roman Confuls, toly have submitted themselves unto him, gether with all the powers of that State, that ruled all Greece besides them. In what were surprized by the Samnites, and enforced terms they commonly stood, and how ill to yield up their arms. We may therefore they were able to defend themselves, it permit Livie to admire his own Romans, and shall appear anon. Sure it is, that Alex- to compare with Alexander those Captains anders coming into those parts, would have of theirs, which were honoured sufficientbrought excessive joy to them that were ly, in being thought equal to his followers: fain to get the help of Pyrrhus, by offering that the same conceit should blind our to become his subjects. As for the Carthagi- judgement, we cannot permit without much mians, if Agathocles the Tyrant of Syracuse, vanity. hated of his people, and ill able to defend his Now in deciding such a Controversie, own belieged City, could by adventuring to me-thinks it were not amis, for an Englishfail into Africk, put their Dominion, yea, man, to give such a sentence between the and Carthage it felf, in extream hazard 5 Macedonians and Romans, as the Romans finall we think that they would have been once did (being chosen Arbitrators ) beable to withstand Alexander ? But why tween the Ardeases and Aricini, that strove do I question their ability, seeing that they about a piece of Land; saying, that it befent Embassadours, with their submission, as longed unto neither of them, but unto the far as Babylon, ere the War drew near them? Romans themselves. Wherefore it is manifest, that the Romans If therefore it be demanded, whether the must, without other succour, than perhaps Macedonian, or the Roman were the best of some other sew Italian friends (of Warriour? I will answer, The English-

pate Abatiques. But he that confiders the which yet there were none that forfook humane reason. It is true, that vertue It were needless to speak of Treasure, and fortune work wonders; but it is against I might without partiality, deliver mine

CHAP. L. man. For it will foon appear to any that teet them against the Caribaginian, and Man thall examine the noble acts of our Nation cedonians.

Greece; what manner of men the Perlians peared comparable to the English. If my and Indians were, whom Alexander van- judgement feem over-partial, our wars in quished; as likewise of what force the France may help to make it good. Macedonian Phalanx was, and how well ap- First therefore it is well known that Rome pointed, against such arms as it commonly ( or perhaps all the world besides )had never encountred: any man, that hath taken pains any to brave a Commander in war as Julius to read the foregoing story of them, doth Cofar: and that no Roman Army was comsufficiently understand. Yet was this Pha- parable unto that which served under the lux never, or very feldom, able to stand fame Cofar. Likewise, it is apparent, that this against the Koman Armies; which were em-gallant Army, which had given fair proof of not whether any Nation besides them have the Helvetian war, when it first entred into

man on that they were performed by no I shall not need to speak of her other conadvantage of weapon 5 against no savage quests: it was easie to get more when the of unmanly people; the enemy being far had gotten all this. It is not my purpole to apperiour unto us in number, and all need-differace the Roman valour (which was very ful provisions, yea, as well trained as we, noble ) or to blemish the reputation of to or commonly better, in the exercise of many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I fay; That among all their wars, I In what fort Philip wan his Dominion in find not any, wherein their valour hathap-

battelled in fo excellent a form, as I know the Roman courage, in good performance of used, either before or since. The Roman Gaule; was nevertheless utterly disheartned. weapons likewise, both offensive and defen- when Cesar led it against the Germans. So live, were of greater use than those with that we may justly impute all that was exwhich any other Nation hath ferved, before traordinary in the valour of Casars men, to the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were their long exercise, under so good a Leader. known. As for the enemies with which in fo great a War. Now let us in general Rome had to do, we find, that they which compare with the deeds done by these best did over-match him in numbers, were as far of Roman Souldiers, in their principal ferover-matched by her in weapons; and that vice; the things performed in the same they, of whom she had little advantage in Country, by our common English Souldiers. arms, had as little advantage of her in mul- levied in hafte, from following the Cart, or titude. This also (as Plutarch well observ- fitting on the shop-stall : fo shall we see the eth) was a part of her happines; that the difference. Herein will we deal fairly, and was never over-laid with two great Wars believe Cofar in relating the acts of the Romans: but will call the French Historians Hereby it came to pass, that having at to witness, what actions were performed by first increased her strength by accession of the English. In Casars time France was inthe Sabines; having won the State of Alba, habited by the Gaules, a stout people, but against which she adventured her own self, inferiour to the French, by whom they were asit werein wager, upon the heads of three subdued; even when the Romans gave them Champions: and having thereby made her affiftance. The Country of Gaule was rent felf Princes of Latium, the did afterwards in funder (as Cesar witnesseth) into many by long war, in many ages, extend her Do- Lordships: some of which were governed by minion over all Italy. The Carthaginians petty Kings, others by the multitude, none had well-near oppressed her: but her Soul- ordered in such fort as might make it applidiers were Mercenary; so that for want of able to the nearest Neighbour. The factions proper strength, they were easily beaten at were many, and violent: not only in general their own doors. The Etolians, and, with through the whole Country, but between them, all, or the most of Greece, affished her the petty States, yea in every City, and alagainst Philip the Macedonian: he being most in every house. What greater advanbeaten, did lend her his help to beat the same tage could a Conquerour desire? Yet there Atolians. The wars against Antiochus, and was a greater. Arioviftus, with his Germans, other Afiatiques, were such as gave to Rome had over-run the Country, and held much mall cause of boast, though much of joy : part of it in subjection, little different from for those opposites were as base of courage, meer slavery : yea, so often had the Germans as the lands which they held were abun-prevailed in war upon the Gaules, that the dant of riches. Sicil, Spain, and all Greece, Gaules, (who had sometimes been the better fellinto her hands, by using her aid to pro- Souldiers ) did hold themselves no way equal CHART

equal to those daily Invaders. Had France Let us hear what a French writer faith of the been so prepared unto our English Kings, inequality that was between the French and the Rome it felf by this time, and long ere this English, when their King John was ready to cime, would have been ours. But when King give the on-fet upon the Black Prince, at a Edward the third began his war upon the battel of Poitiers. John had all advandes France, he found the whole Country feeled tages over Edward, both of number, force, inc. in obedience to one mighty King; a King sew, Country, and conceit (the which is comment whose reputation abroad, was no less than monly a consideration of no small importance. his puissance at home; under whose ensign, in worldly affairs; ) and withall, the choice of the King of Bohemia did serve in person; at all his horsemen (esteemed then the best interested whose call the Genorayes, and other Neight Europe ) with the greatest and wisest contains bour States, were ready to take arms ; final of his whole Realm. And what could heave (a) The ly, a King unto whom one (a) Prince gave more? Dolphin of 19. A result of think it would trouble a Roman Anti-Viennos. away in Sommon City and Territory for quary to find the like example in their Hi-lipse mony. The Country lying to open to the stories; the example I say, of a King, brought design mony. The County tying to open to the Romans and being fo well fenced against the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to the prisoner to Rome, by an army of eight thou- significant to Rome, b ed most therein (for it were meer vanity to thousand, better appointed, and no less exmatch the English purchases with the Roman pert Warriours. This I am sure of, that the conquest) but whether of the two gave the neither Sphax the Numidian, followed by a disc greater proof of military vertue. Cafur him rabble of half Scullions, as Livie rightly Bases felf doth witness, that the Gaules complained terms them, nor their cowardly Kings, Perof their own ignorance in the Art of war, fews and Gentius, are worthy patterns. All and that their own hardiness was overmathat have read of Cress and Agincourt, will tiered by the skill of their enemies. Poor bear me witness, that I do not alledge the men, they admired the Roman Towers, and battel of Poitiers, for lack of other, as good Engines of battery, raised and planted examples of the English Vertue: the proof against their walls, as more than humane whereof hath left many a hundred better works. What greater wonder is it, that marks in all quarters of France, than ever fuch a people was beaten by the Romans; did the valour of the Romans. If any man than that the Caribes, a naked people, but impute these Victories of ours to the long valiant, as any under the fky, are commonly bow, as carrying farther, piercing more put to the worse by small numbers of Spani- strongly, and quicker of discharge than the ards? Besides all this, we are to have regard French Cross-bow: my answer is ready; of the great difficulty that was found, in That in all these respects, it is also (being drawing all the Gaules, or any great part of drawn with a strong arm ) superiour to the them, to one head, that with joynt forces Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of they might oppose their assailants: as also more use. The Gun and the Cross-boware the much more difficulty of holding them of like force, when discharged by a Boy or long together. For hereby it came to pass, Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakthat they were never able to make use of ness or sickness, or a fore singer makes the opportunity: but sometimes compelled to long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, fray for their fellows; and sometimes driven I say, that it was the costem of our Anceto give or take battel upon extream disad- stors, to shoot, for the most part, point blank; vantages, for fear lest their companies should and so shall he perceive, that will note the fall afunder: as indeed, upon any little circumstances of almost any one battel. in all provisions, exceedingly beyond us? I may, with best commendation of modesty,

disaster, they were ready to break, and re- This takes away all objection : for when turn every one to the desence of his own. two Armies are within the distance of a All this, and ( which was little less than all Butts length, one flight of arrows, or two at this ) great odds in weapon gave to the the most, can be delivered before they close. Romans the honour of many gallant Victo- Neither is it in general true, that the long ries. What such help? or what other world- Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth ly help, than the golden mettle of their more strongly than the Cross-bow: but this Souldiers, had our Englift Kings against the is the rare effect of an extraordinary arm; French? Were not the French as well ex- whereupon can be grounded no common perienced in feats of War? Yea, did they rule. If any man shall ask, How then came not think themselves therein our superi- it to pass, that the English wan so many great ours? Were they not in arms, in horie, and battels, having no advantage to help him? reter him to the French Hittorian; who French, and in that regard enemy tous. So relating the victory of our men at Crevent; that our danger lay both before and behind where they patied a Bridge in face of the us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feargith a conquering bravery, as he that was ac- ed, a stronger Invasion by Land, than we sultomed to gain every where without any flay: could make upon France, transporting our

of the History of the World.

so notes their proceedings, may find, that

none of them went to work like a Conque-

rour, fave only King Henry the fifth; the

interrupt by his death. But this question is

the more easily answered, if another be first

made. Why did not the Romans attempt

the Conquest of Gaul before the time of

Cafar ? Why not after the Macedonian

for preservation of their own safety.

he forceth our guard placed upon the Bridge to Forces over Sea. he passage. Or I may cite another place It is usual with men, that have pleased of the fame Author, where he tells, how the themselves in admiring the matters which brillons, being invaded by Charls the eighth, they find in ancient Histories: to hold it a King of France, thought it good policy to great injury done to their judgement if any apparel a thousand and five hundred of their take upon him, by way of comparison, to exown men in English Cassocks; hoping that toll the things of latter ages. But I am well the very light of the English Red Crois, perswaded, that as the divided vertue of would be enough to terrifie the French. But this out Island, hath given more noble proof I will not stand to borrow of the French of it self, than under so worthy a Leader, Hilforians (all which, excepting De Serres, that Roman Army could do, which afterand Paulus Emilius, report wonders of our wards could win Rome, and all her Empire, Nation:) the propolition which first I un- making Cofar a Monarch; so hereafter, by dettook to maintain; That the military ver- Gods blelling, who hath converted our the of the English, prevailing against all manner greatest hinderance, into our greatest help, of difficulties, ought to bepreferred before that the enemy that shall dare to try our forces. of the Romans, which was affiled with all ad will find cause to with, that avoiding us, he untages that could be desired. If it be de- had rather encountred as great a puillance manded, Why then did not our Kings finith as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is the Conquest, as Casar had done? my answer now high time, that laying aside compamay be (I hope without offence ) that our rifons, we return to the rehearfal of deeds Kings were like to the Race of Eucide, of done; wherein we shall find, how Rome whom the old Poet Ennius gave this note; began, after Pyrrhus had left Italy, to strive Eellipotentes funt magis quam fapientipotentes : with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Pu-They were more war-like than politick. Who- nick War.

ø. I I.

course of whose victories it pleased God to The estate of Carthage before it entred into War with Rome.

THE City of Carthage had stood above I fix hundred years, when first it began to contend with Rome for the mastery War? Why not after the third Funick, or of Sicil. It fore-went Rome one hundred, and after the Numantian? At all these times lifty years in antiquity of foundation: but they had good leifure: and then especially in the honour of great atchievements, it had they both leifure and fit opportunity, excelled far beyond this advantage of time. when under the conduct of Marins, they had For Carthage had extended her Domininewly vanquished the Cimbri, and Tentones, on in Africa it felf, from the West of Cyby whom the Country of Ganl had been rene, to the streights of Hercules, about pitioully wasted. Surely, the words of Tully one thousand and five hundred miles in were true; That with other Nations the Ro- length, wherein stood three hundred Cimans fought for Dominion, with the Gauls ties. It had subjected all spain, even to the Pyrenean Mountains, together with all the Therefore they attempted not the Con- Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, to the quest of Gaule, until they were Lords of all West of sicil; and of sicil the better part. It other Countreys, to them known. We on flourished about seven hundred and thirty the other fide, held only the one half of our years, before the destruction thereof by own Illand; the other half being inhabited scipio: who, besides other spoils, and all by a Nation (unless perhaps in wealth and that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence numbers of men somewhat inferiour ) every four hundred and seventy thousand weight way equal to our felves; a Nation ancient- of filver, which make or our mony ( if our ly and itrongly allied to our enemies the pounds differ not ) fourteen hundred and rious City ran the same fortune, which thority in their Councils. This confusion in many other great ones have done, both be- Government, together with the trust that fore and fince. The ruinc of the goodliest they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helppieces of the world fore-shows the dissoluti- ing causes of their destruction in the end. on of the whole.

About one hundred years after such time ine, were their avarice and their cruelty. (4)1.1.2 as it was cast down, the Senate of Rome (a) Their avarice was shewed both in exact. All 1 as it was can down, the sealing ing from their Vaffals ( befides ordinary 19) The caused it to be re-built: and by Gracehus ing from their Vaffals ( befides ordinary 19) The caused in the case of the caused in th it was called Junonia: it was again and tributes) the one (b) half of the fruits of Table again abandoned and re-peopled, taken the earth; and in conferring of great offiand re-taken; by Genfericus the Vandal, ces, not upon gentle and merciful per-uses by Bellifarius under Justinian, by the Per fons, but upon those who would best tyran-min metans. It is now nothing. The feat treasures. Their cruelty appeared, input-the b metans. It is now nothing: and while ting them to death without mercy, that had benefit thereof was exceeding ftrong: and while neck of Land; which passage had two n . revolt from them: the other did break of the neck of Land;

it felf towards the West-continent, and lest

ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glo- people in latter times usurped too great au-Two other more forcible causes of their ru-

by Beunjarius under justinian, by the Maho-nize over the people, to augment their maker, fans, by the Fgyptians, and by the Maho-nize over the people, to augment their maker, the Carthaginians commanded the Sea, in- offended through ignorance: the one of the carthaginians the Carthaginians communication of the Carthaginians communication of the Carthaginians compaffed it about, these rendred them odious to their Vassals, but size faving that it was tyed to the Main by a whom it made ready upon all occasions, to be faving that it was tyed to the Main by a whom it made ready upon all occasions, to be shade to and more of breadth (Appian laith, the time spirits of their Generals, by presenting the dismiles and one furlong ) by which we may be the heat of their actions abroad, the fear fundament be induced to believe the common re of a certificate at home. Hereby it came being port, that the City it self was above twen- to pas, that many good Commanders of them ty miles in compass; if not that of strabe, the aringginian Forces, after some great there's affirming the circuit to have been twice as loss received, have desperately cast them allow felves, with all that remained under theiring the It had three Walls without the Wall of charge, into the throat of destruction; hold win to the City; and between each of those, three ing it necessary, either to repair their lossesseign or four Streets, with Vaults under ground, quickly, or to ruine all together: and few ment of thirty foot deep; in which they had of them have dared to manage their own pale place for three hundred Elephants, and all beft projects, after that good form, where and all their food: over these they had stables for in they first conceived them, for fear lest to eas their provender. They had also lodgings in the Streets, between these out-walls, Rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy adaption to the continuous and the continuou for four thousand horse-men, and twenty Captain, but even him, whose bad counsel was in thousand foor-men, which (according to had prosperous event. The faults, where he can the discipline used now by those of china) with, in general, they of Carthage are taxed, among never peftered the City. It had towards by Roman Historians, I find to be these; lust, The He the South part, the Castle of Egrsa; to cruelty, avarice, crast, unfaithfulness, and base which Servius gives two and twenty sur-perjury. Whether the Romans themselves and its contractions of the servines and the servines and the servines and the servines and the servines and the servines and the servines and the servines are servines and the servines and the servines are servines are servines are servines and the servines are servines are servines and the servines are longs in compass, that make two miles and were free from the same crimes, let the tryal of permitted a half. This was the same piece of ground be referred unto their actions. The first at a half. It is was the tame piece of ground be referred unto their actions. In mineral which Dido obtained of the Lybians, when league between Caribage and Rome, was we all the the got leave to buy only fo much Land of ry ancient: having been made the year fol-west them, as the could compats with an Ox lowing the expulsion of Tarquin. In that had not been as the could compate with an Ox hide. On the West-side it had also the Salt-league the Carthaginians had the superiori- field Sea, but in the nature of a standing pool; for ty, as imposing upon the Romans the more than a certain arm of Land, fastened to the strict conditions. For it was agreed, that down ground, on which the City stood, stretched the Romans should not so much as have desired

it self towards the West-continent, and lett but seventy foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this standing Sea was built a most sumptuous Arsenals, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The form of their Common-weal resembled that of sparta; for they had titulary Kings, and the Arissocial Power of Senators. But (as Rezim well observeth) the

CHAP. I. trade in some part of Africk, nor suffer and strends in this war with Pyrrbus; and that or cape, then called the fair Promontory, un- affift the state of Rome, by sending an Army the other fide, no Haven in Italy was forbid- ful, against the Epirots. matte product it, at the Carthaginians intreaty) [fure, purfue their buffness in siell: which make was more strict than the former: prohibiting caused them to make so goodly an offer. Africa, or in the Illand of Sardinia.

cathaginians prevailed at one time, the si-cilians, either by their own valour, or by

So many disasters in an enterprise, that being a subtile Nation, easily fore-saw, that the rest.

this of theirs to pass beyond the headland, the people of Carthage were very willing to less it were by force of tempest: whereason into Italy; if their help were thought need-

den to the Carthaginians. A fecond league It was indeed the main defire of the Carwas made long after, which (howsoever it thaginans, to hold Pyrrhus so hardly to his hath pleased Livy to say, that the Romans work in Italy, that they might at good leithe Romans to have trade in any part of But the Romans were two high-minded:and refuled to accept any tuch aid of their By these two treaties it may appear, that friend, lest it should blemish their reputathe Carthaginians had an intent not only to tion, and make them feem unable to stand keep the Romans (as perhaps they did other by their own strength. Yet the message was people ) from getting any knowledge taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former of the state of Africk; but to counte-league between Rome and Carthage renewed; nance and uphold them, in their troubling with covenants added, concerning the preall Italy, whereby they themselves might sent business; That if either of the two Cihave the better means to occupy all sicil, ties made peace with Pyrrhus, it should be whilest that Island should be destitute of with reservation of liberty, to assist the Italian succours. Hereupon we find good other, in case that Pyrrhus should invade eicause of the joy that was in carthage, ther of their Dominions. All this notwithand of the Crown of gold, weighing twen- standing, and notwithstanding that the same ty and five pound, fent from thence to Rome, Mago went and treated with Pyrrhus, using when the Samnites were overthrown. But all means to found his intentions (a matter the little state of Rome pervailed faster in very difficult, where one upon every new Italy, than the great power of Carthage did occasion, changeth his own purposes ) yet in Sicil. For that mighty army of three hun- Pyrrhus found leifure to make a step into Sidred thousand men, which Hamnibal condu- cil: whether though in fine he was neither ded out of Africk into Sicil, wan only two getter nor faver, yet he clean defeated the Citiss therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempess; and howoever the departure from thence, as far from any end,

the affiftance of their good friends out of from the first undertaking had been so Greece, did at some other time repair their strongly pursued, through the length of maown loses, and take revenge upon those ny generations, might well have induced Invaders. But never were the people of the Carthaginians to believe, that an higher Carthage in better hope of getting all Sicil, providence resisted their intendment. But than when the death of Agathocles the Ty- their defire of winning that fruitful Illand, rant, had left the whole Island in combu- was so inveterate, that with unwearied paflion; the estate of Greece being such, at the tience, they still continued in hope of so fame time, that it seemed impossible for any much the greater an harvest, by how much fuccour to be fent from thence. But whileft their cost and pain therein buried had been the Carthaginians were busie in making their the more. Wherefore they re-continued advantage of this good opportunity; *Pyr*-their former courses; and by force or pra-thus, invited by the *Tarentines* and their clice, recovered in few years all their old fellows, came into Italy, where he made possessions: making peace with Syracuse, the tharp war upon the Romans. These news chief City of the Island, that so they might were unpleafing to the Carthaginians, who, the better enable themselves to deal with

the same busie disposition which had Somewhat before this time, a troop of brought this Prince out of Greece into Italy, Campanian Souldiers, that had served under would as eafily transport him over into Sicil, Agathocles, being entertained within Mefas foon as he could finish his Roman war. To Jana as friends, and finding themselves too Prevent this danger, they fent Mago Embas-Istrong for the Citizens, took advantage of fadour to Rome; who declared in their name, the power that they had to do wrong; and that they were forry to hear what mifad- with perfidious cruelty, flew those that had venture had befallen the Romans their good trusted them; which done, they occupied

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CHAP. I.

whom they had murdered. These Merce-home, and levying an Army of his own Cinaries called themselves Mamertines. Good tizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted Souldiers they were: and like enough it again towards Messana, and was by the Mais, that meer desperation of finding any that mertines ( grown proud by their former s, that meer desperation of intering any their victory over the Mutiners ) incountred in would approve their barbarous treachery, added rage unto their froutness. Haveing therefore not any other colour of their most fignal victory; and leading with him

that they did not only defend Messar resolved to give themselves to the Carthagiagainst the Cities of sicil Confederate, to nians, others to crave assistance of the Rowit, against the Syracusans, and others, but mans: to each of whom the several faction they rather wan upon them; yea, and up-dispatched Embassadors for the very same on the Carthaginians, exacting tribute from purpole. many Neighbour places. But it was not The Carabaginians were foon ready to lay long, ere fortune turned her back to these hold upon the good offer: so that a Cap-Mamertines, the Syracusans wan fast upon tain of theirs got into the Castle of Mesana, them; and finally, confining them within whereof they that had fent for him gave the walls of Alessana, they also with a powerful army besieged the City. It hapned ill, they that were more inclinable to the Rothat about the same time a contention be- mans, had brought their Companions to 6 gan between the Syracufan Souldiers, then good agreement, that this Captain, either lying at Magara, and the Citizens of Syra- by force, or by cunning, was turned out of cufe, and Governours of the Common wealth; doors, and the Town referved for other which proceeded to far, that the Army ele- Masters. cted two Governours among themselves, to These news did much offend the people wit, Artemidorus and Hieron, that was after- of Carthage; who crucified their Captain, ward King. Hieron, being for his years ex- as both a Traitor and Coward 5 and fent a cellently adorned with many vertues, al-Fleet and Army to befiege Meffana, 33 2 thoughit was contrary to the policy of that Town that rebelled, having once been State, to approve any election made by the theirs. Hieron the new-made King of Spra Souldiers; yet for the great clemency used cuse (to gratifie his people incensed with at his first entrance, he was by general con the smart of injuries lately received) added fent established and made Governour. This his forces to the Carthaginians, with whom office he rather used as a Scale, thereby to he entred into a league, for exterminating climb to some higher degree, than rested the Mamerines out of Sicil. So the Mamercontent with his present preserment.

whereby to strengthen himself within the Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the City ; and somewhat without it , that gave Town, whilest Hieron with his Syracufani impediment to his obtaining, and fafe lay before it on the other side. keeping of the place he fought, to wit, a powerful party within the Town, and certain mutinous troops of Souldiers without, the streights of Sicil: which passing by night often and easily moved to sedition and tu- with notable audacity, he put himself into mult. For the first, whereby to strengthen the Town, and sending Messengers to the himself, he took to Wife the daughter of Carthaginians, and to Hieron, required them Leptines , a man of the greatest estimation to depart ; signifying unto them that the and authority among the 5 praculians. For Mamertines were now become confederate the second, leading out the Army to besiege with the people of Rome, and that there Mellana, he quartered all those companies, fore he was come to give them protection, which he held suspected, on the one side of even by force of War, if reason wouldnot the City, and leading the rest of his Horse prevail. and Foot unto the other fide, as if he would and Foot unto the other fide, as if he would have affaulted it in two feveral parts, he footnets began the War between Rome and Carmarched away under the covert of the thage; wherein it will then be time to flew Town walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut on which part was the Justice of the quar-

the City, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those in pieces by the affieged: So returning proceedings, than the law of the stronger, their Commander captive into Syracuse, himthey over-ran all the Country round about felf by common content was elected and faluted King. Hereupon the Mamertines, finding In this course, at first, they speed so well, themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them

tines on all sides were closed up within Mef-In brief, there was somewhat wanting, Sana: the Carthaginians lying with a Navy at

dered.

ø. III.

The beginning of the first Punick war. That it wis unjustly undertaken by the Romans.

bed to Rome, and not only fearing to be they were wont to receive from their feltaken by the Epirot, but much more di-low-thieves. frusting the Carthaginians, as likely to seize The Romans could not suddenly resolve. upon it in that buffetime, fought aid from whether the way of honesty or of profit the Romans, and obtained from them a Le- were to be followed; they evermore pregion, confisting of four thousand fouldi-tended the one, but they many times walked ers, under the conduct of Decius Campanus, in the other. They confidered, how con-

selves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the fure. red to their former liberty and estates.

rell, when some actions of the Romans honourably through all quarters of Isais: lately foregoing this, have been first consi- messengers came to Rome from Messana. defiring help against the Carthaginians, and syracultans, that were in a readiness to inflict the like punishment upon the Mamertines for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the Roman Souldiers, and holpen them with Hen Pyrthus began his war in Italy, joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the the City of Rhegium, being well afte- Judges to give them that atfiftance, which

ers, under the conduct of Details and afforded and afford ter a while, this Roman Garrison, considering ons: seeing for the same offences they had at good leifure, the fact of the Mamertines, lately put to torment, and to the fword. argonomietted in Messana (a City in sicil, situate almost opposite to Rhegium, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, held the description of the Carthaginian Dowhich severeth it from Italy ) and rather minion, and that they were already Lords weighing the greatness of the booty, than of the best part of Africa, of the Mediterran the odiousness of the villary, by which it Islands, of a great part of Spain, and some was gotten; refolved finally, to make the part of Sicil it felf; whilest also they feared, like purchase, by taking the like wick-that syracuse therein seated (a City in beaued courfe. Confederating therefore them- ty and riches, little at that time inferiour to felves with the Mamertines, they en Carthage, and far superiour to Rome it self ) tertained their Hosts of Rhegium, aftertained their Hosts of Rhegium, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, estate spake for these Mamertines: who, if and all which that State had, among them-they (driven to despair by the Romans) should deliver up Mellana, with those other When complaint was made to the Senate holds that they had, into the hands of the and people of Rome, of this outrage; they Carthaginians, then would nothing stand befinding their honour thereby greatly stain-tween Carthage, and the Lordship of Sicilifor ed ( for no Nation in the world made a syracuse it self could not, for want of succor. more severe profession of justice, than they any long time subsist, if once the Carthaginidid during all the time of their growing ans that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten greatness, ) resolved, after a while, to take upon that passage from the main Land. It revenge upon the offenders. And this they was further considered; that the opportuniperformed shortly after, when they had ty of Messana was such, as would not only quenched the fires, kindled in Italy by Pyr- debarr all fuccours out of the continent, rbm. For, not with standing that those Romans from arrival in Sicil; but would serve as a in Rhegium (as men for the foulness of their bridge, whereby the Carthaginians might fact, hopelels of pardon) defended them have entrance into Italy, at their own plea-

end, the affailants forced them; and those These considerations of profit at hand, and which escaped the present fury, were of preventing danger, that threatned from brought bound to Rome, where, after the a-far, did so prevail above all regard of usual torments by whipping inflicted, accord- honesty, that the Mamertines were admiting to the custome of the country, they had ted into Confederacy with the Romans, and their heads stricken from their shoulders, Ap. Claudus the Conful, presently dispatcht and the people of Rhegium were again resto- away for Messana: into which he entred, and undertook the protection of it, as is This execution of Justice being newly shewed before. The besiegers were little performed, and the fame thereof founding troubled with his arrival; and less mo-

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dy to relieve them in their wants; and they Syracuje.

In executing this determination, it was Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay confider of those grounds, whereupon the encamped in fuch fort, as one quarter was Romans entred into this war; not how pronot well able to relieve another in diftres. fitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules Hieron was now exposed to the same dan- of honesty (for questionless the enterprise ger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own was much to their benefit, though as much mutinous followers not long before: only to their shame ) but how allowable in strict he was strong enough (or thought so) to terms of lawfulness; whereupon they built make good his own quarter, without help all their allegations in maintenance thereof others. Against him Ap. Claudius issued of. That the Mamertines did yield themforth, and (not attempting, by unexpected selves, and all that they had, into the Romans fally, to surpise his trenches ) arranged hands (as the Campanes, distressed by the his men in order of battel, wherewith he samnites, had done ) I cannot find : neipresented him. The Syracusan wanted not ther can I find how the messengers of those courage to fight; but surely he wanted good folk, whereof one part had already adadvice: else would he not have hazzarded mitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled all his power against an enemy of whom he to make any such surrendry in the publick had made no trial; when it had been easie, name of all. and as much as was requisite, to defend his If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawown Camp. It may be, that he thought to full furrendry of themselves and their posget honour, wherewith to adorn the begin- seffions, were become subject unto Rome, by ning of his reign. But he was well beaten, what better title could the Romans affilt and driven to fave himself within his tren- the Mamertines, against their most ancient ches: by which loss, he learned a point of friends the Carthaginians, than they might wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in have aided the Campanes against the Samgood ftead all the days of his life. It was nites, without the same condition? which a foolish desire of revenge, that had made was (as they themselves confessed) by none the Syracustans so busie, in helping those of at all. But let it be supposed, that some Carthage, against the Mamertines.

nians, Syracuse it self must have sought help pany of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murdefrom Rome, against those friends which it rers, or such other Malefactors, can by any now fo diligently affifted. Hieron had ( in good fuccess of their villany, obtain the prirespect of those two mighty Cities) but a viledge of civil societies, to make league or small stock, which it behoovesh him to go truce; yea, or to require fair war: butare vern well: fuch another loss would have by all means, as most pernicious vermine, to made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he be rooted out of the world. I will not take quietly brake up his Camp: and retired upon me to maintain that opinion of some home: intending to let them frand to their Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold adventures, that had hope to be gainers by his faith with one of these; it were a Posthe bargain. The next day, Claudius perceiv- tion of ill consequence: This I hold; that ing the Sicilian Army gone, did with great no one Prince or State can give protection to courage, and with much alacrity of his Soul- fuch as these, as long as any other is using the diers, give charge upon the Carthaginians: [word of vengeance against them, without wherein he sped to well, that the enemy for becoming necessary to their crimes. Wherefook both field and camp, leaving all the fore we may efteem this action of the

wed, with his requiring them to defitt from Country open to the Romans; who having their attempt. For they did far exceed him spoiled all round, without resistance, inin number of men; the whole Illand was read tended to lay fiege unto the great City of

were ftrong enough at Sca, to hinder any These prosperous beginnings, howsoever fupply from getting into the Town. All this they animated the Romans, and filled them appine himself well understood: and against with hopes of attaining to greater matters. all this he thought the stiff mettal of his than at the first they had expected : Yet did ant this he thought the metal. There-they not imprint any form of terrour in the form he refulved to iffue out into the field, City of Carthage, that had well enough reand to let the enemies know, that his paired greater losses than this; in which no coming was to fend them away from the more was loft than what had been prepared Town; not to be besieged by them within against the Mamertines alone, without any Sufficion of War from Rome.

point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in Had Messana been taken by the Carthagi- all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no comtheir attempt. For they did far exceed him spoiled all round, without resistance, inin number of men; the whole Illand was reatended to lay flege unto the great City of dy to relieve them in their wants; and they Syracuje. were strong enough at Sca, to hinder any fupply from getting into the Town. All this they animated the Komans, and filled them Appus himfelf well understood; and against with hopes of attaining to greater matters. all this he thought the stiff mettal of his than at the first they had expected : Yet did Roman Souldiers a sufficient remedy. There-they not imprint any form of terrour in the fore he resolved to issue out into the field, City of Carthage, that had well enough reand to let the enemies know, that his paired greater losses than this; in which no coming was to fend them away from the more was loft than what had been prepared Town; not to be belieged by them within against the Mamertines alone, without any

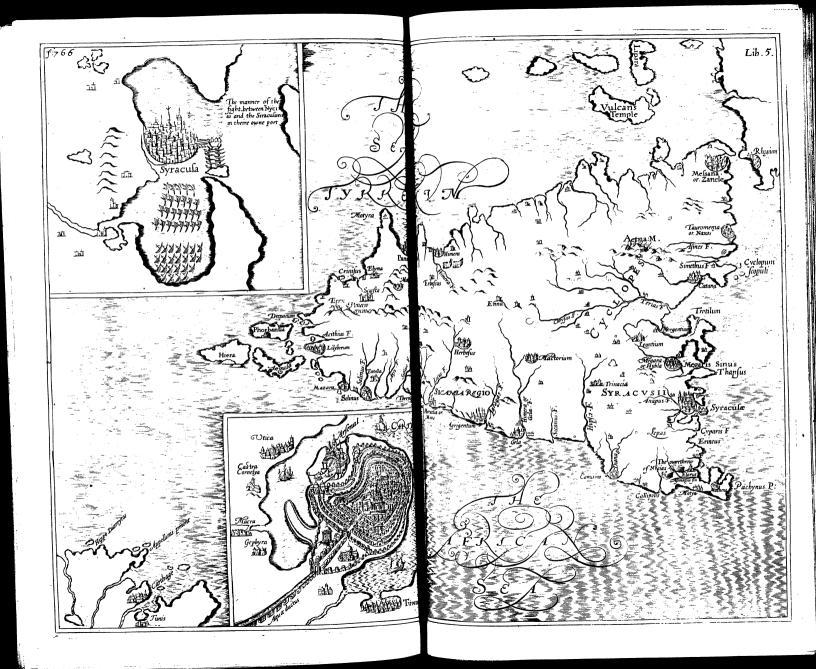
In executing this determination, it was Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to very beneficial to him, that the enemy lay confider of those grounds, whereupon the encamped in such fort, as one quarter was Romans entred into this war; not how pronot well able to relieve another in distress. Stable they were, nor how agreeable to rules Hieron was now exposed to the same dan- of honesty (for questionless the enterprise ger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his own was much to their benefit, though as much mutinous followers not long before: only to their shame ) but how allowable in strict he was ftrong enough (or thought fo) to terms of lawfulness; whereupon they built make good his own quarter, without help all their allegations in maintenance thereof others. Against him Ap. Claudius issued of. That the Mamertines did yield themforth, and (, not attempting, by unexpected felves, and all that they had, into the Romans fally, to surpise his trenches ) arranged hands (as the Campanes, distressed by the his men in order of battel, wherewith he samnites, had done) I cannot find : neipresented him. The Syracusan wanted not ther can I find how the messengers of those courage to fight; but surely he wanted good folk, whereof one part had already adadvice: else would he not have hazzarded mitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled all his power against an enemy of whom he to make any such surrendry in the publick had made no trial; when it had been easie, name of all. and as much as was requisite, to defend his If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawown Camp. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorn the beginfull furrendry of themselves and their posselfions, were become subject unto Rome, by ning of his reign. But he was well beaten, what better title could the Romans affilt and driven to fave himself within his tren- the Mamertines, against their most ancient ches: by which loss, he learned a point of friends the Carthaginians, than they might wisdom, that stood him and his Kingdom in have aided the Campanes against the Samgood stead all the days of his life. It was nites, without the same condition? which a foolish desire of revenge, that had made was (as they themselves confessed) by none the Syracufians fo busie, in helping those of at all. But let it be supposed, that some Carthage, against the Mamertines.

Had Messana been taken by the Carthagi- all Histories. Doubtless it is, that no comnians, Syracufe it self must have sought help pany of Pyrates, Thieves, Out-laws, Murdefrom Rome, against those friends which it rers, or such other Malefactors, can by any now fo diligently affifted. Hieron had ( in good fuccess of their villany, obtain the prirespect of those two mighty Cities) but a viledge of civil societies, to make league or small stock, which it behooveth him to go truce; yea, or to require fair war: butare vern well: fuch another los would have by all means, as most pernicious vernine, to made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he be rooted out of the world. I will not take quietly brake up his Camp: and retired upon me to maintain that opinion of some home: intending to let them stand to their Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold adventures, that had hope to be gainers by his faith with one of these; it were a Postthe bargain. The next day, Claudius perceiv- tion of ill consequence: This I hold; that ing the Sicilian Army gone, did with great no one Prince or State can give protection to courage, and with much alacrity of his Soul- fuch as these, as long as any other is using the diers, give charge upon the Carthaginians: sword of vengeance against them, without

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These prosperous beginnings, howsoever fusicion of War from Rome.

point serving to clear this doubt, is lost in wherein he feed to well, that the enemy for | becoming necessary to their crimes. Wherefook both field and camp, leaving all the fore we may esteem this action of the



hesiegers. The great Alexander was so far tormed as well before and after, as in this perswaded herein; that he did put to sword present War. all the Branchiada (a people in Sogdiana) and razed their City, notwithstanding that they Demie-Isle, adjoyning to Italy, as a part of joyfully entertained him as their Lord and Brutium in Calabria, near unto Rhegium, and King; because they were descended from a afterward by violence of tempett severed company of Milesians, who to gratifie King from the same: it is a general opinion of all Merker, had robbed a Temple, and were by antiquity. But at what certain time this him rewarded with the Town and Country, division happened, there is no memorial reand peaceable possession gives jus acquisum, a kind of right by prescription unto think it to have been done by the rage and that which was first obtained by wicked violence of the tide, and surges of the Sea. means: and doth free the descendants from Either of these opinions may be true; for so the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies was Eubea severed from Beotia; Atalante they do not exercise. But that the same and Marcis from Enbaa; Sillie here in Enggeneration of Thieves, which by a detesta- land, from the cape of Cornwall; and Britble fact hath purchased a rich Town, should tain it felf ( as may feem by Verstigans argubeacknowledged a lawfull company of Ciments) from the opposite continent of Gaule. tizens, there is no shew of right. For even But for Sicil, they which lend their ears to the Conquerer that by open War obtaineth fables, do attribute the cause of it to Neptune a Kingdom, doth not confirm his title, by (as Eustathius witnesseth ) who with his those victories which gave him first possesfion: but length of time is requifite to fon of Holus, divided it from the main land, establish him, unless by some alliance with and so made it an Island, which before was the ancient inheritors, he can better the but a Demie-Isle; that by that means he violence of his claim, as did our King Henry might the more safely inhabit, and possess the the first, by his marriage with Mande, that same. Diodorus Siculus, moved by the auof justice, in this quarrel, than had the opened the Sicilian streights, as Hercules did Gothes , Hunnes , Vandols , and other Na- those of Gibralter. tions, of the Wars that they made upon the They which value the Islands of the mid-Roman Empire, wherein Rome her felf, in land Sea, according to their quantity and the time of her visitation, was burnt to the content, do make this the greatest, as Eu-

> 6. IV. Of the Island of Sicil.

> > †. I.

tants thereof.

Romans to far from being justifiable, by any longer time the hrst victories of Appius pretence of confederacy made with them; Clanding, the objects of the Roman hopes; asthat contrariwise, by admitting this nest but the Dominion of all sicil being the of Murderers and Thieves into their prote- prize, for which Rome and Carthage are fion, they justly deserved to be warred up about to contend: it will be agreeable unon themselves, by the people of sicil; yea, to the order, which in the like cases we although Messana had been taken, and the have observed, to make a brief collection Munertines all flain, e're any news of the ofthings concerning that noble Itland, which Confederacy had been brought unto the have been the stage of many great acts, per-

That Sicil was fometimes a Peninsula, or which these of their posterity enjoyed. Ne- maining in any ancient writer. Strabo, Pliny, Park and vertheless in course of humane justice, long and Dionisius affirm, that it was caused by statility. an earth-quake; Silius and Calfiodorus do

three-torked Mace, in favour of Jocastus, the wasdaughter of Malcolme, King of the Scots, thority of Hesiodus, ascribeth the labour of oren. 1.43 by Margaret, the Neece of Edmund Ironside. Sundring it from Italy, to Orion: who that Diod. 1.6. Wherefore I conclude, that the Romans he might be compared to Hercules ( cutting orid de hadnobetter ground (if they had so good) through the rocks and mountains) first F.f. 4.

stathius and strabe, who affirm this, not only to excell the rest for bigness, but also for goodness of soil. As concerning the form of this Island, Pomponius Mela faith, it is like that Capital letter of the Greek, which they call Delta, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally known to be true. That the whole Island was consecrated The qualitie of the Island: and the first inhabi- to Ceres and Proserpina, all old writers with one consent affirm. To Ceres it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of The defence of the Mamertines, or the fetting and sowing of Corn: to Proserpina, possession of Messana, being now no not so much for that she was from hence violently, Pintarch and Diodorus do report for truth ) was afterward built, were driven by the Pethat Pluto, as foon as she, uncovering her felt, Lagi from their own feats, and finding no first shewed her self to be seen of him, gave place upon the Continent, which they were her the Dominion thereof.

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try, there is a famous tellimony witten by Greeks fent any Colonies thither: and (faith Cierro, in the fecond Oration against Verres, Philiftus eighty years before the fall of Tros. where he faith, that Marcus Cato did call it Thele siculi gave the name of Sicilia, to the the Granary and Store-boule of the Common- Island; and making war upon the Sicani, wealth, and the Nurse of the vulgar fort. The drave them from the East and Northern part fame Cicero doth add in that place; that it thereof, into the West and South. At their was not only the Store-house of the people landing; they first built the City Zancle, of Rome: but also that it was a well-fur- afterward called Messana; and after that, nithed treasure. For without any cost or Catana, Leontine, and Syracuse it self, beating charge of ours (faith he) it hath usually from thence the Etolians, who long before clothed, maintained, and furnished our had set up a Town in that place. As for the greatelt Armies with leather, apparrel and name of Syracuse it was not known, till such greater crimes with reacher, apparent fame time as Archias of Corinth (long after) won thing of it. Whatsoever Sicilie doth yield that part of the Island from the Siculi; (faith Solinss) whether by the fun, and temperature of the air, or by the industry and disposses the Etolians thereof, but some labour of man, it is accounted next unto hundred years after their descent, and after those things that are of best estimation: such time as they had founded the Cities were it not that fuch things as the earth first before named with Nea, Hybla, Trinacria, putteth forth, are extreamly over-grown and divers others. with faffron. Diodorus Siculus faith, that in the fields near unto Leontium, and in divers out of Italy, called Morgetes; who were other places of this Island, wheat doth grow thence driven by the Oenotrians. These sat of it telf without any labour or looking to down in that part of sicil, where they afterof the husbandman. Martianus sheweth, ward raised the Cities of Morgantum, and that there were in it fix Colonies, and fixty Leontium. For at this time the Siculi were Cities: there are that reckon more, where- divided, and by a civil war greatly infee-

That Sicil was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants, Leftrigones, and Cyclopes, barbarous people, and uncivil; all histories that was set up in the Temple of Venus Ergand fables do jointly with one consent averr. cina; which he did with so great Art, as Yet Thue dides faith, that these savage peo- those that beheld it thought it rather to be ple dwelt only in one part of the Island. living, than counterfeit. Afterward the sicani, a people of spain, possessed it. That these sicani were not tertained Dadalus, prepares to invade the bred in the Isle (although some so think) Thucydrides and Diodorns do very constantly rived, Cocalus doubting his own sterngth, avouch.

cani were invaded by the Siculi; who, inha nos by treaton, and perswades the Cretani,

violently taken by Pluto, as because (which biting that part of Latium, whereon Romable to master and inhabit, passed over into Of the fertility and riches of this Coun-this Island, three hundred years before the

After these siculi came another Nation of the names are found scatteringly in many bled. Among these ancient stories, we find the last voyage, and the death of Minos, King Now besides many famous acts, done by of Crete. Thucydides, an historian of unquethe people of this Island, as well in peace as stionable fincerity, reports of Minos, that he War, there be many other things which made conquest of many Islands: and some have made it very renowned, as the birth of fuch business, perhaps, drew him into sicil. Ceres; the ravishing of Proserpina; the Gi- But the common report is, that he came this ant Enceladus; the mount Æina; Seylla and ther in pursuit of Dedalus. The tale goes Charybds, with other antiquities and rari- thus: Dadalus fleeing the revenge of Minos, ties; besides those learned men, the noble came into sicil, to Cocalus, King of the sica-Mathematician, Archimedes; the famous ni, and, during his abode there, he built a Geomatrician, Euclides; the painful Histori- place of great strength, near unto Megara, an Diodorus; and Empedocles, the deep Phi- for Cocalus to lay up his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramin gold,

Now Minos , hearing that Cocalus had en-Territory of Cocalus; but when he was arpromiseth to deliver Dedalus. This he per-Of these it was named Sicania. These Si- forms not, but in the mean while, kills MiGreeks at the fiege thereof.

ges and Messapii.

himself the founder.

their descents, they built the goodly City of from cruelty and oppression. Panormus, now called Palerma.

gan to straggle in those parts.

Lybia and Greece, had Hercules, Orestes, Anta- hundred; from water, to wine and drun-

Afmos his followers, to inhabit a part of St-118, 13phen, and the like; as Denmark had ill; the better (as it feems) to itrengthen Starehaterus, remembred by Sazo Gramma- 106. himself against the Siculi. Hereupon the tiens; as Scylbia, Eritanie, and other Regions centum (their King being dead) gave their had Giants for their first inhabitants: fo this confent, and builded for themselves the City Isle of Sicil had her Leftrigones and Cyclopes. of Minoa after the name of the King Minos. This dicourse I could also reject for fained After, they likewise built the Town of En- and fabulous, did not Aloges make us know, giam, now called Gange: and these were the that the Zamzummins, Emins, Anakims, and first Ciries, built by the Greeks in Sicil, about Og of Basan, with others, which sometime two ages before the war of Iroy; for the inhabited the Mountains and Defarts of grand-children of Minos ferved with the Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the But after such time as the Cretains under-races of Giants; and were it not, that Tertul-

flood, that their King had by treason been lian, St. Augustine, Nicephorus, Procopius, Tatal de made away; they gathered together a great Isladore, Pliny, Diodore, Herodolur, Solinia, Refor. Army, to invade Cocalia: and landing near Plutarch, and many other Authors, have class the unto Camicus, they besieged the same five confirmed the opinion: Yea, Viffutius, in his 65, 10, 52 unto Camicus, they beneged the fame nee confirmed the opinion: 1ea, repairing the niss of the years, but in vain. In the end (being forced fecond Navigation into America, had re- 600, Mag. to return, without any revenge taken) they ported that himself had seen the like men 39.26.37 were rackt on the coaft of Italy, and having in tho'e parts. Again, whereas the felf-fame Proportion no means to repair their ships, nor the holis written of all Nations, that is written of Good, Par. nour they had loft, they made good the any one; as touching their simplicity of life, to your

place whereon they fell, and built Hyria, or their mean fare, their feeding on Acorns and Hyrium, between the two famous Ports of roots, their poor cottages, the covering of Frundusum and Tarentum. Of these Cretans their bodies with the skins of beasts, their came those Nations, afterward called Lapy hunting, their arms, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great Ri-After the taking of Troy, Egeftus and Ely- vers and Arms of the Sea, upon rafts of trees me, brought with them certain troops into tied together; and afterwards their making sicil, and feated themselves among the si- boats first of twigs and leather, then of cani; where they built the Cities of Egefta wood; first with Oars, and then with Sails; that they esteemed as gods, the first finders It is faid, that Anen visited these places out of Arts; as of Husbandry, of Laws, and in his paffage into Italy: and that some of of Policy: it is a matter, that makes me netthe Trojans, his followers, were left behind ther to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For him in these Towns of sicil: whereof there they all lived in the same newness of time, want not good Authors, that make Eneas which we call old time, and had all the same want of his instruction, which ( after the About the same time, the Phenicians seiz- Creator of all things ) hath by degrees ed upon the Promontories of Pachinus, and taught all Mankind. For other teaching Lilybeum, and upon certain small Isles ad-had they none, that were removed far off joyning to the main Island : which they for | from the Hebrews, (who inherited the knowtilied, to secure the trades that they had with ledge of the first Patriarchs) than that from the Silicians; like as the Portugals have done variable effects they began, by time and in the East-India, at Goa, Ormus, Mosambique, degrees, to find out the causes: from whonce and other places. But the Phanicians stayed came Philosophy Natural; as the Moral did not there; for after they had once affured from diforder and confusion; and the Law

But it is certain, that the Age of Time hath These we find, were the Nations that brought forth stranger and more incredible inhabited the Isle of sicil, before the war of things, than the Infancy. For we have now Troy, and ere the Greeks in any numbers be- greater Giants for vice and injustice, than the World had in those dayes, for bodily It may perchance feem strange to the Rea- strength; for cottages, and houses of clay der, that in all ancient stories, he finds one and timber, we have raised Palaces of stones; and the same beginning of Nations, after the we carve them, we paint them, and adorn flood; and that the first planters in all parts them with gold, insomuch as men are rather of the World were said to be mighty and known by their houses, than their houses by Giant-like men; and that, as Phenicia, Agppt, them; we are fallen from two dishes to two

kennefs:

t. II.

The Plantation of the Greeks in Sicil.

longer than the reft, shall overthrow it.

minion of all sicil: it happened, that one fuccess of the Corinthians, did affail, and ob-Theocles, a Greek, being driven upon that tain the City of Leontium, built and poffest Coast by an Easternly wind, and finding by the Siculi. In brief, the Greeks win true the commendations thereof, which had from the Siculi, and their Affociates, the been thought fabulous, being delivered on- Cities of Catana and Hybla, which in holy by Poets, gave information to the Athe-nour of the Megarians that forc't it, they nians of this his discovery, and proposed called Megara. unto them the benefit of this easie Conquest | About five and forty years after Archias offering to become their guide. But Theo- had taken Syracuse; Antiphemus, and Enticles was as little regarded by the Athenians, mus, the one from Rhodes, the other from as Columbus, in our Grand-fathers times, was Crete, brought an Army into Sicil, and built by the English. Wherefore he took the same Gela, whose Citizens, one hundred and eight course that Columbus afterwards did. He years after, did erect that magnificent and over-laboured not himself in perswading renowned City of Agrigentum, governed acthe Noble Athenians ( who thought them- cording to the Laws of the Dorians. planted of Enbarans.

our Western Princes of Europe: For they in the very Centre of the Island. So did the relate, who had no Pope, that should forbid them to Cumani about the same time, recover from teft and occupy the void places of the World. Ar- the Siculi the City of Zancle, which they modiscod chias of Corinth followed the Eubwans, and had founded in the straight between Sicil te Cay of landed in Sicil, near unto that City, called and Italy. They of Zancle, had been the the Goods afterward \* Syracuse : of which, that part founders of Himera. peneticion only was then compassed with a wall, Not long after this, Dorieus the Lacedeme muathe Grecks, Nasos; the Latines, Infula. He ans, and Carthaginians, fearing the neighwith his Corinthians having overcome the bourhood of the Spartans, soon after invadellent

prof, ect rous every entrance, by Land, or Sra. The Port (was for the most part) contineed with beautiful building: and that part which was wathout the Circ, was on both fides bank up, and fusfained with beautiful wills of Marble. The City of it felt was one of the greatest of the World: for of Marble. The Cary of it felt was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in campas (a set stabe reported) without the treble wall charges are: and Zanche was staten by the Massistant at unified and ciphy studies, which make of our miles about eighteen. It was compounded of four Cities (Sarabo sain of sive ) to wit, public, and was the second at the composition of the walls do yet wirech. After such times as the Down of 1.7- the stabes, and Marshies: of which greates the traines and some dations of the walls do yet wirech. After such times as the Down of 1.7- the fixed, and Marshies: The situation of the walls do yet wirech. After such times as the Down of 1.7- the fixed a civen out the Scissions, this goodly Cary for a long time became the feat of Typans. The fist whereof was Gids: The second, 1/2 to the clear. The third, The significant is the sound of the Marshies and younger: The tenth and sist, the systant, who being slum at Leasine's at keight the Admits of the Conduct of Marshies. e d it under the conduct o Marcelles.

kenness from the covering of our bodies Siculi, drave them up into the Country; and with the skins of beasts, not only to filk and after a few years, their multitude increasing. gold, but to the very ikins of men. But to they added unto the City of the Island, that conclude this digression, Time will also take of Acradina, Tyca, and Neapolis. So as well revenge of the excess, which it hath brought by the commodity of the double Port, caforth; Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque pable of as many ships, as any Haven of that auxit, longiffina subruct: Long time brought part of Europe, as by the fertility of the foil. forth, longer time increased it, and a time, syracuse grew up in great hast, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the world. In thort time the Greeks did possess the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the sicilians to withdraw themselves into the fasts and mountanous parts of the Illand, makeing their Royal residence in Trinacria.

When the first Inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dochim, the Chalcidian; encouraged by the

selves to be well enough already ) to their The Syracusans also, in the seventieth own profit; but went to the Chalcidians, that year after their Plantation, did fet up the were needy and industrious, by whom his City of Acra, in the Mountains; and in the project was gladly entertained. By these ninetieth year Casmena, in the Plains adwas built the City of Naxus, and a Colony joyning; and again in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in Syracuse, they But the rest of the Greeks were wifer than built Camerina: and soon after that, Enna,

> ed and ruined, though the same were again erelong re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colony of Me-

t. III.

CHAP. I.

CHAP

Dionyfius his Tyranny.

ercife all manner of Tyranny therein.

the cunning Artificer of a detestable En ter of Thero, who had also usurped the state gine, gave an hollow Bull of Brass, wherein of Agrigentum. to inclosemen, and scorch them to death: oraising the device with this commendation; three Brethren; Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thra-That the noise of one tormented therein, fibring: to the first of which he gave up the should be like unto the bellowing of a Bull. City of Gela, when he had obtained the The Tyrant gave a due reward to the In- Principality of Syracuse. For, after that time, fome matter of conspiracy.

der of Gela : but Cleander having ruled feter succeeded in his room, and greatly afflicted the people of Naxos, of Zancle, of vers others of the ancient Inhabitants, he sicil. forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He against the Siculi, before Hybla.

together with the Cretans, had long before, Nation. among other of the Greeks, feated themselves

the occasion and advantage of a contention in Syracuse, between the Magistrates and of the Government and Affairs of Sicil before the People. For coming with a strong Army to the succour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected THE most part of the Cities in Sicil, him their Prince, being the first. ( and inwere governed by the rule of the deed ) the most famous, that ever governed people, till such time as Phalaris began to the Syracusans. This change happened in Profile. twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to This was that Phalaris, to whom Periller, establish himself, he took to wife the Daugh-

Now this Gelon, the Son of Dinomenes, had venter; by caufing the first tryal to be all his thoughts travelled in the iteraghtemade upon himself. He reigned one and ing, beautifying, and amplifying of Syracuse. thirty years, faith Exsebius; others give He defaced Camerina, that a little before him but fixteen: Howfoever it were, one was fallen from the obedience of the Syracu-Telemachus in the end, fell upon him with fians who built it, and brought the Citizens the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and to Syracuse. The Megarians that had movfoned him to death; being thereto anima- ed a War against him, he overcame; the ted by Zeno, even whilst the Tyrant was tor- richer fort he brought unto Syracuse; and menting the same Zeno, to make him confess the people he fold for flaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like oc-After the death of Phalaris, the Citizens casion. Not long after this, Thero, a Prince recovered their liberty, and enjoyed it long, of the Agrigentines, having dispossest Teriltill There usurped the Government of the Im of his City Himera; the Carthaginians Common-weal: at which time also Panetins | were drawn into the quarrel by Anaxilus. made himself Lord of Leontium; and Clean- Lord of Messena, Father-in-law to Terillus: and Gelon was also solicited by his Fatherven years, was slain by one of the Citizens. in-law, Thero. Gelon was content, and in Chander being dead, his Brother Hippocra- fine, after divers conflicts, the Carthaginians and other Africans, led by Amilcar, were overthrown by Gelon: and an hundred and Hored & Meffena, and of Leontium; whom with di- fifty thousand of them left their bodies in Dies

This Gelon it was, to whom the Athenians also made war with the Syracusians, and, in and Lacedamonians sent for succour, when the end, got from them by composition, the Xerxes with his huge Army past the Helle-City of Camerina. But when he had reign | Spont. He, for their relief having armed thired seven years, he was flain in a Battel ty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred thips, refused nevertheless to fend them into At this time did the Syracufians change Greece, because they refused him the comtheir form of Government, from Popular mand of one of their Armies, either by to driffocratical; a preparation towards a Sea, or Land. So heused to their Embalia-Principality, whereinto it was soon after dours only this Saying, That their Spring was changed. After the death of Hyppocrates, withered; accounting the Army, by him pre-Gelon ( descended from the Rhodians, which pared, to be the very flower of the Greek

The Carthaginians, after this great loss in sicil) that had commanded the forces of received, fearing the invasion of their own Hippocrates, in the former War, with notable Country, fent to Gelon by their Embaffasuccess, became Lord of Gela. He, after his dours, to desire peace, who grants it them Masters death, breaking the trust commit- on these conditions: That from thenceforth ted unto him by Hippocrates over his chil- they should not sacrifice their childrento dren, and being in possession of Gela, took saturn; That they should pay him two

Eeeee

with two armed ships, in lign of amity. These and added it to that of his own, or exalted conditions the Carthaginians, not only wil- himself from being a private man to the lingly accepted, but with the two thousand dignity of a Prince, it behooveth the Succestalents, and the ships for war, they sent unto sour to maintain it by the same way and art. Demarata, Gelons Wife, a Crown, valued at by which it was gotten. an hundred talents of gold, with other pre- To conclude, Spracuse (though not withfents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, out blows, ere that she could cleanse her and fome Natures, are much the better for felf of the creatures and loversof Geion) being well beaten. The wars ended, and Sicil was now again become Mittress of her in peace, Gelon beautified the Temples of felf, and held ner felf free, well-near the gods, and erected others in honour of threescore years, to the time of Dionistus. them. So being exceedingly beloved and though the were in the mean while greatly honoured of his Subjects, he left the world, endangered by a Citizen of her own, called and left for his fuccessor his Brother Hiero. Tindario. Philiflus and Pliny report, That when his bo- Now, to prevent the greatness of any one

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him el to be burnt with him.

man rude, cruel, covetous, and fo suspicious wherein every one wrote upon an Oliveof his Brethren Polyzelus, and Ibrafybulus, as leaf(as at Athens they wrote upon thells) the he fought by all means to deftroy them. name of him, whom he would have expelled Notwithstanding all this, by the conversati-the City. He that had most suffrages against on which he had with Simonides, he became him, was banished for five years. Hereby in of better condition, and greatly delighted a short time, it came to pass that those of with the study of good Arts. Divers quarrels judgement, and best able to govern the Comhe had, as well with Theron of Agrigentum, as mon-weal, were, by the worst able, either with other Cities: all which he shortly af- supprest, or thrust out of the City. Yea, ter compounded, and gave a notable over- fuch as feared this Law, though they had throw to the Carthaginians, whom Xerxes not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as sehad incited to invade Sicil, fearing the fuc- cretly as they could, feeking fome place of cours which Gelon had prepared, to aid the more security, wherein to maintain them-Grecians against him. He also overthrew in selves. And good reason they had so to do; battel Thrassdess, the Son of Theron, and seeing that there is nothing so terrible in thereby reftored the Agricentines to their any State, as a powerful and authorized igformer liberty. But in the end, he loft norance. But this Law lasted not very long. the love of the Syracusans; and after he For their necessity taught them to abolish it, had reigned eleven years, he left the King-dom to his Brother Thraspoulus, who became Government; from which, the Nobility a most unjust and bloody Tyraar. Thraspoulus practised to banish one another, the

his vertue, as they did the Principality of cusans perinted.

Syracuse. For in all changes of Estates, the refervation ought to answer the acquisition whom they had banished, they levy other tion. When a liberal, valiant, and advised troops: by whom, in conclusion, Ducetius

thousand talents of silver, and present him Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory,

by was burnt, according to the cultom of among them, for the future, they devised a that Age, a Dog of his, which alwayes wait-kind of banishment of such among them, as ed cuhim, ran into the fire, and suffered were suspected; taking pattern from the Athenian Oftracifme. They called this their To Geior Hiero his Brother succeeded; a new devised judgement of exile, Petalismus, bulus injoyed his Principality no longer than State became altogether Popular. But aften months. For, notwithstanding the ter a while, being invaded by Ducetius, King force of mercenary Souldiers; which he of the sicilians, that inhabited the inner entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of syracuse by the Citizens; to whom, Enna, and some other of the Grecian Cities, being besieged in Acradina, he restored and overthrown the Army of the Agragenthe Government, and was banished the times ) the Syracusians sent forces against Island. From whence he sailed into Greece, him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen where he died a private man, among the of theirs, called Bolcon. This their Captain made nothing so much haste to find out Du-And now had the Syracusans recovered cetius, against whom he was imployed, as he again their former liberty, as all the rest of did to flee from the Army he led, as soon as the Cities did; after which they had never Ducetius presented him battel. So for want fought, had the Successors of Gelon inherited of conduct, the greatest number of the Syra-

constrained to leave the Island for a time. Yet ly, to help a people of their own Tribe, that it was not long ere he returned again, and craved their succour, being in distress. The built the City Collatina on the Sea-fide.

did in a fort acknowledge Syracuse, Trina- ed their intent to be none other, than the cris excepted; which also by force of Arms, Conquest of the whole Island. Yet they in the fourfcore and fifth Olympiad, they which had called them in, were so blinded

brought to reason.

CHAP. I.

perintendency. For the Citizens of Leon- ed unto them a Fleet and Army, far greatium, being opprest by them, seek aid from ter, than the terrible report of same had the Athenians, about the fixth year of the made it. Peloponnesian War. In this fuit they prevailed by the eloquence of Gorgias their Ora- engaged all her power; as regarding not ontor; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies ly the greatness of the enterprise, but the to succour them, under the leading of La- necessity of finishing it in a short space of ches, and Charwodes. To this Fleet, the Leon- time. For the Lacedamonians (as hath altines, and their Partners, added one hundred ready been shewed in due place) stood at more; with which forces, and with some that time in such broken terms of peace supplies brought by Sophocles, Pythodorns, with Athens, as differed not much from open Eurymedon, and other Athenian Captains, War. Wherefore it was thought necessary. they invaded the Territories of the Syracu either to spare cost in this great Expedition. fant, and their Partisans; wan and lost di- or altogether to forbear it: which was likeout the advice of the Athenians, came to honour. an accord with the Syracusans, and were Of this business, mention hath been alknew not how to amend; but (according to a great conversion. the custom of popular Estates ) by taking Though Alcibiades had prevailed against tevenge upon their own Commanders. So Nicias, in exhorting the people to this great after this, followed the most memorable the chief Commanders therein.

being beaten, submitteth himself, and is end, than that which they pretended name-Athenians scarce knew what to pretend : for Ducetius being dead; all the Greek Cities their preparations were fo great, as discoverwith their own passions, that they would But they do not long enjoy this their Su- not believe their own eyes; which present-

In this expedition, the City of Athens had yers places; took Messara; and, in the se-venth year of the Peloponnessan War, lost it proceedings were slack abroad. And surely, again. They also at the same time attempted had not the desire of the Athenians been Hymera, but in vain. The fire of this quar- over-passionate, the arguments of Nicius had reltook hold upon many Cities, which did caufed them to abstain from fo chargeable a invade each others Territory with great business, and to reserve their forces for a violence. But when they had wearied more needful use. But young counsels prethemselves on all hands, and yet could see vailed against the authority of ancient men. none issue of the War, the Leontines, with- that were more regardful of safety than of

admitted into their fociety, with equal free- ready made, in that which we have written dom. So the Athenians, who hoped to of the Peloponnesian War. But what was there have greatned themselves in sicil, by the di- delivered in general terms, as not concernvision and civil War, were disappointed of ing the affairs of Greece, otherwise than by their expectation, by the good agreement of consequence, doth in this place require a the Sicilians, and fain to be gone with the more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein broken remainder of their Fleet. This they the whole State of sicil was like to have felt

they banished Pythodorus, and Sophocles, and voyage; yet Nicias, together with Alcibiades laid anheavy fine upon Eurymedon. Shortly and Lamachus, was appointed to be one of

War, that ever was made by the Greeks in Si-cil. which was that of the Athenians, against well to succour the Segestans, and to rethe Selinuntines and Syracusians, in favour establish the Leontines, cast out of their plaof the Cities of Egelta, Leontium, and Catana. ces by the Syracustans; as also by torce of They of selinus had oppress the Egestians, Arms, to subject the syracustans, and all their and they of syracuse the Leontines, and the adherents in sicil, and compel them by tri-Catamans: which was the ground of the bute, to acknowledge the Athenians for their War. For the Athenians undertook the supream Lords. To effect which, the for :protection of their old friends: and, in ha named Captains were fent off, with an huntred of the Athenians, aid from Laceda- dred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand mon was fent to the Syracustans. The Laceda- one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty monians dealt plainly, having none other ships of burden, which transported their Eeeee 2 victuals, the War: and these were Athenians, Manti-the Athenians, wanting horse, could not purneans, Rhodians, and Candians: there were, fue their victory to any great effect. They besides these, fix thousand Megarians light- then retire themselves, with a resolution to armed, with thirty horsemen.

Thorse, at Rhegium, where the Rhegians refuse to upon Messana, hoping to have taken it by a give them entry; but sell them victuals for intelligence, but in vain. For Alcibiades had their mony. From thence they fent to the discovered such as were Traitors within the Egestans, to know what treasure they would City to the Messenians. This he now did in eggrans, to know what treatmet they had contribute towards the war, feeing for their delpight of his own Citizens, the Athenians; because they had recalled him from his comfakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these Egestians mand, with a purpose either to have put were poor, and that they had abused the him to death, or to have banished him: Athenian Embassadours with false thews of whereof being assured by his friends, he gold, having in all but 30 talents. The Airestook his way towards the Lacedemonians, nians further were discouraged, when they and to them he gave mischievous counsel found that the Ringians, their ancient against his Country. While this winter ver friends, and allied unto the Leantines, re-laited, the syraculans fend Embassadors to fused to trust them within their Walls. Lacedamon, and Corinth, for aid : as likewise Hereupon Niciss adviseth to depart towards the A.henian Captains in Sicil, fend to Athen the selmuntines, and to force them, or per- for supplies. Which both the one and the fwade them to an agreement with the Ego. flans; as likewise to see what disourtements the Egestans could make ; and so return again into Greice, and not to walte Athens in a needless war. Alcibi. ba, on the some fide, would from the Port of Catana to Megara, forfaken folicite the Cities of sicil to confederacy against the Syrambers and Selleunienes whereby to force them unto restitution of all that they had taken from the Leontines. Lamachus he perswades them to aitail Syra- of two hundred men at arms, but without cufe it felf, before it were prepared against horse, which they hoped to furnish in the them. But in the end (being excluded out of Island from the Segeffans, and other their divers Cities) they surprise Catana: and there adherents: they were also strengthned with they take new counsel how to proceed. a company of Archers, and with three hun-Thence they imployed Nicias to those of dred talents in monv. Egesta, who received from them thirty talents towards his charges; and one hundred near syracuse, upon the banks of the great and twenty talents more there were of the Port, repelling the Syracujans, that fallyed spoils they had gotten in the Island. Thus the to impeach their intrenchments. They also Summer being ipent in idle consultations, received from their Confederates four hunand vain attempts, the Athenians prepare to dred horse-men, with two hundred other affail Syracufe. But Alcibiades having been horse, to mount their men at arms. Syracuse accused at home, in his absence, was sent for was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any back by the Athenians to make his answer: succours could enter, but such as were able and the Army was left to the conduct of Ni to force their passage: yet the Athenians cias and Lamachus. These Commanders ob- receive divers losses; among which it was tain a landing place very near unto syracuse, not the least, that Lamachus, one of their

by this device. They imploy to Syracuse an inhabitant of Catana, whom they truft; and instruct him, to promise unto the syracusans, that he would deliver into their hands all the Athenians within Catana. Hereupon the Syracustans draw thither ward with their best forces, these and his own troops, Gylippus adven-But in the mean while, the Athenians, fetting tured to march over-land toward Syracufe. fail from Catana, arrive at syracuse, where The Syracustans fend a part of their forcesto they land at fair ease, and fortific themselves meet him and conduct him. The Athenians against the Town. Shortly after this, they prepare to encounter them, expecting his

victuals, engines, and other munitions for fight, and the syracustans had the loss: but refresh their Army at Catana, for the winter-With these troops and fleets they arrive season. From thence they made an attemor other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the Peloponnesian war ) the Athenians in Sicil fail of the Inhabitants; from whence, forraging the Country, they obtain some small victories over the stragling Syracusians: and at their return to Catana, they receive a supply

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp best Commanders, was slain.

In the mean while, Gylippus and Python, with the Lacedemonian and Corinthian forces, arrive, and take land at Hymera. The Citizens of Hymera, and of Gela, together with the Selinuntines, joyn with them ; fo that with the Spring following.

to succour Nicios, the other Cylippus. The loss substitting by being at large, the other by between them was in effect equal; and nei-close imbattailing. ther so broken, but that each of them profe-

Whatsoever Nicias his intelligence was so cond time, intangled and arrested. To disorupon the arrival of a new supply into the der also those Athenian Gallies, which came

arrival near unto the City upon a place of Town, the Athenians had all confented to arrival near that the first encounter they had depart, and to lodge at Catana: had not an advantage. At the first encounter they had depart, and to lodge at Catana: advantage of their enemies, by reason that Eclipse of the Moon, boding (as was thought) the Spraculum horse-men could not come to ill success caused them to deferr their defight in those straights: but soon after, Gy parture. But this superstition cost them dear ngut in the dear in the syracufians, Lacedamonians, and for the Syracufians, Lacedamonians, and constrained Nicias to fortifie himself within Corinthians, with three core and seventeen his Camp. Whereupon Nicias made the fail of Gallies, entred the great Port of sythate of his affairs known, by his letters to racuse, wherein the Athenians kept their the Athenians; shewing, that without great fleet, and whereon they had fortified them-Sea and Land, the enterprise selves. The Athenians in the same Port enwould be lost, together with the small Army countred them with fourscore and fix Galremaining. These letters received, the Athelies, commanded by Eurymedon: in which nians appoint two other Generals, Euryme- the Athenian fleet was beaten, by the lefter don and Demosthenes, to joyn with Nicios: number, and Eurymedon slain. Now, though it the one they dispatch presently with some were so, that the Syracusans received the supplies; the other they send after him in more loss by land (for the fight was general) yet when the Athenians were beaten by fea, In the mean while, Gylippus at Syracufe, in which kind they thought themselves infights with the Athenians both by Sea and vincible, they were wonderfully cast down. Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times For it was well faid of Gylippus, to the Strawith good fuccess: but in conclusion, he cuitans; When any people do find themselves took from their Fort, near unto Syracuse, the vanguished in that manner of fight, and with Promontory called Plymmyrium; wherein those weapons, in which they persuade themthe Athenians lost their treasure, and a great Jelves that they exceed all others, they not only part of all their provisions. Notwithstand- lose their reputation, but their courage. The ing which loss, and that the Athenians them- Athenians, besides the Gallies sunk and felves, in Greece, were ( in effect ) besieged wrackt, had seventeen taken, and possess by within Athens, by the Lacedemonians; yet the enemy: and with great labour and loss were they most obstinate in prosecuting the were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in sicil, and dispatched away Demo having drawn them within a Palifado, in one fibenes with new succours. Demosthenes, in corner of the port, unadvisedly: for it is as his way towards sicil, encountred with Po- contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a lianthes the Corinthian, with his fleet: both straight room and corner, as it is to scatter the Captains being bound for sicil, the one foot in a plain field against horse; the one

The Syracustans, having now weakned the cuted the enterprise they had in hand, But Athenian fleet , resolve to imprison them before the fuccours arrived to either, Gylip. within the Port. And to that purpote they pus and Ariston had assailed the Athenians in range all their Gallies in the mouth of the the great Port of Syracuje, and in a Sea fight Haven, being about a mile over, and there putthem to the worst, to the great discou- they came to Anchor; filling the out-let ragement of the Athenians. On the neck of with all manner of Veffels; which they man this, Demosthenes arrived with threescore most strongly, because the Athenians, being and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmeen; now made desperate, should not with douand (blaming the floath of Nicias) he invadible ranks of Gallies break through the Syraed the Syracustans the same day that he arrived. But he made more haste than he had they were forc't to range themselves over all good speed, being shamefully beaten, and the Out-let of the Port. They therefore repulfed with great los. Hereupon Demo- not only mored themselves strongly by their fibenes and Furzmedon determine to rife up Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gal-from before syracuse, and return to the lies together, and lay behind them again fuccour of Athens: but Nicias disputed to certain ships, which served in the former war the contrary, pretending that he had good for victuallers: to the end, that if any of intelligence within syracuse, whereby he their Gallies were sunk; or the chain, which learned, that the Town could not long hold joyned them to their fellows, broken; the Athenians might yet find themselves a se-

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and force a passage, the syraculans had left ill counsel. For, as we have heard of many within these Gallies and Ships, inchained to- great Captains (yea, the greatest number of gether, a certain number of loofe ones, to all that have been victorious ) that have Itop their course and fury. For where the neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten way of any vetlel, uting oar or fails, is broken, enemy; fo might we produce many examand their speed foreslowed, they cannot ples of those, who having slept securely in force with any weight and violence, the the bosome of good fuccess, have been sud-

reliftance oppoling.

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that they were utterly loft, except with an again all the honour and advantage formerinvincible resolution they could make their ly gotten. But Nicias oppoleth the advice way, and break down this great bridge of of Demosthenes: Others lay, that the Seaboats; or (at least) force a passage through men were against it. Whereupon abandonthem in some part or other : which they re- ing their Gallies, they all resolve to march folve to hazard, with all their shipping (to over land to the Cities of their Confedethe number of one hundred and ten or all rates, till some more favourable fortune forts ) and with all the freeigh of their should call them thence. On the other fide, Land-army, in them imbarqued. But the Gylippus, and other the Lacedemohian and Gallies, which were within the bridge of Corinthian Captains, with Hermocrates, exboats, did so disorder the Atlanianticet, ere hort the Syracusians to put themselves prethey came to force the bridge, as albeit fome fently into the field, and to ftop all thepaffew of themhad broken through the chains, fages, leading to those Cities of their enevet being stopt with the ships without, and mies, to which the Athenians might make affailed by other loofe Gallies of the Syracu- retrait. But many were weary, and many fiant, which were purposely left at large in were wounded, and many of them thought the sea, they were either taken or sunk. that they had done enough for the present. Three great disadvantages the Athenians | Which humour in some of our Commanders had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, at Cadez, lost us both the Indian fleet, and and (as it were ) in a straight, they had no the spoils of many other neighbour places. room to turn themselves, nor to free them- Hermocrates, the Syracusian, finding it a lost selves one from another, being intangled; labour, to perswade his Countrymen to any the second, that having overpestered their hasty prosecution, devised this good strata-Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive gem, whereby to gain time; not doubting, arms of darts and flings. they had not place but that after a day or two, he should draw upon the decks to stretch their arms; the them willingly out. He sent two or three third was, the discomfortable end for which horse-men out of syracuse by night, willing they fought, namely, to force a passage, by them to find Nicias, and ( after they had which they might fave themselvs by running affured him, that they were of the Athenians away. To be thort, the fight was no less faction ) to give him advice not to march terrible than the confusion: the slaughter away over-hastily from the place, wherein great on all fides; and the noise, and the he was fortified; alledging that the Syracryes, fo lowd and lamentable, as that no custans had lodged their Army, which could direction could be heard. But in the end, not long stay there, upon the passages and the Athenians, as many as survived, were places of advantage, leading towards the beaten back to the Land, with loss of three- Cities of their Allies. These tidings Nicios score of their Gallies, broken, sunk, or aban easily believed, and put off his journey to doned. The syracusans did also lose twenty the third day. For men newly beaten, are of theirs, with Python, Commander of the (for the most part) more fearful than wise; Corintbians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselves into the bottom of the pears, by night, a man at arms. Port, faved themselves by the help and countenance of the Land-army there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian pierced and pursued with the lamentable Commanders go to counsel. Demostinenes out-cryes of those that were sick and hurt: perswades them to furnish with fresh Soul- whom they abandon to the cure of their

on in form of a wedge, to break through, the Port, to return to Athens. This was no denly awaked, by the re-allied Companies On the other fide, the Athenians knew of a broken Army, and have thereby loft and to them, every thiftle in the field ap-

The third day ( leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage ) they remove; being diers those few Gallies which remained ; nemics swords. The rest march away, to the and while the syracufians were triumphing, number of forty thousand; and maketheir and made iccure by their present victory, to lirst passage by force, over the River of Anafet upon them, and forcing their way out of pus, notwithstanding the opposition of their

But being every day charged in their | ty, as their vaffals. The Carthaginians, though ers to be starved in loathsome prisons; and buried them there. the rest, sold for slaves. This was the suc-Olympiad.

whom they offered themselves, and their Ci- ster fort within syracuse were forry tor their

marches, and by the Syracusian horse-men, ambitious enough of enlarging their Domiheaten in from forraging and provision of nion in sicil, yet considering the prosperity food, they grow weak and hearcless. The of the syracustans, and their late victories Sortenstans also possess the Mountain Lepas, over the Athenians, they stayed a while to be which they were to pass towards Came- dispute of the matter, whether they should and thereby force them to fall back refuse or accept the offer made unto them: again towards the Sea-coast, and to take for the selimintines were straightly allied to what way they could : being unable to the syracuftans, as may appear by what is proceed in their journey intended. Many past. In the end the Senators of Carthage rehard shifts they made, in difficult passages, solve upon the enterprise; and (by a trick of and blind marches by night; which they their Punick wit ) to separate the Syracusans were fain to endure, as having none other from the selinuntines, they fend Embassameans to escape from the enemy that pur- dors to syracuse: praying that C ty, as in used them, and held them waking with con the behalf of the Egestans, to comp. Il the Setinual skirmishing. To keep all in order, limintines to take reason, and to rest content Nition undertook the leading of the Vaunt- with fo much of the lands in quaftion, as quard; and Demosthenes conducted the Rear. they of syracuse should think meet to allow At the River Erineus, Nicias takes the start them. The Syracusans approved the motiof a whole nights march; leaving Demost- on; for it tended to their own honor. But henes to make the retreat: who being incom- the Selinuntines would make no such appaffed, and overprest with numbers, in the pointment : rather they took it ill, that the end renders himself. The conditions he ob Syracustans, with whom they had run one tained, were far better than he could have course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should hoped for ; and the faith of his enemies offer to trouble them, by interpoling as Arfar worse than he suspected. For he was bitrators, in abusiness that themselves could afterward, with Nicias murdered in prison. end by force. This was right as the Carthagi-The Army of Demostheres being dissolved, nians would have it. For now could they of they purfued Nicias with the greater cou- selinus with an ill grace crave aid of \$37rarage; who being utterly broken upon the paf- cufe; and the Syracusans as ill grant it unto face of the River Assirarus, rendred himself those, that had refused to stand to the Arto Galippus, upon honest conditions. Gylippus bitrament, which the Carthaginians would fought to preferve him, and to have had have put into their hands. Hereupon, an the honour to have brought these two to Army of three hundred thousand men is set Sparta; Nicias, as a noble Enemy to the out from Carthage, under the conduct of Lacedemonians, and who, at the overthrow Hannibal, Nephew to that Amilear, who ( as which they received at Pylus by the Athe- you have heard before ) was overthrown nians, had faved the lives of the vanquish- with the great Carthaginian Army at Himera ed, Demosthenes, as one that had done to by Gelon. Hannibal was exceeding greedy of Lacedamon the greatest hurt. Hermocrates this imployment, that he might take revenge alfo, the Commander of the syracular Army as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; diffwaded the rest, by all the art he had, the one of them having been sain by the Hifrom using any barbarous violence, after so merans, the other by those of selinus. Both noble a victory. But the cruel and cow- the Cities, Hannibal, in this war, won by force ardly fort, (cowardife and cruelty be- of arms, fackt them, and burnt them; and ing inseparable passions) prevailed, and having taken three thousand of the Himecaused these brave Captains to be misera- rans prisoners, he caused them to be led unbly murdered; one part of their Souldi- to the place, where Amilear was flain, and

After this followed some trouble at Syracels of the Sicilian war: which took end at cufe, occasioned by the banishment of Hermothe River Assimarus, the four and twentieth crates, who had lately been General of the day of May, in the fourscore and eleventh syracusian forces, against the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had so far prevailed The Athenians being beaten out of Sicil; with the ingrateful multitude, that he was the Egeftans ( for whose defence against the condemned to exile for his meer vertue, Selinuntines, this late war had been taken at fuch a time as he was aiding the Lacedain hand ) fearing the victorious Syracusans, monians, in their war against Athens : fought help from the Carthaginians; to wherein he did great service. All the hone-

injury done unto him, and fought to have ans, grew from his acculation of the princihim repealed. Hermocrates himself, return- pal men. It is the delight of base people to ing into Sicil, gathered an Army of tix reign over their betters: wherefore, gladly thousand; with which he began to repair did he help them to break down, as fetters Selinus; and by many noble actions labou- imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held red to win the love of his Civizens. But it under fafe custody. Long it was not, ere the faction that opposed him was the stron- the chief Citizens had found whereat he ger. Wherefore he was advised to seize aimed. But what they saw, the people would upon a Gate of Syracuse, with some strength not see: and some that were needy, and knew of men; whereby his friends within the not how to get Offices without his help, were Town, might have the better means to willing to help him, though they knew his rife against the adverse party. This he purposes to be such, as would make all the did : but presently the multitude fell to City to smart. He began early to hunt afarms, and fet upon him; in which con- ter the tyranny; being but five and twenty flict he was flain. But his Son-in-law, Diomyling, shall make them wish Hermocrates was his delire to reign long. His first work, alive again.

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# t. I V.

Of Dionysius the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracule.

"He Syracusians had enjoyed their lideath of Thrasybulus, to the death of Hermocrates: at which time Dionylius was raif- some neighbour-towns, bound unto him, ed up by God, to take revenge, as well of either for his help in war, or for establishing their cruelty toward strangers, as of their the faction, reigning at that present; were ingratitude towards their own best Citi- wholly affected to his affistance. Having zens. For before the time of Diony [ins, they | therefore gotten the Citadel into his had made it their pastime, to reward the hands, he needed no more, save to assure vertue of their worthiest Commanders with what he had already. He strengthened himdeath, or diffrace : which custom they felf by divers marriages; taking first to wife must now be taught to amend.

Syracuse, by the same degrees, that many by whom he had Dionystus, his Successor; others, before him, had made themselves the other, Aristomache, the daughter of Hipmasters of other Cities, and of syracuse it felt. parinus, and fifter to Dion, honourable men For, being made Prator, and commanding in Syracuje; which bare unto himmany chiltheir Armies against the Carthaginians, and dren, that served to fortifie him with new other their enemies, he behaved himself so alliances. well, that he got a general love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to racusans (envying his prosperity) incited the tollow the example of Pilistratus, that made | multitude, and took arms against him, even himself Lord of Athens; obtaining a band in the novelty of his Rule. But their enof fix hundred men, to defend his person : terprise was more passionately, than wisely under pretence, that his private enemies, be- governed. He had shamefully been beaten ing traiteroully affected to the State of sy. by the Carthaginians at Gela: which, as it racuse, had laid plots how to murder him, vexed the sicilian men at arms, making because of his good services. He doubled the them suspect that it was his purpose to let pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would the Carthaginians waste all that he might

years of age when he obtained it : belike it of making himself absolute Lord in Syracuse. was, the possession of the Citadel, wherein was much good provision, and under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people, and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himself without all shame or fear. The Army the chief Citizens restored by him frombaberty about threescore years, from the nishment; all the needy fort within Syracuse, that could not thrive by honest courses; and the daughter of Hermocrates; and after Dionysius obtained the principality of her, two at once; the one a Locrian, Dorn,

Yet it was not long, ere some of the syincourage them to fight manfully: but in- afterwards take possession of the desolate tending thereby to affure them to him- places; fo it inflamed them with a defireto felf. He perswaded the Citizens, to free themselves from his tyranny. They decall home, out of exile, those that had parted therefore from him, and marched habeen banished, which were the best men of stilly to Syracuse, where they found friends Syracuje; and these were afterwards at his to help them: there they forced his Palace, devotion, as obliged unto him by sogreat a ransacked his treasures, and so shamefully beneat. His first favour, among the syracust abused his wife, that for the griefthereof she noisoped her felf. cruell.

fures, and his Guards.

But he followed their to the fword; but before Egelfa he loft a heels apace; and firing a Gate of the great part of his Army, by a fally of the City by night, entred foon enough to take Citizens. In the mean while Himileo arrives revenge, by making a speedy riddance of but, ere he took land, he lost in a fight at them. For he spared none of his known, Sea, with Leptines, fitty thips of war, and no nor of his suspected enemies. After five thousand Souldiers, belides many thirs that, he grew fodoubtful of his life, as he of burden. This not with standing, he recovenever durst trust Barber to trim him, nor red again Motya upon his first descent. From any person, no not so much as his brother, thence marching towards Messana, he took to enter into his chamber, unstript and Lypara, and ( soon after ) Messana, and fearched. He was the greatest Robber razed it to the ground. Now began Dionysiof the people that ever reigned in any w greatly to doubt his estate. He therefore State, and withall the most unrespectively fortified all the places he could, in the Territory of the Leontines, by which he suppo-After this, he separated with fortification sed that Himileo would pass toward Syrathat part of the City, called the Island, from cufe; and he himself took the field again, the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Cita- with four and thirty thousand foot; and del of Antwerp: thereinhe lodged his Trea- one thousand horse. Now, hearing that His mileo had divided his Army into two parts, He then began to make war upon the marching with the one half over-land, and free Cities of Sicil: but while he lay before fending Mago with the other by Sea : he fent Herbesse, an in-land Town, the Syracustans Leptines, his brother to encounter Mago. rebelled against him; so, as with great dif- But Leptines was utterly beaten by the ficulty he recovered his Citadel: from Carthaginians; twenty thousand of his men whence, having allured the old Souldiers of were flain, and an hundred of his Gallies the Companions, who forced their passage lost. It is very strange, and hardly credithrough the City, with one thousand and ble, which yet good Authors tell us; That two hundred horse, he again recovered the one City should be able to furnish five hunmastery over the Syraculians, And when a dred sail of ships, and two hundred Gallies: multitude of them were busied in gathering (for, so many did Syracuse arm in this war) intheir harvest, he disarmed all the Towns- and more strange it is, that in a battail at men remaining, and new strengthened the Sea, without any great Artillery, or Mus-Fort of the Illand, with a double wall. He ket-shot, twenty thousand should be slain inclosed that part also, called Epipoles; which, in one fight. In all our fights against the with threescore thousand labourers, he fini- Turks, of which that at Lepanto was the flied within three weeks, being two leagues most notable, we hear of no such numin compass. He then built two hundred new ber lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, Gallies ; and repaired one hundred and ten that ever happened in our age, nor before of the old; forged one hundred and forty us. When Charls the fifth went to beliege thousand Targets, with as many swords, and Algier, he had in all his fleet, transporhead-pieces, with fourteen thousand cor-ters and others, but two hundred and fifflets, and all other futable arms. Which done, ty fail of thips, and threefcore and five hesent word to the Cathaginians (greatly Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, infeebled by the plague ) That except they he fought help from all the Cities and would abandon the Greek Towns, which ports of spain, Naples, and the rest of Itathey held in Sicil, he would make war upon ly. But in old times it was the manner to them: and, not staying for answer, he took carry into the field, upon extremity, as mathe spoil of all the Phanician ships, and my as were needfull, of all that could bear merchandize, within his Ports; as King arms, giving them little wages, or other Philip the second did of our English, be- allowance: in our dayesit is not so; neither fore the war in our late Queens time. He indeed, is it often requisite. Upon this overthen goes to the field with fourfcore thou- throw, Dionystus posts away to Syracuse, to fand foot, and three thousand horse, and strengthen it: Hamilto follows him, and befends his brother Leptines to fea, with fliegeth the Town by Land and Sea. But the two hundred Gallies, and five hundred Tyrant, having received aid from the Lacethips of burden. Most of the Towns demonians, under the conduct of Pharacidas. which held for Carthage yielded unto puts himself to Sea, to make provision for his him; saving Panormis, Segest or Egesta, Citizens, who, in his absence, take twenty Ancyre, Motya, and Entella. Of these, he first of the Carthaginian Gallies, and sink four. wan Motya by affault, and put all therein Hereupon, finding their own fuccess pro-Fffff

CHAP.

and to violent among the Carthagenians, as diers. of them died thereof. He therefore, with the victories there, brought the Rhegians on power that he could gather together, lets up their knees, forced them to pay him one on them both by Sea and Land; and having hundred and fourfcore thousand crowns, to llain great numbers of them, forceth Himileo furnish him with threescore Gallies, and put to delire peace. This peace Dionysius fold him in an hundred pledges for affurance of their to delire peace. This peace Dionylus iola nim in an nundrea pieages, for atturance of their for fogreat furmof money; on condition, that he should steal away with his Carthogic did, not with any purpose to perform unto them the peace that they had so dearly traying the rest of the Africans and Spaniards. Yet no faithwas kept with him: for their Galleys, he might be fiege them, and he was pursued, and left many of his Cartha-ginians behind him. The rest of the Afrir Now to the end he might not, without some cans fell under the swords of their enemies ; colour, fallifie the faith that he had given only the Spaniards, after they had a while to them; he pretended to want victual for bravely defended themselves, were (after their tubmission) entertained, and served to depart out of staff, and sent to them to May fuch examples of perfidious deal them the like quantity at his coming home the Conquerour.

ing I have noted in other places, and can to Syracufe. hardly forbear to deliver unto memory the | His resolution was, that if they resuled to like practices, when they meet with their furnish him, he would then make their refumatches: That which hapned unto Monfieur fal the cause of his quarrel: if they yieldde Files, was very sutable to this treachery, ed to aid him with the proportion which he wherewith Dionysius pursued Himileo, I was defired, that then they should not be able, prefent when De Files related the injury for want of food, to endure a siege any long done unto him. He had rendred S. John d'Andrew S. John gene to me reach Ming dans lat. A poor pro-freged him therein. He rendred it, upon pro-mite made by the faith of a King, that he flould be fuffered to depart in fafety, with out breach of faith. For when in the begin all his followers. Yet in presence of the ning of his reign, he defired them to bellow King himfelf, of the Duke of Anjon his Bro- a daughter of some of their Nobility upon ther, General of his Army, of the Queen him for a wife; they answered, that they Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals had not any one fit for him, save the Hangof France, he was fet upon and broken in mans daughter. Princes do rather pardon ill his March; spoiled of all that he had, and deeds, than villanous words. Alexander forced to fave his life by flight; leaving the the great forgave many tharp fwords, but most of his Souldiers dead upon the place; never any sharp tongues; no, though they the Kings hand and faith warranting him told him but truly of his errors. And to march away with enfigns difplaid and extrainly it belongs to those that have withall his goods and provisions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore feem ces; and to none elfe, especially in pubstrange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus lickbreak his faith, lince Kings, professing Chri-ftianity, are bold to do the like, or command had his heart more inflamed against the their Captains to do it for them.

care to re-edific Messon who flayed Amiens, than for his confpiracy with the spein Sicil, to hold up the Carthaginians there niard or Savojan: for he had pardoned in, is again beaten by Dionyfius; who is al- 10000. of fuch as had gone farther, & drawn The contemporation for beaten by the Tauro mentans. A new fup-their swords against him. The contemporation

specious, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ply of fourfcore thousand Souldiers is sent ill, having also at the present weapons in from Carthage to Mago, but these take eggs their hands, they confult how to recover for their money, and make peace with Diotheir nanos, they commit now to recover their fiberty. And this they had done, had ny fut, leaving the Sicilians in Tawroment Phariculas the Laced amonian resisted ninn, to shift for themselves: whom them. It also fell out to his exceeding ad- Dionylus, after a long fiege, overcame, vantage, that the plague was fo increased, and gave their City to the mercenary Soulit is said, that above an hundred thousand He then past into Italy, obtained divers

furnish him therewith, promising to return

Duke of Biron, for his over-bold and biting Dionysius after this great victory, took taunts, that he used against him before Priest produced against him. So fared it riched. with fome other, greater than he, that toon after.

bread from old. He affaulted their Town to his eldeft fon, and her half-brother Dionron all fides, which he continued to do fins; the younger, called Areta, he bestowed eleven moneths, till he won it by force. on his Brother Theorides: after whose death He used his victory without mercy, spe- Dion took her to wife, being his Neece, cially against Phyton, who had commanded within it.

and Adverfity, as all Kings and States do.

afaithless; a great Poet, but a foolish one. and caused him soon after to be banished Heentertained Plato a while, but afterward, out of Sicil, to the great grief of the for speaking against his tyrauny, he gave or- whole Nation. For whereas Dion had made der to have him flain, or fold for a flave. For offer to the King, either to compound the he could endure no man that flattered him quarrels between him and the Carthagininot bevond measure. His Parasites therefore ans, of whom Dionysius stood in great fear; filed his cruelty, The hate of evil men ; and or (at least ) if they refused it , to furnish his lawless flaughters, The ornaments and ef him with fifty Gallies at his own charge, dufeds of his justice. True it is, that flatterers ring the war against them : his enemies World will love her own.

he remitted unto his Citizens divers pay- their State. ments, by his Father imposed upon them.

mous words that Sir fohn Parret used of our | faid ) had two Wives : Doris of Locris, and late Oucen Elizabeth, were his ruine; and Aristonia be a Syracusian, the sister of Dian. not the counterfeit letter of the Romifb which Brother-in-law of his he greatly en-

By Doris he had this Dionylius, who firethereby ran the same, and a worse fortune, ceeded unto him; and by Aritton, whe he had two fons and two Daughters of which the To be short, he made them know new elder, called sophrosme, he gave in marriage

This Dion a just and valiant man, finding that Dionysius had abandoned all exercise of Some other wars he made with the Car- vertue, and that he was wholly given over than in ans, after the taking and razing of to fenfuality, prevailed fo much with Plato, this City; and those with variable success. whose Disciple he had been, as he drew him For, as in one encounter he flue Mago, with into Sicil, to instruct the young King. And ten thousand Africans: to the son of Mago having perswaded the King to entertain beat him, and flew his brother Leptines, with him, he wrought fo well with him, as Diofourteen thousand of his Souldiers. After nylus began to change condition; to change which he bought his peace of the Carthagi- Tyranny into Monarchy: and to hold the mians, as they had formerly done of him; Principality that he had, rather by the love following therein the advice of Prosperity of his people, and his National Laws, than by the violence of his Guards and Gariwhen he had reigned eight and thirty fons, But this goodness of his lasted not years, he died: some say in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others his Parasites, that hated Dions severity, report it otherwise. A cruel man he was, and wrought him out of the Tyrants favour,

area kind of vermine, which poison all the found means, by finister interpretation, to Princes of the World; and yet they prosper convert his good will into matter of Treabetter than the worthiest and valiantest men fon. They told Dionysius, that all the great do: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: commendations, given of Plato, had tendand as our Saviour Christ hath told us, The ed to none other end, than to fosten his mind, and to make him neglect his own af-To this Dionysius his son of the same name fairs, by the study of Philosophy; whilest succeeded, and inherited both his King Dion in the mean time having furnished dom and his Vices. To win the love of the fifty Gallies under colour of the Kings ser-People, he pardoned, and released out of vice, had it in his own power either to deprison, a great number of persons, by his liver to the *Spracusars* their former liberty, father lockt up and condemned. Withall, or to make himself Lord and Soveraiga of

It is likely, that the honest and liberal Which done, and thereby hoping that he offer which he made, to serve the King with had faltned unto himself the peoples affe- so great a preparation, at his own charge, tions; he cast off the sheeps skin, and put begot him many enemies. For they that on that of the wolf. For being jealous of had ferved the King for none other end than his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than to raife and enrich themselves, and had "alhimself, he caused them all to be slain; and all ready been raised & enriched, thought themthe kindred that they had by their Mothers felves bound to make the fame offer that Diside. For Dionysius his Father (as hath been on had made, if the King had had the grace

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ignorant cowards, that had neither the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the knowledge, nor the daring that Dion had, same reward that all worthy men have had were bold to stile his Love and Liberality, from popular Estates. He was disgraced, Pride and Prelumption; and heartned the affaulted, and forced to abandon the City. young King in his opprefling, and earing up He retired himself to the Leontines, whorehis own people, of whose spoils they them-ceived him with great joy. Soon after his selected shared no small portion. I have heard departure from syracuje, new troops enter it, That when Charls the fifth had the re- the Castle: they sally out, assall, spoil, and pulse at Algier, in Africa, Ferdinando Cortese, burn a great part of the City. Dion is fent one of the bravest men that ever spain for, with humble request: yet, ere he could brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, arrive, Dionysius his Souldiers were retired; to continue the fiege at his own charge. But and the Towns-men thinking themselves sehe had never good day after it. For they cure, thut the gates against Dion. But the that envied his victories, and his conquest next night they of the Castle fally our again, of Mexico in the Welf-Indies, perswaded the with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, himself above him; and to have it said, that of the Town. In this their extremity Dion. the Empire, than he that had it.

rant was contented at lirst to fend him the of his Army; and quencheth the fire every revenues of his Lands, and permit him to where kindled, with the other part. In condispose of his moveables at his own pleasure: clusion, after he had conquered both the not without giving hope to recall him in fire and the fword, that had well near burnt short time. Had he continued in this good to ashes, and depopulated Spracuse, he recomood, like enough it is, that Dion would vered the Castle, with the munition and have been well pleased to live well, as he did, furniture thereof, and sent Apollocrates after at Athens. But after some time, Dionysius Dionysius his Father into Italy. But their mamade Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, lice, of whom he had best deserved, and and thereby urged him to take another whom he had loved most, gave an untimely course, even to fek the restitution of his end to his dayes. For he was soon after his Country toliberty. The vertues of Dion, victory, murdered by Gylippus; who after especially his great Liberality, had purchased he had with ill success, awhile governed much Love in Greece. This Love made him syracuse, was slain with the same Dagger, suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it with which he had murdered Dion. ftood him in good ftead, when he fought to ! Ten years after the death of Dion , Diongraise men, with whose help he might return fins, with the assistance of his friends in Italy, into Sicil. Yet he got not above eight hun- recovers his estate; and returns to Syracuje, dred (for he carried the matter closely ) to driving Ny seus thence, whom he found Gofollow him in his adventure. But many or vernour therein. The better fort of the them were men of quality, and fit to be Citizens, fearing more than ever, his cruelty, Leaders. Neither did he doubt of finding flee to Icetes, a Syracustan born, and then ruin Syracuje, as many as should be needfull, ling the Leontines. Icetes enters into confethat would readily affift him. Therefore deracy with the Carthaginians, hoping by helanded boldly in Sicil, marched to Syra- their affiltance, not only to prevail against

to conceive it aright. But the covetous and to death by torment. But Dion, for the Emperour, that Corice lought to value Woman, and Child, and fet fire in all parts what the Emperour could not, Cortese had comes the second time to their succour; the effected, and was therefore more worthy of love of his Country furmounting all the injuries that he had received. He sets upon When Dion was newly banished, the Ty- the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part

cuse, entred the City without resistance, Dionysius; but by the hatred of the Syracuarmed the multitude, and won all, save the fians towards Dionysms, to make him also Lord of their Ciay. The Syracufians, being Dionssius was then absent in Italy but he deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the quickly had advertisement of his danger- Corinthians for succour. Icetes also sends ous accident. Wherefore he returned ha- thither, and disswades the Corinthians, as ftily to Syracuse: whence, after many vain well as he can, from intermedling in the butreaties of Peace, and some forcible attempts siness. He tells them, by his Messengers, to recover the Town, he was fain to depart; That he had entred into league with the leaving yet a Castle to the Custody of Apol- Carthaginians, who were so strong by Sea, locrates his eldest Son. Yet ere he went, his that it was not in the power of Corinth, to Minion Philifus, coming with a ftrength of land an Army in Sicil. But the Corinthiant, men to affilt him, was beaten, taken, and put being by this treason of Icetes, more inraged fieged him.

feetes, being himfelf a Tyrant in Leontium, rather fought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Country. Therefore, him, if he would not be perswaded. Timo- Acradina, which he fortified. lean, finding himself over-mastered, makes

ceived by Andromachus the Governour. other parts of the Island. From thence he marched toward Adranum, Castle of syracuse into his hands, as think- passage of a River.

than diffwaded, fent Timoleon with nineteen | ply of two thousand foot, and two hundred Gallies, to deliver Syracuse from tyranny. In horse, which are stayed in Italy by foul weathe mean while, leetes had entred Syracufe, ther. Icetes is strengthened with threescore and with the help of the Carthaginians, dri- thousand Africans, brought unto him by Maand prompfus into the Castle, where he be- go(all which he lodgeth within Syracuje) and with an hundred and fifty Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the Carthaginians had dominion within the walls of that City. With this great Army hearing that Timoleon was arrived at Rhe- Iceres affaileth the Caftle Timoleon fends vium, he sent to perswade him, to return his them victuals, and succour, in small boats. Fleet; for that all things were (in effect) by night, from C.stana. Mago and Letes do established in Sicil. The Carthaginian Gal- therefore resolve to besiege Catana; but lies were also in the same Port of Rhegium, they were no sooner on their way towards whose Captains advised Timoleon to get him it, with part of their forces, than Leon, Capgone in peace. They had far more Gallies tain of the Corinthians, fallied out of the there than he had, and were like to compel Castle, and took that part of Syracuse, called

In the mean while, the two thousand Corequest to the Carthaginian Captains, that rinthians arrive: with whom, and two they would be pleased to enter into Rhegi- thousand other Souldiers, Timoleon marchum and there, in an open affembly of the ed toward Syracuse. Mago abandoneth Icetes people, to deliver unto him those arguments being frighted out of Sicil ( which he might for his return, which they had used to him easily have conquered ) with an idle rumour in private; that he might, by publick testi- of treason. This made him return to Carthage; mony, discharge himself to the Senate of where the general exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that The Carthaginians, perswading themselves, for fear of further punishment he hanged that a victory obtained by a few fair words, himself. Timoleon enters the City, and beats was without loss, and far more easie, than down the Castle ( which he called The Nest that of many blows, and wounds, yielded to of Tyrants ) to the ground. But he found the Timoleons desire. But while the Orations City, when the strangers were fled, in effect were delivering, Timokon, favoured by the desolate; so as their horses did feed on the Rheeians, stole out of the prease; and ha- grass growing in the Market-place. Thereving let fail, before the Gates were opened fore he writes to Corinth for people to reto the Carthaginians, he recovered the Port inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of of Tauromenium, where he was joyfully re- Greece, many come from Italy; others from

But a new from arifeth. Asarubal and where surprising Icetes his Army, he slew a Amilcar, Carthaginians, arrive about Lilibapartthereof, and put the rest to run. It is the | um, with threescore and ten thousand Soulnature of victory to beget friends. The diers, transported (with all their provisions) Adranitans joyned with him, and so did Ma- in a thousand ships of burden, and two hunmercus, the Tyrant of Catana. Dionysius also dred Gallies. Timoleon marcheth thither, fent to Timoleon, offering to furrender the and chargeth this great Army upon the

ing it better to yield up himself, and the pla- A tempest of rain, hail, and lightning, with ces which he could not defend, unto the Co- boysterous winds, beating upon the faces rinthians, than either to Icetes, whom he of the Carthaginians, they are utterly brodildained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he ken, ten thousand flain, five thousand taken, hated. Now Timoleon, who, within fifty with all their carriages and provisions: dayes after his arrival, had recovered the among which there were found a thousand Caltle of Syracuse, and sent Dionysius to Co- Corsiets guilt and graven. After this, Timorinth, to live there a private man, was still leon gave an overthrow to Icetes, and followinvaded by the Armies, and molested by the ling his victory, took him, with his Son Eupopractices of Icetes. For he belieged the lemus, and the General of his horse, prisc-Corinthians within the Castle of Syracuse, ners; whom he caused all to be flain : and and attempted (but in vain ) the murder of afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelty ) he suffered Icetes his wives The Corinthians fend unto Timoleon a sup- and daughters to be put to death. But this CHAP. L

(after the murder of Dion) had caused himself and the Syracusans; binding him-Arete, Dions wife, and a young child of felf by promife and oath to remain a friend his, with Arifiomache his Sifter, to be call and servant to the State of Carthage, for into the Sea.

rant of Calana, and won Calana it felf. Mu-tween Agathocles and the Syracusans. mercus fled to Hippon Tyraut of Messena: but Agathoeles is chosen Prætor; he entertains Timoleon, purfaced him, won the Town; de-five thousand Africans, and divers old livering Hippon to his Citizens, who tormen- Souldiers of the Murgantines, under colour ted him to death. The same end had Mamer- of a purpose to besiege Herbita. With these, rus, and all other the Tyrants in Sicil.

cinians, on condition that they should not divided into many factions ) he assails the gafs the River of Lyeus. After this, he lived Senators, kills all his enemies and oppoingreat honour among the Syracustans, till sites; divides the spoil of the rich among his death; and was folemnly buried by them the poor; and gives liberty to his Souldiers, in the Market-place of their City: the day to rob, to ravish, and to murder, for two of his Funcrals being for ever ordained to whole daies and nights, without controle-

be kept holy among them.

Spracense from the tyranny of Dionysius, and the streets with ten thousand dead carkasbrought peace to the whole Island; the In- ses, besides those that had broken their habitants injoyed their liberty in peace, necks over the walls; their fury had no furabout twenty years. The Cities and temples ther subject to work on. were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Agathocles, in an affembly of the people Merchant failed in fafty; and the Labour- (being an eloquent knave) perswaded them, ing man injoyed the fruits of the earth in that, for the violent fickness, by which the quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation Common-wealth was utterly consumed, he which neither knew how to govern, nor found no better than the violent remedies how to obey; which could neither endure which he had administred : and that he affe-Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to go- and no other thing than the reducing of the vern them; should any long time subfist.

there started up one Agathocles among them, indifferent Democraty, by which it had been a man ofbase birth, and of baser condition : governed, from the first institution, with so who from a Begger, to a common Souldier; great glory and posterity. This he did, to from a Souldier to a Captain; and fo from have the Crown clapt on his head (asit degree to degree, rifing to be a Prætor : fi- were) perforce. For, as he knew that he had nally, became Lord and Soveraign of the left none living, within the City, fit or able to Spracustans. Many fortunes he ran, and exercise the office of a Magistrate: so knew under-went as many dangers, ere he obtain- he right well, that all they which had affilted the principality. For he had more than ed in the murder and spoil of their fellowonce attempted it, and was therein both Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man the support of a lawless Lord, who had been he was, and did notable fervice, as well for partaker with them in their villanies and those by whom he was imployed, as also cruelties committed. So as this rable, his for the Syrunfiuns, and against them. For Oration ended, proclaimed him King: again in their Wars against those of Enna, and and again saluting and adoring him, by that the Campanes, he did them memorable ser- name, as if he had been given to him by some car was fent by the Carthaginians to relieve recover the love of his people. Spracuse. With him Agathocles wrought fo The life of this Tyrant is briefly written

was the revenge of God upon leeter, who well, that he got him to make peace between ever after. Amilear entertained the busi-He again prevailed against Atamerous Ty- ness, and compounded the quarrels beand with the affistance of the poor and dif-Finally, he made peace with the Cartha- contented Syracusans (the City also being ment: the third day, when they had blunt-After such time as Timoleon had delivered ed their barbarous appetites, and strewed

state from an Oligarchy, or the rule of a few Twenty years after the death of Timoleon, tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and vice: and on the contrary, as memorable lawfull election. Hence had our King Richard fervice for the hiurgantines against the Syra- the third a piece of his pattern; but the one cusions. For being entertained by the people was of base, the other of Kingly Parents; of Murgantia, and made General of their the one took liberty from a Common-weal, forces, he fackt Leontium; and belieged Syra- the other fought only to succeed in a Monarcuse so straightly, that the Citizens were chy; the one continued his cruelty to the driven to crave aid, even from their antient end, the other, after he had obtained he and natural enemies, the Carthaginians. Amil- Crown, fought, by making good Laws tto

this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith glad to leave their business undone, and Connich taunted by the Romans, as no better return into Africk. than meer falshood ) shewed it self very ho- The Carthaginians prepare a new Fleet: the Judges might award him, he ended his that rode in the Haven; and committing

by Justine; more largely and particularly own life in what fort he thought best. This by Diodorus Siculus: the fumm whereof is desperation of Amilear served to inform this. The same Amilear that had brought Agathocles of the Caribaginians intent. He him into Syracuje, and that had lent him faw they would not be deluded with words. five thou land men to help in the Mallacre of and therefore resolved to get the start of the Citizens, was also content to wink at mathem in action. He diffembled no longer; ny wrongs that he did unto the confede but instead of spoil and robbery, made open rates of the Carthaginians. It was the pur- War upon all their Adherents. He had made rates of Amilear, to fettle Agathoeles in his the better part of Sicil his own, ere the Cartyranny, and to let him vex and waste the thaginian Forces arrived which thinking to whole Illand ; because it was thereby like to have incountred an ill-established Tvrant. come to pass, that he should reduce all sicil found him ready, as a King, to defend his into such terms as would make it become own, and give them sharp entertainment. an easie prey to Carthage. But when the They were beaten by him; and their Navy Cities, confederate with the Carthaginians, was fo Tempest-beaten, that they could neifent their Embassadours, with complaint of ther do good by Land, nor Sca. but were

nourable in taking order for the redrefs Em- which being very gallantly manned and furbassadours were sent to comfort the sieili- nished was broken, by soul weather, and the ans, and to put Agathocles in mind of his Co- best part of it cast away, even whilst it was venants; Amilear was recalled home into yet within kenning of their City. But Amil-Africk, and a new Captain appointed to fuc- car, the Son of Gifea, gathering together ceed in his charge, with such forces, as might the remainders of his shipwrack, was bold compel Agathocles to reason, if otherwise he to pass over into Sicil, and landed not far would not hearken to it. All this tended from Gela; where Agathocles was foon reato save their Confederates, from suffering dy to examine the cause of their coming. Such injuries in the future. For that which Many skirmishes passed between them, in was past (fince it could not be recalled) they which (commonly) the Syracusum had the took order to have it feverely punished, better. But his good fucces begat pre-Amilear was accused secretly, and by way sumption; whereby he lost a battel more imoffcrutiny : the suffrages being given, but portant than all the other fights. One adnot calculated; and so reserved until he verse chance is enough to overthrow the should return. This was not so closely hand- state of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great led, but that Amilear had soon notice of it: circumspection. The War was soon transfer-In managing his business with Agathocles, it is red to the walls of Syracuse; within which likely that he had an eye to his own profit, Agathocles was closed up, and driven to make aswell as to the publick benefit of his Coun- his last defence by their help, who may be try. For he had made such a composition judged to have loved him not very greatly. with the Syraculian, as gave him not only But the Inhabitants of Syracuse, after that means to weaken others, but to strengthen great Massacre of the principal men, made himself, both in power and authority, even in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were against the Carthaginians. Such is com- (for the most part ) such, as had been either monly the cultom of those, that hope to mercenary Souldiers, infranchifed flaves, or work their own ends by cunning practices, base and needy people; helpers in establishthinking to deal fubtlely and finely, they ing the present Government, and Executiospintheir threads so small, that they are bro- ners of the murders, and spoil committed in ken with the very wind. Amilcar faw, that that change. If there were any other ( as his Carthaginians had a purpose to deal sub- some there were) they were so well obserflantially; and that therefore it would be ved, and ( withall ) fo fearful, that they durft hard for him to make them follow his crook- not stir: But it was enough that they all ed devices : which if he could not do, it agreed in the common defence of themselves wastobe expected, that their anger would and their City; Famine was likely to grow break out into so much the greater extremi- upon them, and inforce them to change ty, by how much the more they had con- their resolution. In this necessity Agathocles realed it. Therefore he followed the ex- adventured upon a strange course, which ample, which some of his fore-goers had the event commended as wife. He imbatqued Raughthim; and, for fear of such a death as as many as he thought meet, in those vesse'

the Government of the City to his Brother to look upon their walls. Their Towns are Antander, willed the people to be of good ill fortified, their people untrained, and experienced in dangers; the mercenary bethought himself of a mean, both toraise forces that they levy in these parts, will the fiege, and to repair all other losses. A Car- rather follow us than them, if we offer thaginian Fleet lay in the mouth of the Ha- greater wages than they can give: which ven, both to hinder the entrance of victual- we may better promise and make good, by lers, and to keep the befieged from iffuing letting them have fome share with us in all

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forth. to depart, advertisment came, that many to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one thips of burden, laden with Corn, and other already Master of all the riches in Africk; provisions, were drawing near unto syra- and with many brave words encouraged his cule. To intercept thele the Carthaginians men fo well, that they were contented to fet hoife fail, and lanch forth into the deep. fire on all their ships ( reserving one or two They were not far gone, when they might to use as Messengers) to the end that no behold Agathocles issuing forthof the Port, hope thould remain, save only in victory. with purpose (asthey thought) to give In this heat of resolution, they win by force convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they two Cities; which after they had throughly wheel about, and make amain toward him, as thinking him the better booty. Hencither abode their coming, nor fled back into The Carthaginians hearing this, are amazed: the City, but made all speed towards Africk; thinking that Amilear is broken, and his and was pursued by the Carthaginians, as whole Army destroyed in Sicil. This imlong as the day would give them light. In prefition fo difmayes them, that when they the mean season the victuallers were gotten know the truth of all, by such as had scato Syrache; which was the more plentiful- ped in the late Sea-fight, yet still they fear, ly relieved by their coming, for that Aga- and know not what. They suspect Amilthocles had unburdened the place of no small cars faith, who had suffered Agathocles to number. When the Carthaginian Admiral land in africk: they suspected their principerceived, first, that by purluing two Fleets pal Citizens at home, of a meaning to beat once, he had missed of them both : and tray Carthage unto the enemy; they raise a fecondly, that Agathocles returned not again, great Army, and know not to whose charge but was gone to seek his fortune elsewhere, they may safely commit it. he thought it good to purfue those that were fled, and to attend fo well upon them. that they should not have leifure to do mifchief in some other part.

thocles ( whether by chance, or by relation | vied, which far exceeded the forces of Agaof fuch ashad met with him at Sea ) directly thocles. But it seldom happens, that diffentowards Africk, and overtook him after tion between Commanders produceth any six dayes. He had (at the first ) a great start fortunate event. Necessity drave deather of them; fo that (belike ) they rowed hard, cles to fight: and the courage of his men, and wearied themselves in seeking their resolved to deal with the whole multitudeof own misfortune : for he fought with them, the Carthaginians, made easie the victory and beat them; and, having funk or taken against the one half of them. For Bomilmany, drave the rest to flye which way they car would not stir, but suffered Hanno tobe could, laden with such strange tydings of cut in pieces.

his voyage. Africk, then did he discover unto them his the Carthaginian society, to take part with project, letting them understand, that there | Agathocles: who pursuing his victory, winwas no better way to divert the Carthagini- neth many Towns, and fends word to syans, not only from syracuse, but from all the racuse of his good success. The Carthagi-Ille of Sicil, than by bringing the war to their nians also fend unto Sicil, willing Amil own doors. For here (faid he) they have ma- car, their General, to succour the State of ny that hate them, and that will readily take Africk, which was in danger to be loft, Arms against them, as soon as they perceive whilst he was travelling in the Conquest of that there is an Army on foot, which dires sicil. Amilear fends them five thousand men:

the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our Now, at fuch time as Agathocles was ready enemies can do, by making tome addition

There were at that time two famous Captains in the City, Hanno and Bomilear, great enemies. And therefore the more unlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. The Carthaginian Navy followed Aga. These are made Generals of the Army le-

The reputation of this great victory, When Agathocles had landed his men in brought over a King of the Africans, from

all his forces he thought it not needful to cified the tumult, by the accultomed protransport; as hoping rather to draw Agatho- mises of great booty and spoil. It had now cles back into Sicil, than to be drawn home been time for him to offer peace to the Carby one, that could fearce retain his own thaginians: which to obtain, they would Kingdom. But these good hopes had a bad (questionless) have given to him both mony iffue. He spent some time in winning a few enough to pay his Army, and all that they Towns that adhered unto the Syracultans: then held in Sicil. For their City had been and having brought his matters to some distressed, not only by this his war, but by good order, he conceived a fudden hope of the treason of Bomilear, who failed not much raking Syracule by surprise. It was a pret- of making himself Tyrant over them. But ty (though tragical) Accident, if it were ambition is blind. Acathocles had all his true, as Tully relates it. Amilcar had a dream thoughts fixed upon the conquest of Carwhich told him that he should sup the next thage it self: out of which dream he was day within Syracuse. His fancy begot this awakened, by the loss of a battel, not so medream, and he verily believed it. He made morable in regard of any accident therein, more hast than good speed toward the Ci- as of the strange events following it. The ty: and coming upon it on the fudden, had Carthaginians, after their great misfortunes good hope to carry it. But his enemies were in this war, had renewed their old facrifices prepared for him, and had laid an ambush of children to Saturn: from which they to entrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was had abstained ever tince they made peace carried prisoner into the City; in which it with Gelon. And now they made choice was likely that he had no great chear to his of some, the goodlicht of their prisoners tasupper: for they struck of his head, and ken in the battel, to offer unto the said Idol, fent it into Africk (a welcome present) to in way of thankfulness to their victory. The

fire, with which these unhappy men were This good fuccess of things at home, did confumed, caught hold upon the lodgings put such courage into the Sicilian Army, nearest unto the Altar, and spreading it that Agathocles was bold to wear a Crown, felffarther through the Camp, with the deand file himself king of aspice. He had all struction of many men, caused such a tumult lured Ophellas, King of the Cyrenians, to take as is usual in the like cases. At the same his part, by promifes to deliver the Country time, the like accident of fire burnt up the into his hands: for that (as is faid) it was Pavilion of Agathecles. Hereupon both the fufficient unto himself to have diverted the Armies fled away, each of them believing, Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this that the noise in the adverse Camp, was a war ended ) he might reign quietly. Ophellas fign of the enemies coming to invade it. But came with a great Army, and was friendly the Carthaginians had a fafe retrait: Agaentertained. But the traiterous Silician, thocles, by a second error, fell into a new taking an advantage, did murther this his affiliant; and afterwards by good words, and great promifes, drew all the Cyrenean Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, Army to follow him in his Wars. Thus his (as indeed the one halt of them had revoltvillany found good fucces; and he so pre- ed from him, to the Carthaginians, in the vailed in Africk, that he got leifure to make last battel) he began to assail them, and was after into Sicil. Many Towns in Sicil had fo foutly refifted, that he loft in this blind embraced a defire of recovering their liber- fight above four thousand of his men. This ty; thinking it high time to fight at length did so discourage his proud heart, that, befor their own freedom, after that they had ing fallen from the near hope of taking the blong been exposed, (as a reward of victo- City of Carthage, unto some distrust of his ty) either unto Aliens, or to Tyrants of own safety, he knew no more how to modetheir own Country. These had prevailed rate his present weak fears, than lately he far, and gotten many to take their parts, as had known how to govern his ambition. in a common cause: when the coming of Therefore he took the way that came next Agathocles abated their high spirits, and his into his head; which was to steal closely good fuccefs in many fights, compelled them aboard his ships, with his younger fon (the to Obedience. Out of Sicil he returned elder he suspected of Incest, and of Ambitiinto Africk, where his affairs stood in very on) and so to flye into Sicil; thinking it the bad terms. Archagathus, his ton had loft a best course to shift for himself, as wanting battel; and (which was worse) had ill vessels wherein to transport his Army. His means to help himself: his Army being in older son Archagathus, perceiving his drift, mutiny for lack of pay. But agathocles pa- arrested him and put him under custody: Ggggg

loose, elcaped,, and fled alone, leaving both at his first coming. This done, he went to the his fons behind him. His tiight being noyfed Isle of Lipara, and made the Inhabitants buy nis ions bening itim. This inguit being no, see the peace with one hundred talents of gold. But through the Army, all was in an uproar 5 and peace with one hundred talents of gold. But extremity of rage caufed not only the com- when he had gotten this great furm, he mon Souldier, but even such as had been would needs exact a greater; and finding friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his plainly that they had no more left, he was two lons, and kill them. That this flight bold to fpoil the Temples of their gods. of Agathorles was extreemly base, I need not Herein (methinks) he did well enough. Herein (methinks) he did well enough. For how could he believe those to be gods, truly, as all feat is faid tobe, a passion, de-triving him of the succours which reason horrible perjuries? Then he returned richoffered, the sequel doth manifest. His for- ly home, with eleven ships loaden with faken Souldiers, being now a headlefscom- gold: all which, and all the reft of the fleet, pany, and no longer an Army to be feared, were cast away by foul weather at Sea; one obtained nevertheless a reasonable compo- Gally excepted, in which he himself escafition from the Carthaginians: to whom ped, to fuffer a more miserable end. A griethey fold those places, whereof they had vous sicknessfell upon him, that rotted his pollefilon, for nineteen talents. Likewife, whole body, fpreading it felf through all his database himself, having lost his Army, did veins and sinews. Whilst he lay in this case,

devited new engines of torment; wherein Grandfathers Kingdom, without aking any ftriving to exceed the Bull of Phalaris, he leave. Thefetydings wounded the heart of made a frame of brass, that should serve to Agathocles with fear and forrow. He saw forch mens bodies, and withall give him himfelf without help, like to become a prey leave to behold them in their milery. So to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he devilish is the nature of man, when reason, knew that no favour was to be expected, that should be his guide, is become a flave either by himself, or by those, whom only to his bruitish affections. In these mischies he now held dear, which were Theogeniz hewas fo outragious, that he neither spared and her children. Therefore he advised her Sex, nor Age; especially, when he was in- and them to fly before they were surpled: formed of the flaughter of his children in for that otherwise they could by no means Africk. But this was not the way to preserve avoid, either death, or somewhat that his estate: it threw him into new dangers, would be worse. He gave them all his trea-They whom he had chased out of their sures and goods, wherewith he even com-Country took arms against him, and drave pelled them (weeping to leave him desolate him into such fears, that he was fain to seek in so wretched a case) to imbark themselves that love at Carthage, which by ruling well hasfily, and make speed into Eggpt. After he might have had in Sicil. He freely detheir departure, whether he threw himfelf livered into the Carlbaginians hands, all into the fire, or whether his difease confuntions Towns of the Phanicians in Sicil, be-ed him, there was none left that cared to longing unto them, which were in his pof- attend him but he ended his life as balely. fession. They requited him honourably, with as obscury, and in as much want as he first great store of corn, and with four hundred began it. talents of gold and filver. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he pre- the Mamertines, his Souldiers, traiteroully vailed against the Rebels, and settled his occupied Messana, and insested a great part estate. Having no further business left in si- of the Island. Then also did the Carthagincil, he made a voyage into Italy. There he ans begin to renew their attempts of confubdued the Erstians, rather by terrour of quering all sicil. What the Nephew of Aga-

but by means of a sudden tumult, he was let his name than by any force, for they yeilded

neverthelels, by the reputation of this late and defiring his end, fave only Theogenia (a war, make peace with Carthage upon equal wife that he had taken out of Egypt) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonof After this, the Tyrant being delivered from forain enemies, discovered his bloody younger son of his own, began to contend nature, in most abominable cruelties, among about the Kingdom. Neither did they the Sicilians. His wants and his fears, urg ed him fo violently, that he was not fatisfied with the spols of the rich, or the death of much. But each of them laid wait for the those whom he held suspected: but in a others life: wherein the Nephew sped so beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. He well, that he slew his Uncle, and got his

thocles did, I cannot find. Likely it is that | firength of spracuje, in the dayes of Meathohe quickly perithed. For the Sicilians were cles: and therefore knew, that it was able therefore left it; prophecying that it would should weaken one the other, whereby their become a goodly champion field, wherein own work might be the easier against them Rome and Carthage should fight for superio- both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged rity. In which bufines, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our story will before it, as it had been when the Carthagideclare.

# 6. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman War in Sicil. How Hieron, King of Syracuse, forlook the Carthaginians, and made bis peace with Rome.

Messana, brought the War unto the Gates just and good Prince, had no greater desire Meljana, prougher the var unto the object of stratefy and befieged that great City; than to win the love of his people by feekHieron found it high time for him to feek peace: knowing that the Carthaginian had felicity within the publick, laboured to uppeace: Rhowing that the Carlongianan has been read to provide a property and the could, such as the could, when they were not in case to give long and happy reign, living dear to his own him affiftance; and foreseeing withall, that Subjects, beloved of the Romans, and not the Romans, it would be free for him to fit whom, either the confideration, That they man Confuls, M. Valerius, and C. Ottacilius made unable to compass it. found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made use of their present advantage, and fold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Ta- How the Romans besiege and win Agrigentum.

These Consuls had brought a great Army into sicil; yet did they nothing else in effed, than bring over Hiero to their fide. If the System of mony imposed upon him, and by and other necessaries: fo that they, pretheir performing none other piece of ser suming upon his assistance, recall some vice) all the whole time of their abode in part of their forces. The Carthaginians the Island 3 then was his departure from find it high time to bestir them; they the friendship of Carthage, no less to his ho- send to the Ligurians, and to the troups nour than it was to his commodity. For they had in Spain, to come to their aid; by no reason could they require, that he who being arrived, they made the City of should suffer his own Kingdom to run into Agrigentum the seat of the War, against the manifest peril of subversion, for their sakes Romans, filling it with all manner of muthat should have seceived all the profit of nition. the victory : feeing they did expose him to The Roman Consuls, having made peace the whole dapper without straining them with Hieron, return into Italy; and, in elves to give him relief. But the Carthagini- their places, Lucius Posthumus and Quin-ans had lately made good proof of the tun Mamilius arrive. They go on towards

driven to fend for Pyrrhus to help them, who to bear a very strong siege. And hereupon it had marryed with a daughter of Agatho- is like that they were the more flack, in fendcles. But Pyrrhus was foon weary of the ing help:if(perhaps)it were not some part Country ( as hath been shewed before ) and of their defire, that both Rome and Syracuse City was not the same, when the Romans lay nians attempted it. For there was great reason to try the uttermost hazard of war against the Carthaginians, who sought no other thing than to bring it into flavery: not so against the Romans, who thought it fufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be governed by Agathocles, or by Hiero. The former of these cared not what Hen Appins Clandins, following the the Citizens endured, so long as he might advantage of his victory gotten at preserve his own tyranny: the latter, as a when once he had purchased his quiet from greatly molested by the Carthaginians; fill, without fear of moleftation, whilft had left him to himfelf, ere he left their fociety, Rome and Carthage were fighting for the made unwilling to feek his ruine; or their mastery. In this good mood the new Ro- more earnest business with the Romans,

# s. VI.

Their beginning to maintain a flect. Their first los, and first victory by sea, Of sea-fiebt in general.

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\* Agigor \* Agrigentum: and finding no enemy in the as broken, till they came to the body of the agrigentum. and intuing no cataly agrigentum. and intuing no cataly agrigentum. Army, that lay shadowed behind some rising Cuy, but fed with fifty thousand Souldiers. After a ground. The Numidians perform it accorby the come, while, the time of harvest being come, a dingly; and while the Romans pursued the der the part of the Roman Army range the Country Numidians, Hanno gives upon them, and conduct of to gather corn, and those at the siege grow having slaughtered many, beats the rest into delice and P. jagus. negligent; the Carthaginians fally furtoufly, their Trenches. The com- and indanger the Roman Army, but are in After this encounter, the Carthaginians and some and monager the troops and the pass was the end repelled into the Town with great made no other attempt for two months, but ten miss. the loss; but by the fmart felt on both fides, the lay strongly encamped, waiting untill some about the loss; but by the smart felt on both fides, the walls, and Affailants redoubled their guards, and the opportunity should invite them. But Anthad fometimes befieged kept within their covert. Yet the mibal that was befieged in Agrigentum, as in it cont Romans, the better to assure themselves, cut well by signs as messengers, made Hanno handered a deep trench between the walls of the Ci-know how ill the extremity which he enund and their Camp: and another on the out-dured, was able to brook such dilators tanks, This fide thereof; that neither the Carthaginians courses. Hanno thereupon, a second time, reason or might force them suddenly, by a fally; nor provoked the Consuls to fight: But his Elethe ferrili-those of the Country without, break upon phants being disordered by his own Vantthou or the country without of the figure of the management of the bour-hood any relief of victuals, and munitions, whillt recovered Heraclea. Annibal perceiving this, than greathe Syracufan supplies the assailants with and remaining hopeless of succour, resolved in a first what they want. The besieged send for to make his own way. Finding therefore frace from fuccour to Carthage, after they had been in that the Romans, after this dayes victory, granings, this fort pent up five months. The Cartha- wearied with labour, and secured by their to great give and giv glory and Sants, under the command of Hanno; who night; he rusht out of the Town, with all the pleny and arrives with it at Heracles, to the West of remainder of his Army, and past by the Rogreat, sait the Romans had bestowed all their provisi- they were, that he could not carry the City caused Emp do the on. By means hereof, the famine without with him, which with little a-do the Roto lay, that grew to be as great, as it was within Agri- mans entred, and pitifully spoiled. The Rogenius genium; and the Roman Camp no icis man product the direction of their prefent good built Pala- straightly assigned by Hanno, than the City to follow the direction of their prefent good pur them and put themselves in order. Hanno directs the disease of Kings, of States, and also of pompand the Numidian horsemen to change the Vant- private men, to covet the greatest things, magnitude, to the end to draw them further on ; but not to enjoy the leaft; the defire of that in their which done, he commands them to return which we neither have nor need, taking godly
Temples, and Theatens, Water-conduits, and Fifth-preds. the ruines,
Wincom we neither nave not need, taking
Temples, and Theatens, Water-conduits, and Fifth-preds. the ruines,
When the design see fund-tion arguments, but Agent re felf coulder—
whe rest are the proper of the Temple of Japitro Objopiurs. (by
The study of the Temple is felf) there was fet out on one fide
the full propertion of the Giants, sphang with the gods, all out out in
the full propertion of the Giants, sphang with the gods, all out out in
possibled mubble of divers colours; a wank the most magnificent and tare
that ever hath been feen conthe other fide, the war of Troy, and the
counters which happed at that fages; with the personates of the Henon
Titus Off acillius, two new Confuls, are fent incounters which hapned at that fiege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that war; all of the like beautiful stone, and of equa that were dorrs in that wars, all of the like beautiful flone, and or equal flature to the bodies of those men in ancient times: In comparation of which, the latter works or that kind, are but petry things, and meet rusles, the would require a volume of penger the magnificence of the Temples of Frevenils, Acidinal Control, June Luita, Coultin, Poliphias, Calita and Frevenils, Acidinal Matter-pieces of those exaginite. Panters and Carvens Politar, 2012, 2019, and Polyitating were to be from. But ny noce for frince it can be fame fortune that all other great Cities have done, and warrained be divers calamities of war; whereof this war prefers brought warrained be divers calamities of war; whereof this war prefers brought

unto it not the leaft.

The fifth Book of the first Part Agricentum. Hanno put himself into the man camp without resistance. The Confuls field, and surpriseth Erbesus, a City wherein pursue him in the morning, but in vain: sure gentum; and the Roman Camp no less mans, proud of this victory, pursued rather ces of meh was by the Romans: infomuch, as if Hieron fortunes, than their first determinations. ty, as it had not supplied them, they had been They had resolved in the beginning of this they are ant forced to abandon the fiege. But feeing War, only to fuccour the Mamertines, and to nive tor that this diffress was not enough to make to keep the Carthaginians from their own made fuch them rife, Hanno determined to give them coafts: but now they determine to make reals, as it them file. To which end departing from He-themselves Lords of all Sicil; and from they ment battel. To which end departing from He-themselves Lords of all Sicil; and from they ment battel. one ment the makes approach unto the Roman thence, being favoured with the wind of next day. Camp. The Romans resolve to sustain him, good success, to fail over into Africk. It is

> to Sicil. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many in-land Towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrary, the Carthaginians keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as wellto fecure their own coafts, often invaded by the African

fleets, as to equal themselves in every Gallies, whereby they might falten or grapkind of warfare with their enemies, deter- ple themselves with their enemies, when mine to make a fleet. And herein fortune they were (as we call it) boord and boord, favoured them with this accident, that be- that is, when they brought the Gallies sides ing altogether ignorant inship-wrights craft, together. This done the weightier ships had form of wind thrust one of the Caribagi- gotten the advantage, and the Africans lost nian Gallies, of five banks, to the shore.

they might learn the stroke of the Gally, Certainly, he that will happily perform a and how to mount and draw their Oares.

not easily beaten by fifty. but give the charge of their fleet to his Col- failers, and good ships, have the advantage, league, Duilius, Duilius, considering that the on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships Roman vessels were heavy and slow, the and of slower failing. For if the fleet of an African Gallies having the speed of them, de-hundred sail keep themselves near together, vised a certain Engine in the prow of his in a gross squadron; the twenty ships, charg-

it. For neither did their swittness serve Now had the Romans a pattern, and by them, nor their Marriners craft; the veffels it they began to fet up an hundred Quinque wherein both Nations fought, being open: remes which were Gallies, rowed by five on fo that all was to be carryed by the advanevery bank; and twenty, of three on a bank: tage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beand while these were in preparing, they ex- fides this, as the heavier Gallies were acciercifed their men in the feat of rowing. This dentally likely to crush, and crack the fides they did after a strange fashion. They placed of the lighter and weaker, so were they by mon the Sea-fands many feats, in order of the reason of their breadth, more steady; the banks in Gallies, whereon they placed and those that best kept their feet, could also their water-men, and taught them to beat best use their hands. The example may be the fand with long poles, orderly, and as given between one of the long boats of his they were directed by the Master, that so Majesties great ships, and a London-Barge.

fight at Sea, must be skilful in making choice When their fleet was finished, some rig- of Vessels to fight in: he must believe that ging and other implements excepted, C. Cor- there is more belonging to a good man of gog and other implements excepted to the waters, then ever confuls (for they war, upon the waters, than great daring 5 changed every year) was made Admiral: and must know, that there is a great deal of who being more in love with this new kind difference, between fighting loose or as who can make a spread of the Guns of a flow of warfare, than well advifed, paft over to large, and grappling. The Guns of a flow fluing with feventeen Gallies, leaving the fluip pierce as well, and make as great holes, rest to follow him. There he stayed not, but as those in a swift. To clap ships together, would needs row along the coast to Lipara, without consideration, belongs rather to a hoping to do some piece of service. Hannibal mad man, than to a man of War: for by such a Carthaginian was at the same time Gover- an ignorant bravery was Peter Stroffie lost at nour in Panormus; who being advertised of the Azores, when he fought against the Marthis new Sea-mans arrival, fent forth one quest of Santa Cruz. In like fort, had the Boodes, a Senator of Carthage, with twenty Lord Charles Howard, Admiral of England, Gallies, to entertain him. Boodes, falling been lost in the year 1588, if he had not upon the Consul unawares, took both him been better advised, than a great many maand the fleet he commanded. When Hanni- lignant fools were, that found fault with his bal received this good news, together with demeanour. The Spaniards had an Army the Roman Gallies, and their Conful; he aboord them; and he had none: they had grew no less foolish hardy than Cornelius more ships than he had and of higher buildhad been. For he, fancying to himself to ing and charging; so that, had he intangled suprize the rest of the Roman fleet, on their himself with those great and powerful Vesowncoast, ere they were yet in all points sels, he had greatly endangered this King-Provided; fought them out with a fleet of dom of England. For twenty men upon the fifty fail: wherewith falling among them, he defences, are equal to an hundred that boord was well beaten, and leaving the greater and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the number of his own behind him, made an Spaniards had an hundred, for twenty of hard escape with the rest: for of one hun ours to defend themselves withall. But our dred and twenty Gallies, the Romans under Admiral knew his advantage, and held it: Cornelius had lost but seventeen, so as one which had he not done, he had not been bundred and three remained, which were worthy to have held his head. Here to speak ingeneral of Sea-fights (for particulars are The Romans, being advertised of Corneli- fitter for private hands than for the Press,) whis overthrow, make hast to redeem him, I say, that a fleet of twenty ships, all good

ing them upon any angle, thall force them to | ragement, to proceed in their Wars by Sea: give ground, and to fall back upon their own whereby they hoped, not only to get Sicil next fellows: of which so many as intangle, but all the other liles between Italy and are made unferviceable or loft. Force them Africk, beginning with Sardinia, whither they may eafily, because the twenty ships, loon after they fent a fleet for that purpose. which give themselves teope after they have On the contrary side, Amilear, the Carthagigiven one broad fide of Artillery, by clap-nian, lying in Panormus, carefully waited ping into the wind, and staying, they may for all occasions, that might help to recomgive them the other; and fo the twenty ships pence the late misfortune; and being adbatter them in pieces with a perpetual volly ; vertifed, that some quarrel was grown bewhereasthose that fight in a troop, have no tween the Roman Souldiers, and their Auxiroom to turn, and can alwayes use but one liaries, being such as caused them to incamo and the tame beaten fide. If the fleet of an apart, he fent forth Hanno to fet upon them; hundred fail give themselves any distance, who taking them unawares, buried four then shal the lesser steer against thousand of them in the place. Now during those that are arear and hindmost, or against the continuance of the Land-war in Sicil, those, that by advantage of over-sailing the continuance of the Land-war in Sicil, those, that the development of the continuance of the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that are areas and hindmost, and if upon a Sicil, the continuance of the Land-war in Sicil, those the Land-war in Sicil, those that are areas and hindmost properties that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those the Land-war in Sicil, those the Land-war in Sicil, those that the Land-war in Sicil, those the Lee-shore, the ships next the wind : be con- to make amends for his former errour, obftrained to fal back into their own fquadron, tained the trust of a new fleet, wherewithhe then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must arrived at Sardinia: the conquest of which fuffer shipwrack, or render it self. That such Island, the Romans had entertained for their advantage may be taken upon a fleet of un- next enterprise. Now it fo fellout, that the equal speed, it hath been well enough con- Romans, crossing the Sea from Sicil, arrived ceived in old time; as by the Oration of Herlin the Port where Hannibal with his new mocrates, in Thueydides, which he made to fleet anchored. They fet upon him unawares. them, it may easily be observed.

Prince; of which, like an Eclipfe of the Sun, peccare; In War it is too much to offend twice. His we shall find the effects hereafter. Impossible After this, it was long ere any thing of im-sia ? it is to equal words and forrows; I will there- portance was done by the Confuls, till \* P4- man fore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. Cura leves loquuntur, ingentes siupent.

Divers Enterfeats of War, between the Romans

fo gave it unto the Romans great incou which grows about it.

the \$577acusars, when the Atherians invaded he conducted; himself hardly escaping the Ethem, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of War by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord Henry, Prince of Wales; a fubject, to my knowledge, never thandled by any man, ancient or modern: but the Carthaginians, were so ill pleased with the Sood unfortunate voyage, that the habour of sinishing it, by his loss; by the loss of that brave the Carthaginians of the Sunday and the Sood unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for some they have believe the Sood unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for some they have believe they have believe they have believe they have believe they have they have believe they have been believed to the sound to be they have been believed to the sound to be they have been believed to be they have been believed to be they have been believed to be the sound to be they have been believed to be the sound to be the sound to be they have been believed to be the sound to b

is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all Emps. Rewhereas Trucydides seems to make it a Colony of the Phanician; R But it is now time to return to the beaten Carthaginian; who by losing their advantage of (wift boats, and boarding the Romanis, 1880). But it is now time to return to the beaten carthaginian; who by losing their advantage of (wift boats, and boarding the Romanis, 1880). But it is now time to return to the beaten carthage of (wift boats, and boarding the Romanis, 1880). But it is now time to return to the beaten carthage of (wift boats, and boarding the Romanis, 1880). But it is now time to return to the beaten carthage in the property of the property tage of (witt boats, and boarding the Komans), have loft fifty fail of their Gallies: a son the other fide, their enemies by commanding the test of the fide, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten liberty to fail about the Weft part of Sicil; where they raifed the fiege laid unto Segesta by the Carthaginians, and won the Town of Macella, with some other places.

The field with the season of the field of the field with the field of the field with the field of the field with the field wi post, put ejan pratits jacoo futt sjace, full document. O futt some analysis fed Tuni buit, praxime nomes of Bayeb, fed Tuni buit, praxime nomes of Parts. And chain coin (faith Faxillus) was found intire in the Caftle Bayeb, in the year of Now whether these inferiptions were truly as ancient as the many than the state of the sta Now whether the inferiptions were truly as ancient, as their mailer the second of the THE Victory of Dutlius, as it was honoured at Rome, with the first Naval

Sea, as well of the Gain and State on the High (Sign) an Triumph, that was ever feen in that City; for our it is the control of the strong of t

normus was belieged; where, when the Ro- first and second. The order of the Carthamins had fought in vain to draw the Car-ginian Fleet-I cannot receive by relation; thatinians into the field; being unable to but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, force that great City, because of the strong I conjecture, that the front of their Fleet Garrison therein bestowed: they then de- was thin, and stretched in a great length. parted from thence, and trook certain In- much like to that which the French call ns. Hippana, and others, between Panermuchthin: which form, fince the Piftol prevailed and steffana.

and Quinqueremes.

fought on the waters. By Polybius his esti- mans to their heels; as not able to sustain mation, there were in the Roman Gallies an both squadrons. The Rear being relieved, hundred and forty thousand men; and in the Consuls came to the aid of their third those of Carthage, an hundred and fifty thou- Battalion, which towed their victuallers, and: Reckoning one hundred and twenty which were also in great danger of being Souldiers, and three hundred Rowors to beaten by the Africans: but the Confuls, every Gally, one with the other. The Roman joyning their squadrons to it, put the Carfleet was divided into four parts, of which thaginians on that part also to running. was attraced into tour pares of whether first made the form of a Wedge or I This victory fell unto the Roman, patt-Triangle; the two first squadrons making by by the hardiness of their Souldiers; the Flanks, and the third squadron, the but principally, for that Amilear, being first Base: the point thereof (wherein were the beaten. could never after joyn himself unto two Confuls as Admirals) looking toward any of his other squadons, that remained, the enemy, and the middle space lying as yet in a fair likelihood of prevailing, for empty. Their Vessels of carriage were long as they fought upon equal terms, and towed by the third squadron. After all but squadron to quadron. But Amilear came up the fourth, in form of a Crescent; forlaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth very well manned, but exceeding thin: fo part of the Roman Fleet uningaged, and that the horns of it inclosed all the third ready to give succour to any of the other squadron, together with the corner of the parts that were opprest. So as in conclusion,

and Towns, as Algoifications, Enns, Cameri-Combat en haye, a long front of horse, and over the Lance, they have changed. Behind The year following, C. Athless the Contal this first out-stretched front, their Battaltons who commanded the Roman neet, discover- were more folid: for Amilear, Admiral of who company of the Carthaginian Gallies, the Carthaginians had thus ordered them, of ranging the coast: and, not staying for his purpose, his Gallies having the speed of the whole number pursued them with ten of Romans) that, when the first Fleet of the his. But he was well beaten for the hafte he Romans hafted to break through the first made, and lost all, save the Gally which Gallies, they should all turn tail, and the Rotransported him: wherein himself escaped mans pursuing them (as after a victory ) diswith great labour. But ere all was done, the order themselves, and, for eagerness of tarelt of Atilises his fleet was gotten up: who king the Run-awayes, leave their own three renewing the fight, recovered from the Car- iquadrons far behind them. For so it must that in an a double number of theirs; by needs fall out; feeing that the third fquawhich the Victory remaining doubtful, both dron towed their horfe-boats and victualchallenge it. Now to try at once, which of lers; and the fourth had the Rearward of these two Nations should command the all. According to Amilears directionit suc-Seas, they both prepare all they can. The ceeded. For when the Romans had charged, Romans make a fleet of three hundred and and broken the thin front of the Carthagithirty Gallies; the Carthaginians, of three nian first Fleet, which ran away, they forthhundred and fifty, \* Triremes, Quadriremes, with gave after them with all speed possible, not fo much as looking behind them for the fection squares that four to an Car: and the Tienny three, he has thought, that the Dadapterness had five ranks of Cars, one has thought, that the Dadapterness had five ranks of Cars, one were drawn near unto the body of the Cartandary and the other Gallies (rateably) freet. But had this been the famility of a thousand unto a nother could have the famility of a thousand unto a nother could have the famility of a thousand unto a nother could have the famility of a thousand unto a nother could have the famility of the the second squadron. Hereby the Romans second squadron came up, which forced Antilear to betake him to his Oars. Hanno The Romans resolve to transport the also who commanded the right wing of the War into Africk; the Carthaginians, to ar- Carthaginian Fleet, invaded the Roman reft them on the coast of Sicil. The num- Rearward, and prevailed against them. But bers, with which each of them filled their Amilear being beaten off, Marcus Atilius fell feet, was (perhaps) the greatest that ever back to their succour, and put the Carthagi-

the Romans got the honour of the day : | Promontory, till they came to Clypea, a Town for they loft but four and twenty of theirs; about fifty English mile from it. There whereas the Africans lost thirty that were they dif-embarked and prepared to beliege funk, and threefcore and three that were clypea; which to ease them of labour, was

than the Romans , had also divided his Fleet all invasions are foolish. By this time were into four fquadrons, (befides those that he the Africans also arrived at their own Carranged in the front to draw on the enemies, thage, fearing that the Roman Fleet and Arand to ingage them) and that whilft he him- my had directed themselves thither : but befell fought with one fqualron that charged him, all the reft of the enemies Fleet had they made provisions of all forts, both by Sea been at the same time entertained, he had and Land, for their defence. The Romans prevailed: but the second squadron, being send to Rome for directions, and in the mean tree came to the refeue of the first, by which while wast all round about them. The or-Annicar was opprest; and Amilear, being op- der given for the Senate, was. That one of preit and feattered, the Confuls had good the Confuls should remain with the Army, leifure to relieve both the third and the and that the other thould return with the fourth squadron, and got the victory.

cepts to Philip the second his Son, where he whither he carried with him twenty thouadvised him concerning War against the fand African Captains, with all the Roman Turks, tells him, that in all battels be- Fleet and Army; except forty ships, fifteen tween them and the Christians, he should thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that never fail to charge the fanifars in the be- were left with Atilius. ginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the reil. For (faith he) the Jani- fome Towns and places that were unwalled, fars, who are alwayes referred intire in the and laid fiege to others. But he performed Rear of the battel, and in whom the Turk no great matter before he came to Adir. reposeth his greatest considence; come up Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that near in a goss body, when all the troops on both unto the River of Bragada, he encountred fides are difbanded and in confusion; where- with a S. rpent of one hundred and twenty by they carry the Victory before them with- foot long, which he flew, not without los out relistance. By the same order of fight, of many Souldiers, being driven to use and refervation, did the Romans also pre- against it such engines of War, as served provail against other Nations. For they kept perly for the affaulting of Towns, At Adis their Triarii in store ( who were the choice he met with the Carthaginian Army, whereof their Army) for the up-thot and last of the Captains were Hanno and Bostar, toblow. A great and victorious advantage gether with Amilear, who had brought over it hath even been found, to keep some one out of sicil five thousand foot, and five hunor two good troops to look on, when all dred horse to succour his Country. These elfe are difbanded and ingaged.

# e. VIII.

2ke Romans prevail in Africk. Atilius the felves free from necessity of coming to ly beaten and made priloner.

OW the Romans, according to their of Adis, they incamp near unto him, and itrongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: paired and re-victualled their Fleet, fet fail but thereby they lofe the fervices both of for Africa, and arrived at the Promontory their Elephants, and of their horse-men. This of Hercules, a great Head-land, somewhat disadvantage of theirs, Regulus discovers, and to the Last or the Fort of Carthage, and makes use of it. He assails them in their fome torty leagues from Heraclia in Sicil, strength, which they defend a while, but in where similar nimfelf as yet staid. From tine the Romans prevail, and force them from this Head-land ( kaving the entrance into the place, taking the spoil of their Camp. Fol-

yielded unto them. Now had they a Port Now, if Amilear who had more Gallies of their own on Africa fide; without which Fleet into Italy. According to this direction. Charls the fifth, among other the Pre- Minlius the Conful is fent home to Rome;

(belike) had an intent, rather to weary him out of Africk, by wary protraction of time, than to undergo the hazard of a main fight. They were careful to hold them-Conful, propoundeth intolerable conditions blows: yet had they a great defire to fave of Peace to the Carthaginians. He is utter- the Town of Adis out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their general purpote, and yet to disturb him in the siege Cartinge) they coaled the East-fice of the lowing this their good fortune at the heels, ors G-they proceed to \* Tunis a City within fix- fand, were it not commonly found that teen miles of Carthage, which they affault they which use the service of mercenary

his the year 1836, and was one of the three Keyes, which he own doors. so in the year 156 and was ease of the three hours, which he making to Philip the leaded be four to keep fale; to wit, that a stage to Philip the leaded be four to keep fale; to wit, that he had been so keep fale; to wit that the headed had been so keep fale to the head of the head and Queen Euroscov, to woung out or use annut: where we stayed ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, pair jucks, but brake oven the doors, and having rifled all, Horse, presented them batted. The Romans must have been supported by the control of the Romans where the control of the Romans was the control of the Romans where the control of the Romans was the control of the Romans where the control of the Romans was the control of the Romans where the control of the Romans was the control of the Romans where the control of the Romans was the control of the Romans where the control of the Romans was the control of the Romans where the control of the Romans was the control of the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where the Romans was the Romans was the Romans was the Romans where Romans was the Romans wh

and the other of an hundred and fifty thou- the enemy upon equal terms. Here was

Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their

wondred much, whence this new courage By the loss of this battail at Adis, and of their enemies might grow : but confimore especially by the loss of Tunis, the dent they were, that it should soon be Conthaginians were greatly dismayed. The abated. Their chief care was, how to resist Numidians, their next Neighbours towards the violence of the Elephants. Against the West, insult upon their misfortunes; them they placed the Velites, or light-armed invade, and spoil their Territory, and force Souldiers, as a forlorn hope; that these those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their might either with darts and other castingvillages and fields, and to hide themselves weapons, drive back the beasts upon the within the walls of Carthage. By reason here-enemies, or at least break their violence, and of agreat famine at hand threatens the Ci- hinder them from rushing freely upon the tizens. Atilius finds his own advantage, and Legions. To the same end, they made affures himself that the City could not long their battails deeper in file, than they had hold out : vet he feared left he might defend been accustomed to do. By which means, it felf, untill his time of Office, that was near as they were the less subject unto the imexpired, should be quiterun out, whereby pression of the Elephants; so were they the new Confuls were like to reap the ho- to much the more exposed unto the vionour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, lence of the horse, wherein the enemy did that hath no respect but to it self, per-far exceed them. The Elephants were Iwades him to treat of peace with the Car- placed by Xantippus, all in one rank, before thaginians. But he propounded unto them his Army; which followed them at a reabut me proposed and one of the conditions, as there-by their hearts, formerly possessing and distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foot, of the Carthaginians Auxibecame now so couragious and distantel, liaries, were in the wings. The first onset that they resolved, either to defend their was given by the Elephants, against which liberty, or die to the last man. To strengthen the Velites were so unable to make resithis their resolution, there arrived at the stance, that they brake into the battalions fame time a great troop of Greeks, whom following, and put them into some diforthey had formerly fent to entertain. Among der. In this case, the depth of the Roman these was a very expert Souldier, named battail was helpfull. For when the beasts Xuntippus, a Spartan: who being informed had fpent their force, in piercing through a of what had passed, and of the overthrow few of the first ranks; the squadrons neverwhich the Carthaginians received neer unto theless persisted in their order, without Adia, gave it out publickly; that the same opening. But the Carthaginian horse, havewas occasioned by default of the Comman-ing at the first encounter, by reason of their ders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran advantage in number, driven those of Atitill it came to the Senate; Xantippus is sent lius out of the field, began to charge the for; gives the reason of his opinion; and in Roman battalions in flank, and put them conclusion, being made General of the in great distress; who being forced to turn African forces, he puts himself into the field face every way, could neither pass forward The Army which he led, confifted of no nor yet retire; but had very much ado to more than twelve thousand foot, and four make good the ground whereon they stood. thousand horse, with an hundred Ele-In the mean while, such of the Romans, phants. No greater were the forces where as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, with the Carthaginians fought for all that and left them at their backs, fell upon the they had, Libertyes, Lives, Goods, Wives, Carthaginian Army, that met them in veand Children: which might well make it ry good array. It was no even match. The suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before one were a difordered Company, wearied poken of, were mif-numbered; the one con- with labour and hurt; the other, fresh, is of an hundred and forty thousand, and well prepared, to have dealt with

therefore a great flaughter with little fight; the natural care, to preferve himfelf and the Romann halfily recoiled to the body of others, by yielding to such an office of humatheir Army, which being surrounded with nity, as is common in all wars (not groundthe enemy, and spent with travail, fell all ed upon deadly hatred ) only in regard of to rout, upon the defeat of these troops, some small advantage. Whatsoever the that open the way to a general overthrow. Carthaginians thought of him; fure it is So the Carthaginians obtained a full victory; that his faithful observance of his word destroying the whole Roman Army, save given, cannot betoo much commended. But two thousand, and taking five hundred pri- that grave speech, which he made in the Sefoners, together with Atilius the Conful. nate, against the exchange of prisoners, ap-Of their own they lost no more than eight pears, in all reason, to have proceeded from hundred Mercenaries, which were flain a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than when the fight began, by two thouland of from any necessity of State. For the Exthe Romans: that wheeling about to avoid change was made foon after his death; the Elephants, bare down all before them: wherein the Romans had the worse bargain, and made way even to the Carthaginian by fo much as Right as himfelf was worth. As trenches. These were the two thousand for the authority of all Historians, that that escaped, when the whole Army behind magnifie him in this point; we are to conthem was routed. All the rest were either lider, that they lived under the Roman Emtaken or flain. Hereby fortune made the pire: Philinus, the Carthaginian, perhaps did Romans know, that they were no less her censure it otherwise. Yet the death which vaffals, than were the Carthaginians: how in- he fuffered with extream torments, could not folent soever they had been in their propo- be more grievous to him, than it was dishofition of peace, as if they had purchated from pourable to Carthage. Neither do I think her the inheritance of their prosperity, that the Carthaginians could excuse themwhich shenever gave nor fold to any mor- selves herein; otherwise than by recriminatal man. With what joy these newes were tion: saying, that the Romans deserved to be welcomed, when they came to Carthage, no better intreated, for as much as it is their we may easily conjecture; and what great ordinary practice to use others in the like things the vertue of one man hath often fort. Cruelty doth not become more warbrought to pass in the world, there are many rantable, but rather more odious, by being examples to prove, no less than this of Xan- customary. It was the Roman fashion, to tippus: all of them confirming that sentence whip almost to death, and then to behead, of Eurypedes, Mens una Sapiens, plurium vincit the Captains of their enemies whom they manus; Many mens hands equal not one wife took, yea, although they were fuch as had After this great service done to the Car- fore it seems not meet, in reason, that they

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thaginians, Xantippus, returned into Greece ; should cry out against the like tyrannical inwhether for that he was more envyed than folency in others, as if it were lawful only honoured, or for what other cause, it is un- in themselves.

known. was very memorable. He was fent from his intolerable demands; and of the fudden Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and valour, whereinto the Carthaginians fear ransom of prisoners on both sides: giving was changed by meer desperation; calls to his faith to return if the business were not remembrance, the like insolency of others effected. When he came to Rome, and plainly in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolufaw that his Country should lose by the bar- tion in those, to whom all reasonable grace gain: fo far was he from urging the Senate hath been denyed. In such cases I never hold unto compassion of his own milery, that he it impertinent, to add unto one, more testiearnestly perswaded to have the prisoners in monies; approving the true rules, from Affick left to their ill destinies. This done, which our passions carry us away. In the year 1378, the Genomaies wonso painstaken, he was rewarded with an hor- fast upon the Venetians, as they not only rible death. For this his constancy and dravetheir Gallies out of the Sea, but they faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the brought their own fleet within two miles of Carthaginians seem to have judged him an Venice it self. This bred such an amazement obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in the City of Venice, that they offered unto in his prosperity would hearken to reathe Genowaies (their state reserved) whatso fon, nor yet in his calamity would have ever they would demand. But Peter Doria,

alwayes made fair wars with them. Where-

The consideration both of this missor-The death of Atilius Regulus the Conful, tune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius

blown up with many former victories, would to their colt. For the Romans took by force hearken tono composition; save the yield- an hundred and sourteen of their fleet, and ing of their City and State to his discretion. drew them after them to Clypea; where Hereupon the Venetians, being filled with they staid no longer, than to take in their didain, thrust out to Sea with all their re- own men that had been belieged: and this maining power, and affail Doria with fuch done, they made amain toward sicil, in maining power, and anall Daria with then done; they made amain toward Seel, in desperate tury, that they break his fleet, kill hope to recover all that the Carthaginians held therein. In this hasty voyage they four core boats of Padoa, and four thousand prisoners, recover Chiozza, and all the plates the prisoners, recover Chiozza, and all the plates the prisoners of the Phots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the ces taken from them; and following their scason threatned some violent storms, which victory, enter the Port of Genoa, entorcing ever hapned between the rifing of orno, and the Genomaies basely to beg peace, to their of the \* Deg stare. Now although the Piof Infolency.

# 6. I X.

How the affairs of Carthage prospered after the victory against Atilius: How the Romans, having loft their fleet by tempeft, resolve to for sake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in war, between Nations divided by the Sea.

extream difhonour and diadvantage, being lots of the Roman fleet had thus fore-warn-" There we bearen; which, being victorious, they might ed them of the weather at hand, and certi-mo the have commanded, to their greatest honour fied them withal, that the South coast of world, and advantage. The like hapned to the Sicil had no good Ports, wherein to fave which hath Earl of Flanders, in the year 1380. when themselves upon such an accident: yet this times of having taken a notable, and withal victorious Nation was perswaded, that the cutragious an over-cruel revenge upon the Gantois, he wind and feas feared them no lefs, than did beside refused mercy to the reit, who in all humi- the Africans; and that they were able to the accility, submitting themselves to his obedience, conquer Elements themselves. So refusing dental offered their City, goods, and estates, to to stay within some Port, as they were ad-have upon be disposed at his pleasure. This when he vised, they would needs put out to Sea; our Coast had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved thinking it a matter much helping their mas flaw to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their City with five thousand chosen men, after this victory against the bias the of their City with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they less Towns upon the coast. The merciles in the charge the Earl, break his Army, enter winds in the mean while overtake them, wet use through metally with his vanquilhed fol- and near unto Camerina, overturn and thrust manches lowers; and enforce him to hide himself headlong on the rocks, all but fourscore of Angel under an heap of thraw, in a poor cottage; of three hundred and forty fines; to as their states, out of which with great difficulty he eleaformer great victory was devoured by the these mod ped, and faved himself. Such are the fruits Seas, before the same thereof recovered winds, Cornerde

call the Notes, or Northwinds, are very feneful! and therefore tray that navigate in Unife parts, the habour till those months take end. Contest the fifth being as ill adviced, in patting the Seas towards Affet, in the Winter quarter contrary to the council of A. Dail; 3 as he was in the unfallands times to continue his tiege better After it Lavians, lost an hundred and ferry thips by tempets, and fateen Galles, with all celled in them, or imany victables, border, and munitonal a 10 all on 16.5 to great, than his retreat, both from before the one and the other, was extream dishonourable.

The Carthaginians, hearing what had hapned, repair all their warlike veffels ho-DY the reputation of this late victory, ping once again to command the Seas: they Dall places that had been loft in Africk, are also as confident of their land-forces return to the obedience of Carthage. On- fince the overthrow of Atilius. They fend ly Clypea stands out; before which the Asdrubal into sicil with all their old Souldi-Carthaginians fit down, and affail it, but ers, and an hundred and forty Elephants imin vain: For the Romans, hearing of the barked in two hundred Gallies. With this loss of Atilius, with their forces in Africk, Army and fleet he arrives ar Lilybann; where and withal, that Clypca was belieged, make he begins to vex the Partifans of Rome. But ready a gross Army, and transport it in a advertity doth not discourage the Romans: fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies. They build in 3. moneths (a matter of great commanded by M. Emilius, and Ser. Ful- note ) one hundred and twenty thips; with vius, their Confuls. At the Promontory of which, and the remainder of their late ship-Mercury, two hundred Carthaginian Gal- wrack, they row to Panormus, or Palerma, lies, fet out of purpose, upon the bruit of the chief City of the Africans in Sicil, and their coming, encounter them: but greatly furround it by Land and Water: after a Hhhhhh 2

therefore a great flaughter with little fight; the natural care, to preferve himself and the Romans hastily recoiled to the body of others, by yielding to such an office of humatheir Army, which being furrounded with nity, as is common in all wars (not groundthe enemy, and spent with travail, fell all ed upon deadly hatred ) only in regard of to rout, upon the defeat of these troops, some small advantage. Whatsoever the that open the way to a general overthrow. Carthaginians thought of him ; fure it is So the Carthaginian, obtained a full victory; that his faithful observance of his word destroying the whole Roman Army, save given, cannot be too much commended. But two thousand, and taking five hundred pri- that grave speech, which he made in the Sefoners, together with Atilius the Conful. nate, against the exchange of prisoners, ap-Of their own they lost no more than eight pears, in all reason, to have proceeded from hundred Mercenaries, which were flain a vain-glorious forwardness, rather than when the fight began, by two thousand of from any necessity of State. For the Exthe Romans: that wheeling about to avoid change was made foon after his death; the Elephants, bare down all before them: and made way even to the Carthaginian trenches. These were the two thousand for the authority of all Historians, that that escaped, when the whole Army behind magnifie him in this point; we are to conthem was routed. All the rest were either lider, that they lived under the Roman Emtaken or flain. Hereby fortune made the pire: Philinus, the Carthaginian, perhaps did Romans know, that they were no less her censure it otherwise. Yet the death which vassals, than were the Carthaginians: how in- he suffered with extream torments, could not folent foever they had been in their propo- be more grievous to him, than it was diffiofition of peace, as if they had purchased from nourable to Carthage. Neither do I think her the inheritance of their prosperity, that the Carthaginians could excuse themwhich she never gave nor sold to any mor- selves herein; otherwise than by recriminamind.

honoured, or for what other cause, it is un- in themselves. known.

was very memorable. He was fent from his intolerable demands; and of the sudden Carthage to Rome, about the exchange and valour, whereinto the Carthaginians fear ranfom of prisoners on both sides: giving was changed by meer desperation; calls to his faith to return if the business were not remembrance, the like insolency of others effected. When he came to Rome, and plainly in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolufaw that his Country should lose by the bar- tion in those, to whom all reasonable grace gain: fo far was he from urging the Senate hath been denyed. In fuch cases I never hold unto compassion of his own misery, that he it impertinent, to add unto one, more telliearneftly perfivaded to have the prifoners in monies; approving the true rules, from Africk left to their ill destinies. This done, which our passions carry us away. he returned to Carthage: where for his In the year 1378, the Genowates wonfo painstaken, he was rewarded with an hor- fast upon the Venetians, as they not only rible death. For this his constancy and dravetheir Gallies out of the Sea, but they faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the brought their own fleet within two miles of Carthaginians feem to have judged him an Venice it felf. This bred fuch an amazement obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in the City of Venice, that they offered unto in his prosperity would hearken to reathe Genowaies (their state reserved) whatsofon, nor yet in his calamity would have ever they would demand. But Peter Doria,

wherein the Romans had the worse bargain, by fo much as Regulas himself was worth. As tal man. With what joy these newes were tion: saying, that the Romans deserved to be welcomed, when they came to Carthage, no better intreated, for as much as it is their we may easily conjecture; and what great ordinary practice to use others in the like things the vertue of one man hath often fort. Cruelty doth not become more warbrought to pass in the world, there are many rantable, but rather more odious, by being examples to prove, no less than this of Xan- customary. It was the Roman fashion, to tippus: all of them confirming that sentence whip almost to death, and then to behead, of Eurypedes, Mens una sapiens, plurium vincit the Captains of their enemies whom they manus; Many mens hands equal not one wife took, yea, although they were such as had alwayes made fair wars with them. Where-After this great service done to the Car- fore it seems not meet, in reason, that they thaginians, Xantippus, returned into Greece; should cry out against the like tyrannical inwhether for that he was more envyed than folency in others, as if it were lawful only

The consideration both of this missor-The death of Atilius Regulus the Conful, tune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius

blown up with many former victories, would to their colt. For the Romans took by force hearken to no composition; save the yield- an hundred and fourteen of their fleet, and ing of their City and State to his discretion. drew them after them to Clypea; where Hereupon the Venetians, being filled with they staid no longer, than to take in their didain, thrust out to Sea with all their re- own men that had been belieged: and this maining power, and affail Doria with fuch done, they made amain toward sicil, in desperate fury, that they break his fleet, kill hope to recover all that the Carthaginians deperate ruy, and they bean insuces, an imperior recover an that the *Cartonginian* Doria himfelf, take nineteen of his Gallies, held therein. In this hafty voyage they fourfeore boats of Padoa, and fourthoufand despite the advice of the Pitots, who pray prioners, recover Chiesza, and all the pla-testaken from them; and following their cason threatned some violent storms, which victory, enter the Port of Genou, enforcing ever hapned between the rifing of Orion, and the Genorates basely to beg peace, to their of the \* Dog-starr. Now although the Piof Infolency.

#### 6. IX.

How the affairs of Carthage prospered after tages of a good fleet in war, between Nations divided by the Sea.

extream dishonour and disadvantage, being lots of the Roman sleet had thus forc-warn- There a hearen; which being victorious, they might ed them of the weather at hand, and certi-of the have commanded, to their greatest honour fied them withal, that the South coast of world, and advantage. The like hapned to the Sicil had no good Ports, wherein to fave which hads Earl of Flanders, in the year 1380. when themselves upon such an accident: yet this times of having taken a notable, and withal victorious Nation was perswaded, that the cutragious an over-cruel revenge upon the Gantois, he wind and feas feared them no less, than did beside refused mercy to the rest, who in all humi-the Africans; and that they were able to the accirefuled mercy to the rell, who in an intumoffered their City, goods, and estates, to to fay within some Port, as they were ad ince upon be disposed at his pleasure. This whenhe had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved thinking it a matter much helping their arm the to extinguish themutterly; they iffue out reputation, after this victory against the that felof their City with five thousand chosen men, Carthaginian fleet, to take a few worth-never fails and armed with a desperate resolution, they less Towns upon the coast. The merciles in the and armed with a desperate resolution, they person so with upon the coart. In the reference we charge the Earl, break his Army, enter winds in the mean while overtake them, Wet Engles (pell-mell) with his vanquished followed and near unto Camerina, overturn and thrust mands. lowers; and enforce him to hide himself headlong on the rocks, all but fourscore of Angue under an heap of straw, in a poor cottage; of three hundred and forty ships, so as their tumber, out of which with great difficulty he elea- former great victory was devoured by the those most ped, and faved himself. Such are the fruits Seas, before the same thereof recovered winds, Konte.

call the Natts, or Northwinds, are very feneful: and therefore they that ensygate in those parts, take hashour till those months take end-though till those months take end-though till those so that Affet, in the Winter quarter contrary to the council of A. Dails; as he was the unfalled times to contrain his tage before Affet, in Landaus, Jold like unfallonable times to contrain his tage before Affet; in Landaus, Jold mans, having loft their fleet by tempes, resolution to forfake the Seas: The great advantions the forfake the Seas: The great advantions the forfake the Seas: The great advantions the forfake the Seas: The great advantions the forfake the Seas: The great advantions the forfake the Seas: The great advantions the forfake the Seas: The great advantions the forfake the Seas: The great advantions the f

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Hhhhhh 2

while they take it, and leaving a Garrison wail against London, suddenly imbarqued: therein, return to Rome.

ing in Africk: to which purpose they imploy- There finding ill entertainment, he again ed C. Servilius, and C. Sempronius, their Con- thipt his men, and entred the Severn, making fuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some Edmond to march after him, to the succour fooil they made upon the coasts of Africk: of Worcester-shire, by him greatly spoiled. but Fortune robbed them of all their get- But when he had Edmond there, he failed tings. For in their return, they were first back again to London: by means whereof. fet upon the fands, and like to have perish he both wearied the King, and spoiled ed, near unto the leffer syries, where they where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. were fain to heave all over boord, that fo And this was not the least help, which the they might get off: then, having with much Netherlands have had against the Spaniards. ado doubled the Cape of Lilybaum, in their in the defence of their liberty, that being passage from Panormus towards Italy, they Masters of the Sea, they could pass their loft an hundred and fifty of their thips by Army from place to place, unwearied, and foul weather. A greater discouragement entire, with all the Munition and Artillery never Nation had; the god of the wars fa- belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the voured them no more, than the god of the time, wherein their enemies have been able waters afflicted them. Of all that Mars to do it. Of this an instance or two. The enricht them with upon the Land, Neptune Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, one of robbed them upon the Seas. For they had the greatest Captains, and of the worthiest now loft, besides what they lost in fight, Princes, that either the present or preceding four hundred and fix Ships and Gallies, with Ages have brought forth, in the year 1590. in them.

could not be performed without an Army, portance, and mastered it. and the provisions that followit, in lefs than | And to fay the truth; it is impossible for

advantage of transporting Armies by water, of the Sea. Hereos I had rather, that Spain between Commun, and Famund Ironside. For than England should be an example. Let it Canutus, when he had entred the Thames therefore be supposed, that King Philip the with his Navy and Army, and could not pre- second had fully resolved to hinder Sir John

and failing to the West landed in Dorset-Shire. Very desirous the Romans were to be do- fo drawing Edmund and his Army thither. all the munition and Souldiers transported carryed his Army by Sea, with forty Canons to Breda: making countenance either to The exceeding damage hereby received, befiege Boifleduc, or Gertreviden Berg; which perswaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send diers, and victuals. But as soon as the wind only a Land-army into Sicil, under L. Cecili- ferved, he fuddenly fet fail, arriving in the us, and F. Furius, their Consuls. These they mouth of the Meuze, turned up the Rhine, transport in some threescore ordinary pas- and thence to Ifel, and fate down before fage boats, by the straights of Meffana, that Zutphen. So before the Spaniards could are not above a mile and a half broad from march over land round about Holland, land to land. In like fort, the overthrow above four fore mile, and over many great which airing received in Africa, occasioned Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, chiefly by the Elephants, made them less Zutphen was taken. Again, when the Spanish cholerick against the Carthaginians, than be- Army had overcome this wearisome march, fore; fo that for two years after, they kept and were now far from home, Prince the high and woody grounds, not daring to Maurice, making countenance to fail up the fight in the fair and champion Countreys. Rhine, changed his course in the night, and Eut this late resolution of forsaking the Seas sailing down the stream, he was set lasted not long. For it was impossible for down before Hullt in Brabant, ere the them to succour those places which they spaniards had knowledge what was become held in Sicil, without a Navy, much less of him. So this Town he also took, before to maintain the War in Africa. For, where the spanish Army could return. Laftly, the as the Romans were to fend forces from spanish Army was no fooner arrived in Bra-Messana to Feesta, to Lilybeum, and to other bant, than the Prince Maurice, well attendplaces in the extream Welt parts of sicil, ed by his good fleet, having fortified Hulls, making cometime a march of above an hun- fet fail again, and presented himself before dred and forty English mile by land, which Nymegen in Gelders, a City of notable im-

14. dayes; the Carthaginians would pass it any maritime Countrey, not having the with their Gallies, in eight and forty hours. coafts admirably fortified, An old example we have, of that great against a powerful enemy, that is master Don Antonio, King of Portugal, before the tive. This he holds only upon supposition a gates of Lysborn; and that he would have in absence of our shipping; and comparativekept off the English, by power of his land- ly, as that it is a more safe and easie course. forces; as being too weak at Sea, through to defend all the coast of England, than to the great overthrow of his mighty Armado, suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to by the fleet of Queen Elizabeth, in the year fight with him. Surely I hold with him, foregoing. Surely, it had not been hard for that it is the best way, to keep our enemies him, to prepare an Army, that should be from treading upon our ground; wherein, able to refit our eleven thousand. But if we fail, then must we seek to make him where should this his Army have been be- with, that he had stayed at his own home. towed? If about Lisborn; then would it In such a case, if it should happen, our have been easie unto the English to take, judgements are to weight many particular ransack, and burn the Town of Groin, and circumstances, that belongs not unto this to waste the Country round about it. For discourse. But making the question general, the great and threatning preparations of and politive. Whether England, without the the Earl of Altemira, the Marquels of Se- help of her fleet, be able to debarr an enemy rally, and others did not hinder them from from landing; I hold that it is unable so to performing all this. Neither did the hafty do: and therefore I think it most danger levy or eight thousand under the Earl of rous to make the adventure. For the in-Andrada, terve to more effect, than the in- couragement of a first victory to an enemy, create of honour to Sir John Norris, and his and the discouragement of being beaten to Affociates: confidering that the English the invaded, may draw after it amost pericharged these, at Puente de Burgos, and pas- lous consequence. ting the great Bridge, behind which they It is true, that the Marshal Monluc, in his lay, that was flanked with shot, and barri- Commentaries, doth greatly complain, that cadoed at the further end, routed them, by his wanting forces, wherewith to have took their camp; took their General stand-kept the frontier of Guyenne, they of the ard with the Kings Arms, and pursued them Protestant Religion, after the battel of Monover all the Country, which they fired. If a contour, entred that Country, and gathered Royal Army, and not (as this was) a Com- great strength and relief thence; for if the pany of private adventurers, had thus begun King ( faith he ) would have given me but thewar in Galicia; I think it would have reasonable means, j'eusse bien garde à Monmade the Spaniards to quit the guard of feur l'Admiral de fair boire fes Chevaux en Portugal, and make haste to the defence of la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral

Naris in the year 1589. from prefenting | Commentaries, that maintains the afficina-

their St. Jago , whose Temple was not far from watering his horses in the River of Gafrom the danger. But, had they held their ronne. Monfeur de Langey, on the contrary first resolution, as knowing, that Sir John side, prefers the not fighting upon a fron-Norre his main intent was, to bring Don An- tier with an invading enemy, and commends tonio, with an Army into his Kingdom, whi- the delay; which course the Constable of ther coming strong, he expected to be rea- France held against the Emperour Charles, dily and joyfully welcomed: could they when he invaded Provence. Great difference have hindred his landing in Portugal? Did I know there is, and a diverse consideration not he land at Penicha, and march over to be had, between fuch a country as France the Country to Lisborn, fix dayes journey? is, strengthened withmany fortified places: Did not he (when all Don Antonio his promites failed) pass along by the River of but of the bodies of wen. And it was of in-Lysborn to Cascaliz, and there, having won vasions upon firm land, that these great the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and de- Captains spake: whose entrances cannot be part? But thefe, though no more than an uncertain. But our question is of an Army handful, yet were they Englishmen. Let us to be transported over Sea, and to be landconfider of the matter it felf; what another ed again in an enemies countrey, and the Nation might do, even against England, in place left to the choice of the invader. landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if Hercunto I say, That such an Army cannot we had none. This question, Whether an be resisted on the coast of England, without invading Army may be resisted at their land- a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of ing upon the coast of England, were there no France, or any other Countrey: except evefleet of ours at the sea to impeach it; is alreaty and handled by a learned Gentleman of our erful Army, in each of them, to make op-Nation, in his observations upon Cafars position. For let his whole supposition be granted ?

CHARI

granted; That Kent is able to furnish twelve | Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place thousand foot, and that those twelve thou- to place in vain, after a fleet of ships; they fand be layed in the three best landing will at length sit down in the mid-way; and places within that Country, to wit, three leave all at adventure. But fay it were thousand at Margat, three thousand at the otherwise; that the invading enemy will Neffe, and 6000. at Foulkston, that is some offer to land in some such place, where there what equally distant from them both; as also shall be an Army of ours ready to receive that two of these troops (unless some other him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that order be thought more fit ) be directed to when the choice of all our Trained Bands. strengthen the third, when they shall see and the choice of our Commanders and the enemics fleet to bend towards it: I fay, Captains, shall be drawn together (as they that notwithstanding this provision, if the were at Tilbury in the year 1588.) to attend enemy, fetting fail from the Isle of Wight, the person of the Prince, and for the dein the first watch of the night, and towing sence of the City of London: they that retheir long boats at their sterns, shall ar- main to guard the coast can be of no such rive by dawn of day at the Neffe, and thrust force, as to encounter an Army like unto that their Army on snore there; it will be hard wherewith it was intended that the Prince for those three thousand that are at Margat, of Parma should have landed in England. (twenty and four long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their perience, what to think in such a case. There fellows at the Neffe. Nay, how shall they are not many Islands in the world, better at Foulkstone be able to do it, who are near- fenced by nature, and strengthned by art: it er by more than half the way? feeing that being every where hard of access; having the enemy, at his first arrival, will either no good harbour wherein to shelter a Navy make his entrance by force, with three or of friends, and upon every cove or watering tour hundred shot of great Artillery, and place a Forterected, to forbid the approach quickly put the first three thousand, that of an enemies boat. Yet when Emanuel de were intrenched at the Nesse, to run; or sylva, and Monsseur de Chattes, that held it elfe give them so much to do, that they to the use of Don Antonio, with five or six of breath, will easily out run the Souldiers that coast them. Les armees ne volent point en poste; Armies neither flye, nor run post, saith a Marshal of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleet of ships may be feen at Sun-fet, and after it, at the Lishall not be able to march it in fix dayes. shuffled together, by affect of equal or an-Again, when those troops lodged on the swerable strength.

The lile of Tercera hath taught us by exshall be glad to send for help to Foulkston, thousand men, thought to have kept the and perhaps to Margat : whereby those Marques of Santa Cruz, from setting foot places will be left bare. Now let us sup- on ground therein; the Marquess having pose, that all the twelve thousand Kentish showed himself in the Road of Angra, did Souldiers arrive at the Neffe, ere the enemy fet fail, ere any was aware of it, and arrived can be ready to dif-embarque his Army, fo at the Port des Moles, far diftant from thence; that he will find it unfate, to land in the face of fo many, prepared to withfitand him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game; (having liber-third property of the ty to go which way he lift ) under covert all regard of his worth, and of three hunof the night, fet fail towards the East, dred French prisoners murdered in cold where what shall hinder him to take blood; had instructed de Chattes, and his ground, either at Margat, the Downes, or followers, what they might expect at that elsewhere, before they at the Neffe can be Marques his hands: Therefore it is not like, well aware of his departure? Certainly, that they were flow in carrying in relief to there is nothing more case than to do it. Fort des Moles. Whether our English would be Yea, the like may be faid of Waymouth, Pur- perswaded to make such diligent haste, from beck, Poole, and of all landing places on the Margat to the Nesse, and back again, it may South Coalt. For there is no man ignorant, be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greatthat thips, without putting themselves out er march than all the length of Tercera; whereof the French-men had not measured the one half when they found themselvs prevented by the more nimble Ships of Spain.

This may fuffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse is able to follow, cannot be denyed to find; yet by the next morning they may re- land where it lift, in England, France, or elfecover Portland, whereas an Army of foot where, unless it be hindred, encountred, and our Prince and Nation, that a few Islanders and betake themselves to an hasty trot. should not think any advantage great For end of this Digression, I hopethat I could not refuse; as, Sir William Brook, Sir the shore. William Harvey , Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Skot, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henry Tinnes, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Mar-cellus Throckmorton, Captain Laurence Kemis, Captain William Morgan, and others such as well understood themselves and the enemy: by whose help, with Gods favour, I made good the enterprize I undertook. As for the working of the Sea, the steepness of the cliffs, and other troubles that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these ( notwithstanding ) made five or

The difficult landing of our English, at the companies of the enemies, that fought to Fayal, in the year 1597. is alledged against impeach our landing, abandon the wall, this: which example moves me no way to whereon their Mulketiers lay on the Reft think, that a large Coast may be defended for us, and won the place of them without mins, that a fixing Fleet. I landed those English any great loss. This I could have done with against a mile and therefore ought to take lelsdanger, fo that it should not have served notice of this inftance. For whereas I find for example of a Rule, that failed even in an Action of mine cited, with omiflion of this example: but the reasons before almy name; I may, by a civil interpretation, ledged, (together with other reasons well my name; and other teachs were think, that there was no purpose to defraud known to some of the Gentlemen aboveme of any honour; but rather an opinion, named, though more private than to be here that the enterprize was such, or so ill man-laid down) made me rather follow the way aged, as that no hancur could be due unto of bravery, and take the shorter course; hait. There were indeed some which were in ving it still in mine own power to fall off that voyage, who advised me not to under- when I should think it meet. It is easily faid, that voy Be and I hearkned unto them somethat the Enemy was more than a Coward; what longer than was requifite, especially, (which yet was more than we knew) neither whilt they defired me to referve the title of will I magnifie such a small piece of service, while they defined the toteless that the state of the sta for a greater perion. But when they began to the form of difficulty; I gave them to understand, the fame which I now maintain, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could the fame enemy troubled us more in our more income. thanto invade it. The truth is, that round the lame enemy troubled us more in our havelanded my men with more eafe than I march towards Fayal, than in our taking the did; yea without finding any refittance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea eventhere where I landed, if I would have men were lain or hurt by him, among whom taken more company to help me. But, with- Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; out fearing any imputation of raffiness, I and that such, as (thinking all danger to be may fay, that I had more regard of reputa- raft, when he had won good footing) would may ray, that business, than of safety. For I needs follow us to the Town, were driven thought it to belong unto the honour of by him, to forfake the pace of a man of war,

enough, against a Fleet set forth by @ Eliza- this question shall never come to tryal; his beth: and further, I was unwilling, that Majesties many movable Forts will forbid fome Low-Country Captains, and others, not the experience. And although the English of mine own fquadron, whose affiftance I had will no less disclain, than any Nation under refused, should please themselves with a Heaven can do, to be beaten upon their own fweet conceit ( though it would have been ground, or elfewhere by a forain enemy; yet thort, when I had landed in some other to entertain those that thall assail us, with place ) That for want of their belp I was driven their own Bief in their bellies, and before to turn tail. Therefore I took with me none, they eat of our Kentifb Capons, I take it to but men affured, Commanders of mine own be the wifest way. To do which, his Majesty squadron, with some of their followers, and after God, will imploy his good ships on the afew other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon

6. X.

CHAP.

6. X.

the Roman Conful at Panormus: The fiege and taking all their Elephants. of Lilybrum at plassine, in despite to Kome; the whole State filled with courted Lilybrum at plassine, in despite to Kome; the whole State filled with courter Roman Fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to flop, the pussage of good fail, which they fent into Sicil, to give end their Confuls, abandon the Seas again.

fible, either to keep what they had already down before it, and possess themselves of all gotten in Sicil, or to enlarge their Domi- the places of advantage near unto it, espenions in Africa, or elsewhere; they resolved |cially of such as command the Haven, which once again, notwithstanding their late mis- had a very difficult entrance. They also heat

with all the force he had; and charging the other troops, that flood embattailed, hent. How the Romans attempt again to get the Ma- terly brake them, and put them to their flery of the Seas. The Victory of Cacilius heels; making a great flaughter of them

thips. The Romans, by reason of grievous to that war, that had now lasted fourteen lolles received under Claudius and Junius years. With this Fleet and Army the Romans resolved to attempt Lilybaum, the only place of importance which the Carthaginians When, without a strong Navy, the heldin sicil; and all (indeed ) save Dreparation found it altogether imposes that was near adjoyning. They set adventures, to strengthen their Fleet and to the ground fix Towers of defence; and Ships of war. So causing fifty new Gallies by forcible engines weaken so many other to be built, and the old to be repaired, they parts of the City, as the defendants begin gave them in charge ( together with certain to despair. Yet Himileo, Commander of the Legions of Souldiers ) to the new Confuls, place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man Legions of Sounders y to the new Commun, place, tailerth not in an inat belongs to a man e. Asilius, and L. Manlius. On the other of War. All that is broken he repaired fide, Alarubal perceiving that the Romans, with admirable diligence; he maketh mapartly by reason of the shipwrack which my survivous sallies, and giveth to the Romans. they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the when had lately suffered, partly by reason of all the affronts that possibly could be made, the overthrow which they received by Xan-life, and they suffice a, were less daring than they ten thousand Souldiers; among which there had been in the beginning of the war : and are certain Lieutenants, and other petty of withall, that one of the Confuls was return- ficers, that configure to render and betray ed into Italy, with the one half of the Army, the Town. But the matter is revealed by an and that Cacilius, with only the other half, Achaan, called Alexon, who had formerly in remained at Panormus; he removed with danger of the like treason, saved Agrigentum. the Carthaginian forces from Lilybaum to- Himilco useth the help of Alexon, to affure wards it, hoping to provoke Cacilius to fight. the hired Souldiers, and imploys Hannibal to But the Consul was better advised. For when appeale the troops of the Gaules, which did Asignabal had made his approaches some- waver, and had sent their agents to theenewhat near the Town, Cacilius caused a deep my. All, promise constancy and truth; so trench to be cut, a good diffance without that the Traitors, being unable to perform the ditch of the City: between which and what they had undertaken, are fain to live his trench he left ground sufficient, to em- in the Koman Camp as fugitives, that had battel a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he wrought no good whereby to deterve their gave order that they should advance them- bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten felves, and pass over the new trench, till such thousand Souldiers is fent from Carthage to time as the African Elephants were thrust their relief, having Hannibal the Son of upon them. From those beasts he command- Amilear for their Conductor: who, in deed them to retire by flow degrees till they spight of all resistance, entred the Port and had drawn on the Elephants to the brink of City, to the incredible joy of the besieged. the new trench, which they could by no The old Souldiers, together with the new means pats. This they performed according-ly. For when the Elephants were at a fland, with hope of great reward ) refolved to fet they were to gawled and beaten, both by upon the Romans in their trenches, and eithose Souldiers that were on the inside of ther force them to abandon the siege, or (at the trench, and by those that lay in the least ) to take from them, or set on fire their trench it felf, that being inraged by their ma- engines of battery. The attempt is prefently ny wounds, they brake back furioully upon made, and purfued to the uttermost, with their own foot-men, and utterly difordered great flaughter on both fides. But the Rothem. Cacilius etpying his advantage; fallied mans, being more in number, and having places, and with extreme difficulty defend haps it is and the Fleet of Merchants that

frand the state of things at Lilybaum; but that the Duke of Parma, belieging introve know not how to fend into the Town. A and finding no polibility to mafter it, othercertain Rhodian undertakes the service; and wife than by famine, laid his Cannon on the having received his dispatch, fails with one bank of the River, so well to purpose, and having received its displaced in an application and collective to Agaily, a little Island near Lipbosto for even with the face of the Water, that he sem. Thence, taking his time he steered dithought it impossible for the least beaut to pass by Yet the Isollanders and Zelanders, with Gally, he past through the best of the look of the little with the set of the with the with the set of the with the wi Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere coming to find a good market for their Butany of those which the Romans had to guard ter and Cheefe, even the poor men. attendthe Port, could thrust from the shores on ing their profit when all things were

vert of the dark night, nor dreading to be Dukes Cannon, in despith of it; when a boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited strong Westerly wind, and a Tide of slood hisreturn, he set sail, and shipped his Oars favoured them; as also with a contrary this Gally being exceeding quick of fteer-wind, and an ebbing water, they turned age, and himself expert in all parts of the back again: so as he was forced, in the Channel ) recovered the Havens mouth, and end, to build his Stockado overthwart, the Sea, in despight of all the pursuit made the River, to his marvellous trouble and the Sea, in despite to the state of the Sea, in despite the state of t

In the beginning of our late Queens time, wife not. when Denmark and Sueden were at war, our East-land Fleet, bound for Leif-land, was He arrives in safety at Carthage, and makes forbidden by the King of Denmark to trade them know the estate of Lilybeum. Others with the subjects of his enemies, and he also, after this, take upon them to do the threatned to fink their ships if they came like, and perform it with the same sucbut did beat down, with Artillery, a great | night, and not suspecting any such impedi-part of the Fort of Elsenour; which at that ment, ran her self aground thereon, and

the advantage of the ground, hold full their time was not fo well rampard, as now perfollowed him, went through without any They of Carthage defire greatly to under- wound received. Neither was it long, lince extreme dear in Antwerp, passed in boats of The next day, neither attending the co- ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the

ofbeing encompassed by many, he turned again towards the mouth of the Haven, the year 1596, when we entred the Port of challenging any one, if any one durst come Caliz, neither did the Fort at Puntal, when forth to undertake him. This enterprise, and we were entred, beat us from our anchoring the well performing of it, was very remark- by it; though it plaid upon us with four able, and much wondred at in those dayes: demi-cannons within point-blank, from fix and yet, where there was no great Artillery, in the morning till twelve at noon. The fiege nor any other weapons of fire, to kill afarr of oftend, and of many other places, may be off, the adventure which this Rhodian made given for proof, how hard a matter it is to was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, iftop the passage of a good ship, without anotavaliant and judicious man of war will not there as good to encounter it. Yet this is fear to pass by the best appointed Fort of true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of Europe, with the help of a good Tide, and Angra in Tercera, that there is no passage a leading gale of wind: no, though forty along beside it, or that the ships are driven, pieces of great Artillery open their mouths to turn upon a bow-line towards it, wanting against him, and threaten to tear him in all help of wind and tide; there, and in such places, it is of great use, and fearful : other-

But to return to our adventrous Rhodian: through the straights of Elfenour. Notwith- cess. The Romans therefore labour to choak standing this, our Merchants ( having a ship the Channel; and, for that purpose, fill maof her Majesties, called the Minion to de-fined them ) made the adventure, and su-fink them therein. The force of the Tides staining some Vollies of thot, kept on their clears it again in part : but they grounded course. The King made all the provision so many of those great bellied-boats in the he could to ftop them, or fink them at their best of the entrance, as at last it made a return. But the Minion, commanded ( as I manifest rising and heap, like a ragged Island take it) by William Burrough, leading the in the passage. Hereby it came to pass, that way, did not only pass out with little loss, a Carthaginian Gally, taking her course by

Roma Consil at Panormus: The fiege and taking all their Elephants. How a Rhodian Gally en-Try brum at pleasure, in despright of to Rome; the whole State filled with conto reconsite abandon the Seas again.

by reason of the snipwrack which ny turious sallies, and giveth to the Roman has lately suffered, partly by reason of all the affronts that possibly could be made. exerthrow which they received by Xan- He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) are certain Lieutenants, and other petry of that one of the Consuls was return- ficers, that conspire to render and betray that Couling, with only the other half, Achean, called Alexon, who had formerly in tonained at fanormus; he removed with danger of the like treason, faved Agrigentum. Carthe miss forces from Lilybeum to- Himileo useth the help of Alexon, to assure Logueg to provoke Cacilius to fight. the hired Souldiers, and imploys Hannibal to Conful was better advised. For when appeale the troops of the Gaules, which did traces to be cut, a good diltance without that the Traitors, being unable to perform esench he lett ground sufficient, to em- in the Roman Camp as fugitives, that had A Legion of his Souldiers. To these he wrought no good whereby to deterve their green that they should advance them bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten and puts over the new trench, till such thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to their relief, having Hannibal the Son of Amilear for their Conductor: who, in deconstitute by flow degrees till they spight of all resistance, entred the Port and Grave on the blephants to the brink of City, to the incredible joy of the befieged The old Souldiers, together with the new This they performed according | Companies, (thereto perfwaded by Himiko real vitenthe Liephants were at a stand, with hope of great reward ) resolved to set were to a whed and beaten, both by upon the Romans in their trenches, and e-

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The report of this Victory being brought Roman Fleet. That it is a matter of rage, prepared a new Fleet of two hundred it should to flop the passage of good fail, which they fent into sicil, to give end The Romans, by resson of grievous to that war, that had now lasted fourteen to d under Claudius and Junius years. With this Fleet and Army the Remans resolved to attempt Lilybeum, the only Then, without a ftrong Navy, the heldin Sicil; and all (indeed) lave Dreps. place of importance which the Carthaginian honor tound it altogether impof num, that was near adjoyning. They fet downbefore it, and possess themselves of all downbefore it, and possess themselves of all the places of advantage near unto it, especially of fuch as command the Haven, which adding norw ithit anding their late mif- had a very difficult entrance. They also best to the ground fix Towers of defence; and of var. So causing fifty new Gallies by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the City, and the old to be repaired, they parts of the City, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet Himileo, Commander of the 1 301. of So diers) to the new Confuls, place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man Continue of I. Manlius. On the other of War. All that is broken he repaired drawal perceiving that the Romans, with admirable diligence the maketh maten thousand Souldiers; among which there radd had made his approaches some waver, and had sent their agents to theme rear the Town, Cacilius caused a deep my. All promise constancy and truth; so of the City: between which and what they had undertaken, are fain to live to that were on the infide of ther force them to abandon the fiege, or (# by those that lay in the least ) to take from them, or set on firetheir cervar being inraged by their ma- engines of battery. The attempt is prefently trake back turioully upon made, and purfued to the uttermoft, with the men, and utterly ditordered great flaughter on both fides. But the Reyoung las advantages fallied mans, being more in number, and having

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places, and with extreme difficulty defend haps it is : and the Fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any They of Carthage defire greatly to under- wound received. Neither was it long, fince fand the state of things at Lilybann; but that the Duke of Parma, belieging Antwerp. know not how to fend into the Town. A and finding no possibility to master it, othercertain Rhodian undertakes the service; and wife than by famine, laid his Cannon on the having received his dispatch, sails with one bank of the River, so well to purpose, and cally to Agusa, a little Island near Lilybe- fo even with the face of the Water, that he w. Thence, taking his time he steered di- thought it impossible for the least boat to rectly with the Port; and having a passing pass by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, with Gally, he past through the best of the not blown up by any wind of glory, but Channel, and recovered the water-gate ere coming to find a good market for their Butany of those which the Romans had to guard ter and Cheese, even the poor men. attendthe Port, could thrust from the shores on ing their profit when all things were extreme dear in Antwerp, passed in boats of The next day, neither attending the co-ten or twelve Tun, by the mouth of the

again towards the mouth of the Haven, the year 1596, when we entred the Port of challenging any one, if any one durst come Caliz, neither did the Fort at Puntal, when forth to undertake him. This enterprife, and we were entred, beat us from our anchoring the well performing of it, was very remark- by it; though it plaid upon us with four places, it is of great use, and fearful : other-

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dron, thinking to enter, as he had done be- as he could not turn himfelf any way from fore: but this Carthaginian Gally, a little his enemies, nor range himself in any order. before taken, gave him chafe, and gathered Therefore when he found no hope of reupon him, he finds what the is, both by her fiftance, keeping the thore on his left hand form, and by her fwiftness: and being not he thrust out of the Bay with thirty Galable to run from her. refolved to fight with lies, betides his own, and fo fled away: all her. But the is too well manned for him, the rest of his Fleet, to the number of nineto that he is beaten and taken.

the Souldiers being worn with labour and greatly honoured at Carthage; and Clauwatching. But in this despair there rose so dius, for his indiscretion and flight, as much violent a tempest, as some of the Romans disgraced at Kome. Wooden-Towers, by which they over-topt The Romans, notwithstanding this great the walls of Lilybeum, were over-turned loss, arm threefcore Gallies, with which A Greek Souldier undertakes to fire those they fend away L. Junius, their Conful. to that were fallen, and performs it : for the take charge of their business in sicil. Junius fire was no fooner kindled, but being blown arrives at Messana, where he meets with the unto by the bellows of a tempelt, it increa- whole remainder of the Roman Fleet, those fed to fall, as it became refittless, and in the excepted which rode in the Port of Libend burned all to athes, and melted the baum. One hundred and twenty Gallies he brazen heads of the battering Ramms, had; and besides these, he had gotten to-Hereupon, despair and weariness hinder the gether almost eight hundred ships of bur-Romans from repairing their Engines: fo then, which were laden with all necessary that they refolve, by a long fiege, to starve provisions for the Army. With this great the defendants.

of ten thousand Souldiers is fent from wait for some that were too slow of fail to Rome, under M. Claudius, the Conful. He keep company with him along from Mefarrives at Messana, and marcheth over sana. In the mean time he dispatcheth away Land to Lilybaum: where having re-infor- towards Lilybaum his Questors or Treaced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with surers; to whomhe commits the one half of new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their Drebanum, a City on the other fide of the Convoy. Lay of Liphaum. This service the Captains Adherbal was not careless after his late victory: but studied how to use it to the best victory: but studied how to use it to the best Conful embarques his troops, and arrives on advantage. The ships and prisoners that he the fudden in the mouth of the Port. Ad-hadtaken, he fent to Carthage. Of his own herbal is Governour of the Town, a vali- Gallies he delivered thirty to Carthalo, who ant and prudent man of war, who being had threefcore and ten more under his own ignorant of the new supply arrived at Lily-charge; and sent him to try what good might have, was at first amazed at their sudden ap-be done against the Roman Fleet in the Haproach; but having recovered his spirits, ven of Lilybaum. According to his direction, promifeth great rewards to fuch, as by tentive to the keeping in of the belieged Carforward, in great confusion. Adherbal finds on through with his enterprise.

and follows his advantage, and forceth the Conful into a Bay at hand, wherein he the South coast of Sicil, devising how to rangeth himself, having the Land on his work mischief to the enemy; wherein Forback: hoping thereby to keep himself from tune presented him with a fair occasion, being incompassed. But he was thereby, which he wisely managed. He was adver-

was taken. Now comes that brave Kho- and for want of Sca-room, to straightned ty and four fhips, were taken or funk by the Lilybaum, after this, is greatly diffrested, Carthaginians. Adherbal for this fervice is

Fleet he arrives at Syracufe, where he staves Upon relation of what had palt, a supply a while; partly to take in Corn, partly to

he periwades the Souldiers rather to fight Carthalo luddenly enters the mouth of that abroad, than to be enclosed. Herewithall he Haven, where he finds the Romans more attheir valour shall deserve them; offering to thaginians, than to the desence of their own lead them himself, and to fight in the head against another Fleet. So he chargeth them, of his Fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged boords, and takes some, and fires therest. his men, he thrust into the Sea towards the The Roman Camp takes alarm, and hastens Romans. The Conful, deceived of his ex- to the refcue. But Himileo, Governour of the pectation, calls back the foremost Gallies. Town, is not behind hand; who fallies out that he might now marshall them for de- at the same time, and putting the Romans to fence. Hereupon some row backward, some great distress, gives Carthalo good leisure to

which of them would first stir, with a reso- (perhaps) will not be found. lution to affault that, which thould first dare. toput it felf into the Sea. So as now all the three leets were on the South coast of sicil, between the Promontory of Pachinus and The City of Eryx is surprised by the Romans, Lilybaum; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the wind ftormed at South. The Carthaginians, who knew the times of tempelt, and their fignes, tinding (belike) some iwelling billow (for fowe do in the West of England, before a Southernly frorm) hafted to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foul weather in the entrails of their beaft;

against the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

tiled by his Scouts, that they had diferyed, that they refolyed again to tortake the Seas, near a hand, a great fleet, confifting of all and trult only to the fervice of tacir Leginamer of Vetfels. These were the victual ons upon firm ground. But tuch a resolution his, which the Conful Junius, more halfily cannot long hold. Either they must be lets, which they had fent before him to-flrong at Saa, or elle they mult not make than providently, had fent before him to-flrong at Saa, or elle they mult not make wards Lilybaum. Carthalo was glad to hear war in an Illand, against those that have a wards coming: for he and his men were mighter fleet. Yet are they to be excuted, all of courage, by realon of their late victo- in regard or the many great calamittes ries. Accounting therefore the great mul which they had futiered through their want made of Roman Hulks, approaching, to be of fkill. Here I cannot forbear to comrather a prey than a fleet likely to make mend the patient vertue of the spaniards. irrong opposition, he hastens to encounter We seldomor never find, that any Nation them. It fell out according to his expectati- thath endured fo many miladventures and on. The Romans had no mind to fight: but miferies as the Spaniards have done in their were glad to feek shelter in an open Road, Indian Discoveries. Yet perlisting in their full of Rocks under the covert of a poor enterprifes with an invincible constancy, Town, belonging to their party; that could they have annexed to their Kingdom to help to fave them only from the prefent dan- many goodly Provinces, as bury the rememger, by lending themengines and other aid, brance of all dangers pair. Tempetts and wherewith to beat off the Carthaginians that thipwracks, famine, overthows, mutinies, affailed them. Caribalo therefore, having heat and cold, pettilence, and all manner of taken a few of them, lay waiting for the diffeates both old and new, together with relt, that could not long ride under those extream poverty, and want of all things Rocks, but would be forced by any great needful, have been the enemies wherewith change of wind, either to put out into the every one of their most noble discoverers, deep, or to fave their men how they could, at one time or other, hath incountred. Many by taking land, with the loss of all their years have passed oversome of their heads in sapping. Whilit he was busie in this care, the search of not so many leagues: yea more the Conful Junius drew near, and was disco- than one or two have spent their labour, veied. Against him Carthalo makes out, and their wealth, and their lives, in learch of a hindshim altogether unprepared to fight as golden Kingdom, without getting further being wholly ignorant of that which had notice of it, than what they had at their first hapmed. The Conful had neither means to fetting forth. All which notwithstanding, fir nor ability to fight. Therefore he like-the third, fourth, and fifth undertakers, wile ran into a very dangerous Creek; have not been ditheartned. Surely, they are thinking no danger fo great as that of the worthily rewarded with those Treasuries enemy. The Carthaginian feeing this, be- and Paradifes which they enjoy; and well takes himfelf to a station between the two they deterve to hold them quietly, if they Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to fee hinder not the like vertues in others, which 

of the History of the World.

### 6. XI.

and recovered by Amilcar, who finitly holds war with them five years. The Romans , having emptied their common treasury, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victory at Sea of Luctatius the Contal 5 whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between Rome and Carthage.

HE Romans were careful to supply with all industry, by land, the want their South-fayers being all land-Prophets, of thrength at Sea. Therefore they conwere fuddenly overtaken with a boilterous tinue the fiege of Lilsbaum, and feek to South wind, and all the Gallies ferced make fure to themselves all places, whither the enemies thips could not bring relie. This calamity fo discouraged the Remans, The Conful Junius, to cure the wound of

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dishonour, which he had received, be-prelieve them. There he found them pastime thought him what enterprises to undertake. about two years more, hoping still to wea-In the end he resolved to attempt the ry out those that lay over his head, as they Mountain and City of Fryx, with the Tem- on the contrary did their best, to thrust him ple of Venus Erycina: which was the fairest out of those quarters. resolution.

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straightly held (as it were) besieged. And rival. no less was Amilear himself restrained, by Hanno was Admiral of the Carthaginian both of these Garrisons, and such as came to sleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wife

and richeft of all the Itland; and of thefe, At this time, all the care, both of the Roby cunning or treason, he got possession. mans and of the Carthaginians, was bent unto Frex was commodiously seated between the prosecuting of this business at Errx. Drepanum and Panormus; fo that it feemed Wherein it feems true (as Hanibal in Livie a fit place for a Garrison, that should re- spake unto scipio ) that the affairs of Carftrain the Carthaginians from making roads thage never stood in better terms, fince the into the Country. Wherefore Junius for- beginning of the war, than now they did tified both the top of the Mountain, and the For whereas the Romans had utterly forfafirst entrance of the passage from the bot- ken the Seas, partly by reason of their great tom, (both of which places were very de- losses; partly upon confidence of their landfentible) with a good strength of men. But forces, which they held reliftles; Amilear. shortly after, in the eighteenth year of this with a small Army, had so well acquitted war, the Carthaginians fet forth Amilear, fur- himself, to the honour of his Country, that named Barcas. Father of the great Hannibal, by the tryal of five years war, the Carthagi. with a Fleet and Army, who failing to the nian Souldier was judged equal, if not funecoasts of Italy, did throughly repay the rior to the Roman. Finally, when all, that spoils which the Romans made in Africa, might be, had been devised and done, for For he first of all waited and destroyed the the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: Territories of the Locrians, and of the Bru- no way feemed better to the Senate of Rome. tians, that were dependants of Rome. Then than once again to build a fleet; whereby, entred he into sicil, and finding there no if the maftery of the Sea could once be gotwalled City in the Carthaginians power, that ten, it was likely that Amilear, for lack of ferved fitly to infelt the Romans, he occu- supply, should not long be able to hold out. pied a piece of ground of great advantage, But in performing this, extream difficulty and lodged his Army thereon; to confront was found. The common treasury was exas well the Romans, that were in Panormus, haufted : and the coft was not little, that was as those that kept about Eryx, putting him- requisite unto such an enterprise. Wherefore felf between both Armies with admirable there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purfes. Divers of The place that Amilear had seized upon, the principal Citizens undertook to build was not only very strong by situation, but (each at his own charges ) one Quinquehad the command of a Port: whereby it reme, which example wrought fo well, that gave him opportunity to fcour all the coast they, whose ability would not serve to do of Italy with his Fleet, wasting all along as the like, joyned with some others, and layfar as to Cuma. In the lile of sicil he held ling their mony together, concurred twoor the Romans to hard work, lying near unto three of them, in building of another; with Panormus: where in three years abode, he condition to be repayed, when the war was did many notable acts, though not of much finished. By this voluntary contribution. configuence, for that the enemy could net they made and finished two hundred new ver be drawn to hazard the main chance. Quinqueremes: taking for their pattern that Having wearied himself and the Romans excellent shift rowing Gally which they had long enough about Panormus, he undertook gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lia strange piece of work at Eryx. The Roman lybeum, as was shewed before. The charge Garrisons, placed there by Junius, on the of this fleet was committed to C. Luctanus top, and at the bottom of the Mountain, Catulus; who past with the same into sicil were very ftrongly lodged. Nevertheless the Spring following, and entred the Port of Amilear found a way, lying towards the Drepanum; indeavouring by all means to Sea-fide, by which he conveighed his men have forced the City. But being advertised into the City of Erry, that was about the that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand, and midft of the afcent, ere the enemy knew of being mindful of the late losses which his By this it came to pass, that the Romans | Predecessors had received; he was carewhich kept the top of the mountain, were full to put himself in order, against their ar-

Captain, he betook himself to the long Robe. wind, escaping to the lile of Hieronejus. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histothat peace which he thenceforth commend-

with all needful provisions for the Souldiers ing all conclusions to his election and sole at Ergx (for dexterity in making prepara- counsel. tion was the best of his qualities ): but he

in picture, exceedingly formal, and ikilful my repent of his new adventure to Sea. This in picture, executing, the state of the state of the state of the state of feeming reverend. How his re- was a good courle, if it could have been perint beautiful to the state of the stat in the art of tenning Sed, I do not find; but formed. But Catulus used all possible difputation was and actions, as as the first put to and the cantus used an politic difficult of the same of the cantus used an politic difficult of the same of the cantus used an politic difficult of the cantus used an politic difficult of the cantus used and politic difficult of the c it was undertaken by men more worthy lign: not because he was informed of the enethan himfelf. This quality procured unto mies purpose, but that he knew it to be the than the done to many others) both best for them, and for that he feared no danhm (as a nature done to many offices), both of them, and for that he reared no dangood liking among the antient fort, whole ger fo greatly, as to encounter with Amilear, cold temper is averfe from new enterprifes; Wherefore although the weather was very and therewithall an opinion of great fore fight, confirmed by every lofs received. the grain and the Seas wenthigh, when the Carthagnian fleet was deferred yet he rather More particularly, he was gracious among choic to fight with the enemy, that had the the people, for that he was one of the most wind of him, than to suffer his convoy to pais gievous oppressors of their subject Provin- along to Errx, upon unlikely hope of better gnerous opportunity in the future. All that Hanno estians much wealth, but therewithall fuch should have done, Catalus had performed. He hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. had carefully exercised his men in Rowing 5 He had ere this been imployed against the he had lightned his Gallies of all unnecessary Namidians and wild Africans, that were burthens; and he had taken aboard the choice more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in men of the Roman Land-Souldiers. The making War. Of those fugitive Nations he Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounlearned to negled more manly enemies, to ter were utterly broken and defeated, hahis own great dishonour, and to the great ving fifty of their Gallies stemmed and sunk, hut of Carthages, which loft not more by his and seventy taken, wherein were sew less bad conduct, than by his malicious counsel, than ten thousand men, that were all made when, having shewed himself an unworthy prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change or

The state of Carthage, utterly discounes, as a temperate man, and one that stu-raged by this change of fortune, knew not didhow to preferve the League between whereon to refolve. Means to repair their Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how fleet in any time, there were none left; wellhe deserved of his own Country, it will their best men of war by Sea were conappear hereafter: how beneficial hewas to fumed; and Amilear, upon whose valour the Romans, it will appear, both hereafter, and judgement the honour and fafety of the and in his present voyage; wherein he re- Common-weal rested, was now surrounded duced the Carthaginians to a miserable ne- by his enemies in Sicil, where he could cellity of accepting, upon hard conditions, not be relieved. In this extremity, they make dispatch unto Amilear himself, and authorized him to take what course should Hanno had very well furnished his Navy, seem best unto his excellent wisdom, leav-

Amilear, whom no advertity, accompahad neither been careful in training his nied with the leaft hope or poliibility of re-Martiners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor covery, had ever vanquished, looking over in manning his Gallies with frout fellows. He every promife, true or falle, that the prefent thought, that the same of a Carthaginian time could make him, (for to attend any fleet was enough, to make the unexpert Ro- thing from the future he was not able ) remans give way: forgetting, that rather the folved to make trial, whether his necessity refiftless force of tempelts, than any other might be compounded upon any reasonable frength of opposition, had made them to terms. He therefore sent to Luctation the for sake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had ei- Conful an overture of peace: who considerther conceived a right, or else was sent forth ing it well, gathered so many arguments well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all from the present poverty of the Roman to fail to Eryx, and there to discharge his State, wasted beyond expectation in the hips of their lading: and having thus light-former war, that he formerly harkened unto ned himself, he meant to take aboard some it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but part of the Land-army, together with Amil-with provision, That it should hold none car himself, by whose helphe doubted not, otherwise, than if the Senate and People of but that he should be able to make his ene- Rome would ratific it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the sum; and required a shorter time of pay-Carthacinians should clearly abandon the ment. Further also they took order, that Ifle of sicil. Secondly, that they should the Carthaginians should not only depart never undertake upon literon King of syra- out of Sieil it felf, but should also withdraw ente. nor invade any part of his Territories, their Companies out of all other Islands benor the Territories of any of his Friends tween it and Italy, renouncing their whole and Allies. Thirdly, that they should fet at interest therein. liberty, and fend back into traly, all the Ro- Such was the end of the first Punick War mans, whom they held priloners, without that had lasted about twenty four years ransome. Lastly, that they should pay unto without intermission; in which time the the Romans two thousand and two hundred Romans had loft, by fight or shipwrack talents; which make, as the French reckon about feven hundred Quinqueremes; and the talent, thirteen hundred and twenty the Carthaginians about five hundred; the

thousand crowns: the same to be delivered greatness of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and within twenty years next following. Thele Articles were fent to Rome, where of the War it felf: wherein I hold good the they were not throughly approved: but ten judgement of Polyline. That the Roman Commissioners were fent into Bicil, to make in general, did thew themselves the braver perfect the agreement. These Commissio- Nation ; and Amilear , the most worther pers added a thousand talents to the former Captain.

Of divers actions passing between the first and second Panick Warrs.

ø. I.

Of the cruel War begun between the Carthaginians and their own Mercenaries.

gave them rather means and leifure to help believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, themselves in a following war, than cause to would continue longer in an over-burdened hold themselves contented with the prefent estate, than meer necessity did enforce & Now. peace. It is an ancient and true rule, Quid if the Romans themselves could make this leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis; judgement of those Nations, who had little That laws are given by the Conquerors, and else besides their manly resolution, to dereceived of the conquered. But the Romans fend their liberty; furely, they grofly flathad either forgotten the answer that was tered themselves, in presuming that the Carmade unto them. by one of the Privernates; thaginians, who neither in power nor in or elle had forgotten to follow it in this pride, were any way inferiour unto themweighty bufness. For when one or Priver-Telves, would fit down any longer by the num, after a rebellion, defending in the Se- loss and dithonour received, than untill nate the caufe of his City, was demanded by they could recover their legs, and the a Senator, It hat peace the Romans might hope strength which had a while failed themto for, or affire themselves of, if they quitted their take revenge, But occasion, by which (while present advantage over them; he unswered well entertained) not only private men, in those words, S. banan decleritis, & fidual but Kings and publick States, have more O perpetuam; si malam, hand dinturnam; si prevailed, than by any proper prowessor the peace be good and faith at that you give us, vertue, with-held the tempest from the Roit will be perfectual, if it be ill, then of little mans for a time, and turned it most fearfulcontinuance. To this answer the Senate, at ly upon Africa, and the Carthagraians them that time gave fuch approbation, that it was felves.

HE Romans having partly by faid, Viri & liberi vocem auditam; An credi force, and partly by composi- posset, ullum populum, ant hominem denia; in tion, thrust the Carthaginians ea conditione, cujus eum paniteat, diutius out of Sicil, and all the little quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the Islands thereunto adjacent, speech of a manly, and free man; for who could as Carthage, unto fome fuch reatonable coni- cancelled without fatisfying their expectapolition, as the prefent emptiness of the com- tion by some unordinary largers. mon Treasury did require : fo that the fift might have been friendly discharged, whole Army being arrived, and lodged in and a good president left unto the second Sicca, Hanno comes thither to clear the acand third, whilft their dif-junction had made compt. Now is the day come, wherein they them unable to recover their whole due by shall all be made rich; especially if they ca force. But the Carthaginians were of a con- hold together, in maintaining froutly tray opinion. They thought to find, in the common cause. So think they all; and whole Army, fome that would be contented femble themselves to hear what good to his charges in the mean while.

all, when they came back for their pay. But them.

for after the first Punick war was ended, for news or their tellows arrival, and their for arctime first, went to Libbarn, own pay. Burine's they had none to do, and there is a sum of the non where the transported into Africk: the care the whole argument of their discourse inof which business he committed unto Goffa, clining them to nothing elfe. Their daily of whom 3 as to a man of approved fufficient talk was, how rich they should be, when all to a more than the finding the delivered over his charge. Gefo had their mony came inshow much would tall to a epecial confideration of the great fumms, every fingle thate and for how long time the wherein Carthage was indepted unto there City was behind hand with them in reckon-Africanies, and withall, of the great dif-ing. They were all grown Arithmeticians, bility to make payment. Therefore he and he was thought a man of worth, that thought it the wifeft way, to fend them over could find most reason to increase their deby handfuls a few at a time; mands, to the very highest, even beyond hat to the first might have their dispatch, their due. No part of their long service was and be gone, ere the fecond or third Com- forgotten; but the comfortable words and paniesarrived. Herein he dealt providently. promites of their Captains, leading them for it had not been hard to perswade any forth to any dangerous light, were called to imall number, lodged within fo great a City mind, and fo many obligations, not to be Thus the time patieth away, untill the

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to gratifie the Publick State, by remitting agretpart of their own due: and hoped, by luch an example, to draw all the multibyluch an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. ny promifes made to them; all which were So they detained the first and second com- to be considered in their Donative. Hanno mers; telling them, that they would make begins a very formal Oration; wherein he an even reckoning with all together. Thus bewails the poverty of Carthage, tells them every day the number increased, and many how great a summ of mony is to be paid diforders (a thing incident among Souldiers) unto the Romans; reckons up the excellive were committed; which much disquieted charges whereat the Common-wealth had the City, not accustomed unto the like. In been in the late War; and finally defires this regard it was thought fit, to remove them to hold themselves contented with them all to some other place, where they part of their pay, and out of the love which might be less troublesome. This must be they bare unto the City, to remit the rest. done by some colourable words of perswa- Few of them understood his discourse: for fion: for their number was already to great, the Carthaginian Army was composed of funthat it was not fafe to offend them too far. dry Nations, as Greeks, Africans, Gaules, Ligu-Wherefore it is devised, that they should all rians, Spaniards, and others; all of different attend the coming of their fellows, at sicca: languages. Yet they stared upon him, and receiving every one a piece of gold, to bear were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the This motion is accepted, and the Soul- whole tenour of his speech, had informed diers began to dis-lodge; leaving behind the rest what cold comfort he brought; they them their wives, their children, and all their were all inraged, and fared like mad-men, baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away so that nothing would serve to appeale

the Carthaginians have no fancy to their re- Hanno would fain have affwaged their futurning into the Town; and therefore com- ry, but he knew not how: for he less underpel them to truss up their fardels, that they stood their dissonant loud noises, than they might have none occasion left to make any did his Oration. An Army collected out of errands thither. So to Sicca they removed, fo many Countries, that have no one lanwith all their goods: and there lay waiting guage common to all, or to the greater part

CHAP 11.

of them, is neither easily stirred up to muti- they list. They fend ever and anon some ny nor easily pacified, when once it is bro- of their Senatours into the Camp; who ken into out-rage. The best that Hanno can promise to satisfie all demands, as far forth do. is to use the help of Interpreters and as it should be possible. And thus by shifting Mellengers. But these Interpreters mistake from one extreme to another, they make his meaning; some for want of skill; others the Souldiers understand into what fear the of fet purpofe; and such as deliver his er- City was driven; which cannot chusebur rands in the world fente, are best believed, add much insolency to the passions already Finally, they think themselves much abused stirred up. by the Carthaginians, and refolve to demand This fudden change of weather, and the their own in peremptory terms, at a nearer true cause of it, is quickly found by the Ardistance. In this mood they leave Sieca, my, which thereupon grows wife, and find. and march as far as Tunis, that is within a ve- ing the feafon fit, labours to make a great

own errour. It is a good Rule .

Curandum inprimis, ne magna injuria fiat Fortibus & miferis.

Have special care, that valiant poverty Be not opprest with too great injury.

Rule, hath also been careless in providing to or their Captains direct them where to fecure her felt against the inconvenience fetch it? But this would not serve. They that might follow. She had fuffered the faid that they had been fometimes drivento whole multitude, whereupon she was like buy; and that ( fince they could not rememto give cause of discontent to joyn it self in ber how much, or at what rate they bought) to one body, when the feveral troops might they would be paid for their provision dueasily have been dispersed: she hath turned ring the whole time, and according to the out of her gates the wives, children, and dearest price that Wheat had born, whilst goods of these poor men, which, had she rethe War lasted. Such are now the demands tained in shew of kindness, she might have of these Mutiners; who might easily have used them as Hostages for her own safety; been satisfied with far less charges, and sat and by imploying a miferable penny-father, more honour, by receiving their due at the in her negotiation with men of War, the first. But now they make no end of crahath weak ned the reputation of her bravest ving. For whilst the Carthaginians are per-Captains, that might best have served to plexed about this Corn mony; the Souldiers free her from the threatning danger. Yet have devifed many more tricks, whereby likely it is, that Amilear had no defire to extort a greater fumm of mony, without to be used as an instrument in defrauding his all regard of shame. Since therefore no good own Souldiers of their wages: especially end could be found of these controversies confidering, that as he best could bear wit- which daily did multiply, it was thought ness of their merits, so was he not ignorant, convenient, that one of the Carthaginians, that means to content them were not want- which had commanded in Sicil, should be ing, if the Citizens had been willing there-chosen by the Souldiers to reconcile all difunto. Hereupon may be added a probable ferences. Hereunto the Army condescend conjecture that Hanno, with his complices, ed, and made choice of Gefco: partly out of who at this very time was a bitter enemy to good liking to him, who had shewed himself Amilear, had the boldness to impose the at all times, a friendly man to them, and careblame of his own wretched counsel upon full of their good, especially when they were the liberal promises made by the Captains, to be transported into Africk: partly out Amile ar therefore did wifely, in suffering of a dislike which they had conceived of those that maligned him, to have the managing of their own plot, and to deal the in all this busie time. So Gesco comes among to buy what they lift, and at what price tion of Hanno. He calls unto him first of all

rv little of Carthage, and there they encamp, harvest. Mony must be had, and without Now begin the Carthaginians to find their any abatement. This is granted. Many have loft their horfes in publick fervice of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived fome years by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from Carthage. If they had lived they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the Carthaginians ? Was it not all But this proud City, having neglected the one, whether the thips did bring in provision, cards which themselves had shuffled. This them; and to please them the better, comes they continue to do as foolifhly as they had not without mony: which might give bet at first begun. They furnish a market at ter countenance to his proceedings, than Tunis, for the Souldiers; whom they fuffer barren eloquence had done to the negotian

not stood against it.

that in the late war had fled from a Roman, we are no finall part, lyes at their gates, ready whom he ferved, and therefore flood in to help us if we be men. A better opportunity fear, left he should be delivered back to his cannot be expetted; for were our swords once Master; at whose hands he could expect no drawn, all Africk would rife on our side. As todeter others from the like seditious be-haviour. This Matho deals with his Country-menthe Africans; telling them, that they were in far worse condition, than either By such perswasions Matho wins the Afiithe Gaules, the Greeks, the Spaniards, or any can Souldiers to his own purpose. They are for aign Mercenaries. For (faith he) Thefe our not now fo greedy of money, as of quarrel, companions have no more to do, than to re-which he that seeketh will not miss to find. cover their mages, and so get them gone: but When Geso therefore offered to pay them we that are to flay behind in Africa, shall be their whole stipend presently, but referred called to another manner of accompt, when we their other demands, for horses and victuals, every danger of war, as any other men, we same purpose) can be heard, save only Throw, bould now fland quaking like flaves, and not throw.

the Captains, and then the feveral Nations dare to open our mouths, when others take liapart, rebuking them gently for that which berty to require their due. This notwithin and had passed a advising them temperately con- ing yemay after your selves, that we are like ening the prefent; and exhorting them to to be raught tetter manners, as foon as our felcontinue their love unto the State, which lows are gone: in regard of whore they are had long entertained them, and would content to phalow their indignation with a needs alwaies be mindful of their good fer- | 200.1, but a forced countenance. Let us therevices. After this he began to put hand to his fore be mire, and confider that they hate and ourse, offering to give them their whole pay fear us: their travel will show it felf when in hand; and then after to confider of other their fear is once past: unless we now take our reckonings at a more convenient time. This time, ind whileft we are the fironger, enfectle bad been well accepted, and might have them to greatly, that their batted shall not be ferved to bring all to a quiet pass, if two fe- able to do us wrong. All their frength consistdirious Ring-leaders of the multitude had eth in money, wherewithall they have hired others against us, and us against others. At There was in the Camp one spendius, a the present they have neither money nor friends. furly fellow, and audacious, but a flave ; The best Army that ever served them, whereof less than to be whipt and crucified. This for the Carthaginians, Whither can they fend ters, than to be winter and channel wretch could find no better way to prolong for help? The cafe it felf is plan. Ent we milt his own life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to withdraw men from care of ligence of Gesco, by incensing these Gaules and private matters, and make his own reftitution impossible, were his Master never for else it behoveth us to please our good Maimportunate. With Spendius there affociated fters, by joyning with them against our fellows. himself one Matho, an hot-headed man, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our that had been so forward in stirring up the mages, if so (peradventure) they may be won tumult, as he could not choose but sear, lest to forgive us, or not over cruelly to punish our hisown death should be made an example, faults committed. He is most worthily a

are left alone; so that we shall have cause to to some other more convenient time; they wish that we had returned home beggars, ra- brake into great outrage, and fay, that they ther than loaden with the money, which (little will have all, even all at once, and that out though it be) shall break our backs. Te are of hand. In this tumult, the whole Army not ignorant, how tyrannically those our haugh- Hock together about Matho and Spendius; 17 Masters of Carthage do reign over us. They whose diligence is not wanting to add more think it reasonable, that our lives and goods fuel to the fire already blazing. Matho and Should be at their disposition; which they have spendius are the only men to whom the Soulat other times been accustomed to take from diers will hearken: if any other stand up to we even without apparent cause, as it were to make a speech, a showre of stones, slying declare their fover aignty: What will they now about his cars, puts him to silence, that he do, feeing that we have demeaned our felves shall never afterwards speak word more. Neias free-men, and been bold to fet a good face ther flay they to confider what it is that on the matter, demanding our own, as others any man would fay : enough hath been faid have done? Te all do know, that it were a already by those good spokes men; so very shame for us, if having been as forward in that no other word (though perhaps to the

Kkkkk

Now the rebellion begins to take form. | Carthaginians themselves have forgotten. Matho and Spendius are choice Captains; but the people, that have suffered to much who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruf- retain all in perfect memory. Wherefore not fians, will fuffer so man to make his own only fuch as can bear arms, are ready to do peace, but purfue their own ends, under fair fervice in this great commotion; but the vepretence of the common cause. All which ry women bring forth their Jewels, and notwithstanding, Gelo is not wanting to the other ornaments, offering all to sail for good of his Country, but adventures him the maintenance of fo just a quarrel. By this felf upon their fury. One while he deals great forwardness, and liberal contribution. with the Captains, and other principalmen; Matho and Spendius are supplyed with a taking them by the hand, and giving gentle strong aid of threescore and ten thousand words: another while, he works with the Africans: and are moreover furnished with leveral Nations; putting them all in hope of money, not only to fatisfie the prefent appetheir own hearts delire, if any reason would tite of their men ; but sufficient to continue content them. None of them are to fullen as the war begun, though it should be of long the Africans: indeed none of them had to endurance. good caufe. They require him peremptorily to give them their own, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not fo coverous as they feem : but will be Divers Observations upon this War with the more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than Gefco knows: he fees not that Matho hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, of Tyranny, and how Tyrants are fain to use he tells them, That they may do well, if they itand in want of money, to feek it of their Captain Matho. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They itay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon |vel.Behold a tyrannical City, persecutedby him also, and all that are with him: as inten- her own Mercenaries with a deadly war. It ding to take this in part of payment, and, for is a common thing, as being almost necessathe rest, to take another course. Matho and ry, that a tyranny should be upheld by Mer-Spendius are glad of this. It had little pleafed cenary forces: it is common that Mercenathem to fee their fellows begin to grow ries should be false: and it is common that calm, by his fair language: wherefore they all war made against Tyrants, should be excast into bonds both him, and all the Cartha- ceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet weselginians that they can find; that so the Ar- dome hear, that ever the ruine of a tyranny my may be freed from danger of good ad- is procured or fought by those that were monition, which they call Treaton. After hired to maintaint the cower of it : and felthis follows open war. Matho folicites all dome or never do we read of any war that Affick, and his Emballadors are every where hathbeen profecuted with fuch inexpiable wellentertained. Neither is it needful to hatred, as this that is now in hand. use perswasion: the very fame of this rebel- That which we properly call Tyranny, is, lion sufficeth to draw the whole Country into A violent form of Government, not respeding it. Now must the Carthaginians be plagued the good of the subject, but only the pleasure of tor those oppressions, with which they have the Commander. I purposely forbear to say plagued others. It is true that advertity hath that it is, the unjust rule of one over many: never been untold of her errours : and as for very truly doth Cleon in Thucydides tell she is ever assured to hear her own, so com- the Athenians, that their dominion over monly with her own she undergoes those of their subjects, was none other, than a meer other men. The Africans finding the Car-tyranny; though it were fo, that they themthaginians hang under the wheel, tell them selves were a great City, and a popular estate. boldly, that their Impositions were merci- Neither is it peradventure greatly needful, less; that they took from them the one half that I should call this form of commandof their Corn; that they doubled their tri- ing, violent: fince it may well and eafily be butes in all things elfe; and that they inflict- conceived, that no man willingly performs ed upontheir valials the greatest punishment obedience to one regardles of his life and

# 6. Il.

Mercenaries.

# †. I.

the help of Mercenaries.

for the least offences. These ciuclties the welfare ; unless himself be either a mad

by inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will mercenaries are, by mutual obligation, firmnot fuffer it to be restrained with any limits ly affured unto the Tyrant. of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one fo honest, as may put oure the tace of any moderation? It That the Tyranny of a City over her subjects is is much that he hath gotten by extorting from some few: by sparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deal from every one: but taken a great usal from every one. He hath every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their Purses, and now he hath

man, or (which is little better) wholly pof- [shall all be permitted to do as he doth; to man, or (winted to do as he don't to felled with some extreme pallion of love. rob, to ravish, to murder, and to fatisfie their The practice of tyranny is not alwayes of a own appetites, in most outragious manner. The practice of change is more being thought fo much the more affured to like extremity: for fome Lords are more being thought fo much the more affured to gentle than others, to their very flaves; and their Mafter, by how much themore he fees gentic than others, or home, is mild enough them grow harefull to all men elfe. Confiderbe that is most crack to think it be but for his ing in what age, and in what language I towards others, Nevertheles, in large Do write; I must be fain to say, that these are own available in the Rulers differetion can-minions, wherein the Rulers differetion can-not dreams: though fome English-man perminions, wherein the transfer of the diffe haps that were unacquainted with Hiltory, not extend might be found between the lighting upon this leaf, might suppose this worth of feveral men, it is commonly feen, difcourse to be but little better. This is to that the tafte of sweetness drawn out of op-pression, hath so good a reliss, as continual-

# t. II.

that a tyrannical City must likewise use mercenary Souldiers.

wrung an then Covetoufness is never satis- jects; it may appear some wayes to be more enough: but (as Covetoufness is never satisfed) he thinks that all this is too little for a moderate, than that of one man: but in maflock, though it were indeed a good yearly ny things it is more intolerable. A City is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one mobbery, and is not better pleafed with the man) fearful of her life: the lefs need hath gains, than with the Art of getting, He is ha- she therefore to secure her self by cruelty. ted for this, and he knows it well: but he A City is not luxurious in consuming her thinks by cruelty to change hatred into treasures, and therefore needs the lets to fear. So he makes it his exercise, to torment pluck from her Subjects. If War, or any and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which other great occasion drive her to necessity course, if he suspect none unjustly, he may be of taking from her Subjects more than orfaid to deal craftily; but if Innocency be not dinary fumms of money; the fame necessity fafe, how can all this make any Conspirator makes either the contribution easie, or the to frand in fear, fince the Traitor is no worfe taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so rewarded than the quiet man? Wherefore grievous and hatefull, as those that are infohe can think upon none other fecurity, than lent. Remember (faith Caligula the Emperour, to disarm all his Subjects; to fortifie him to his Grand-mother Antonia) that I may do felf within some strong place; and, for defence of his Person and State, to hire as many lufty Souldiers as shall be thought suffino harm. And Juvenal reckons it, as the cent. These must not be of his own Country: complement of all torments, inslicted by a for if not every one, yet some one or other cruel Roman Dame upon her slaves, that may chance to have a feeling of the publick whilest she was whipping them, the painted milery. This considered, he allures unto him her face, talked with her Gossips, and used a desperate rabble of strangers, the most un- all signs of neglecting what those wretches honelt that can be found; such as have nei-telt. Now feeing that the greatest grievanther wealth nor credit at home, and will ces wherewith a domineering State offcntherefore be carefull to support him, by deth her Subjects, are free from all sense of whose only favour they are maintained indignity; likely it is, that they will not ex-Now, left any of these, either by detestation tremely hate her, although desire of liberty of his wickedness, or (which in wicked men make them weary of her Empire. In these ismost likely) by promise of greater reward respects it is not needfull that she should keep than he doth give, should be drawn to turn a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and mainhis sword against the Tyrant himselt: they tain them in all villany, as a Dionysius or Kkkkk 2

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CHAP. II

Suitable

able to terrific and to hold perforce in obe- lading of wax and honey. These fly into all dience, all male-contents. These things, quarters, and are quickly acquainted with confidered alone by themselves, may serve to every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all prove. That a City is scarce able to deserve the Province, is worthy to be desired. They the name of a Tyranness, in the proper sig- know all a mans enemies, and all his fears:

that the miferies wherewith a Tyrant load-into acquaintance with these masterful eth his people, are not so heavy, as the bur- guests, in hope to win their friendship, were dens imposed by a cruel City. Not with an endless labour, (yet it must be underout some appearance of truth, it may be gone) and such as every one hath not means faid, that Lult, and many other private pal- to go about : but were this effected, what fions, are no way incident to a City or Cor- availeth it? The love of our Governour is poration. But to make this good, we shall purchased with gifts: the Successour of this have need to use the help of such distincti- man, he is more loving than could be wished ons, as the Argument in hand doth not re- in respect of a fair Wise or Daughter, then quire. Was not Rome lascivious, when Cato comes the third, perhaps of the contrary fawas fain to rife and leave the Theater, to the ction at home, a bitter enemy to both his end, that the reverend regard of his gravity fore-goers, who feeks the ruine of all that might not hinder the people from calling for have been inward with them. So the mifea fnew of naked Courtifans, that were to be ries of this tyranny are not simple, but interbrought upon the open stage? By common laced (as it were) with the calamities of civil practice, and general approved cultom, we War. The Romans had a Law De Repetundir. are to centure the quality of a whole State; or, of Recovery, against extorting-Maginot by the private vertue or vice of any one strates: yet we find, that it ferved not wholman, nor by metaphytical abstraction of ly to restrain their Provincial Governours; the univerful from the fingular; or of the who presuming on the favour of their own four may prove better.

dred and friends, who mean not to return one most wicked man.

Agathocles must do: her own Citizens are home empty to their hives, without a good becoming themselves, within a little space, All this notwithstanding, it shall appear, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow Corporation, from those of whom it is com- Citizens, and of their kindred and friends pounded: I fay therefore, (as I have faid elfe- at home, were bold in their Provinces, to where) That it were better to live under one work all these enormities rehearsed; though pernicious Tyrant, than under many thou- somewhat the more sparingly, for fear of fands. The reasons proving this, are too many judgement. If the Subjects of Rome groaned to fet down, but a few may fuffice. The de- under fuch oppressions, what must we think fires of one man, how inordinate foever, if of those that were Vastals unto Carthage? they cannot be fatisfied, yet they may be The Romans imposed no burthensome triwearied; he is not able to fearch all cor-butes; they loved not to hear, that their ners; his humour may be found, and footh- Empire was grievous; they condemned maed; age or good advice, yea, or some unex- ny noble Citizens for having been ill Gopected accident may reform him: all which vernours. At Carthage all went quite confailing; yet is there hope, that his fuccef- trary: the rapines newly devised by one Magistrate, served as presidents to instruct Many Tyrants have been changed into another; every man resolved to do the worthy Kings: and many have ill used their like, when it should fall to his turn; and he ill-gotten Dominion, which, becoming here- was held a notable States-man, whose robditary to their posterity, hath grown into beries had been such, as might afford a good the most excellent form of Government, share to the common treasure. Particular even a lawful Monarchy. But they that live examples of this Carthaginian practice are under a tyrannical City, have no such hope: not extant: the Government of Verres the their Mistress is immortal, and will not Roman in Sicil, that it is lively set out by flacken the reins, untill they be pulled out | Tully, may ferve to inform us, what was the of her hands, and her own mouth receive demeanour of these Punick Rulers, who stood the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. in fear of no fuch condemnation, as Verres This is wofull: yet their present sufferings underwent. By prosecuting this discourse, make them less mindfull of the future. New I might inferr a more general proposition; flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the same That a City cannot govern her subject Profore, out of which others had already fucked vinces fo mildly as a King: but it is enough their fill. A new Governour comes yearly to have shewed. That the tyranny of a City among them, attended by all his poor kin-lis far more intolerable, than that of any CHAP. II. the harred of their subjects: and again, tu into the hands of the King of iragen. table to the hatred of the subjects, is the Like unto his father was Francu Sforza, the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, first of that race, Duke of Millan; who being force in Spain, the spaniarus in Chirch, seeing logicities with his perion, into their hands, he each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, was by them delivered up unto his encmy the farther they were from home, as if they the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loches unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using Spanish hirelings could properly be termed the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We fee. Mercenaries: for they were subject unto that when the Emperour of Constantinople Carthage, and carried into the field, not on- had hired ten thousand Turks against his ly by reward, but by duty. Yet feeing their neighbour Princes; he could never, either

## t. III.

ter than Mercenaries.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

ferve, than to those against whom they ferve, they are seditious, unsaithfull, direction drew the English into Ireland; but the one places and Countries, whereinto they are two kingdoms. drawn; as being held by no other bond, Against all this, may be alledged the

Surable to the cruelty of fuch Lords, is fudden, and forced her to put her felf that, in wars abroad, the Carthaginians durft entertained by the Millanois, forced them to whethe service of African Souldiers; in Africk become his slaves, even with the very same if felf they had rather be beholding to army which themselves had levied for them others, that were farther fetcht. For the own defence. But Lodowick Sforza, the fon of fame purpose did Hannibal, in the second this Francis by the just judgement of God, Panick war, shift his Mercenaries out of their was made a memorable example unto posteown Countries; Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispa- rity, in losing his whole estate by the trea-3 ni in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus chery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his ating, miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati own Father had been. For having waged an spendia facerent; that the Africans might army of Switzers, and committed his Durchy, Gree in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being together with his person, into their hands, he

duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer the Sea upon Asia fide; which gave bedefire of gain, that made them fight; I will ginning to the Christian servitude, that soon not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, laster followed. Alexander the Son of Casbut hold them, as Polybius also doth, no bet fander, sought aid of the great Demetrius : but Demetrins, being entred into his Kingdom, flew the same Alexander, who had invited him, and made himfelf King of Macedon. Syracon the Turk was called into Egypt by Sanar Soldan, against his opposite: but this Turk did fettle himfelf fo furely in Fgypt, that Saladine his successor became Lord HE extream danger, growing from the thereof; and of all the holy Land, foon afimployment of such Souldiers, is well ter. What need we look about for examobserved by Machiael: who sheweth, that ples of this kind? Every Kingdom, in effect, they are more terrible to those whom they can furnish us. The Britains drew the Saxons obedient, devourers, and destroyers of all and the other soon became Lords of those

than their own commodity. Yea, that which good success of the United Provinces of the is most fearful among such hirelings, is, that Netherlands, using none other than such they have often, and in time of greatest ex- kind of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed tremity, not only refused to fight, in their these Low-Countreys have many goodly and defence, who have entertained them, but re- ftrong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are volted unto the contrary part; to the utter wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their ruine of those Princes and States that have kind. They are frout Sea-men, and therein is trusted them. Those mercenaries (saith Ma- their excellency; neither are they bad at chiavel) which filled all Italy when Charls the the defence of a place well fortified: but in eighth of France did pass the Alpes, were open field they have seldom been able to the cause that the said French King won the Itand against the Spaniard. Necessity there-Realm of Naples with his Buckler without a fore compelled them to feek help abroad: Sword. Notable was the example of sforza and the like necessity made them forbear to the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Mil- arm any great numbers of their own. For, lan; who being entertained by Queen Joan with money raised by their Trade, they of Naples, abandoned her service on the maintained the War: and therefore could,

Agathocles must do: her own Citizens are home empty to their hives, without a good able to terrific and to hold perforce in obe- lading of wax and honey. These fly into all dience, all male-contents. These things, quarters, and are quickly acquainted with confidered alone by themselves, may serve to every mans wealth, or whatsoever else, in all prove, That a City is scarce able to deserve the Province, is worthy to be desired. They the name of a Tyrannels, in the proper fig-know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: nification.

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were obliced by mutual pledges. It is disputa- the Castle of Loches unto his dying day. ble. I confess, whether these African and The like inconvenience is found, in using Spanish hirelings could properly be termed the help of forrain Auxiliaries. We see, Mercenaries: for they were subject unto that when the Emperour of Constantinople Carthage, and carried into the field, not on- had hired ten thousand Turks against his ly by reward, but by duty. Yet seeing their neighbour Princes; he could never, either by by reward, but by duty. Let being their heighbour Frinces; he could never, either duty was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer the Sea upon Afia fide; which gave bedefite of gain, that made them fight; I will ginning to the Christian servitude, that soon ont nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as Polybius also doth, no bet-funder, sought aid of the great Demetrius: but ter than Mercenaries.

# t. III.

Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

places and Countries, whereinto they are two kingdoms.

Sutable to the cruelty of fuch Lords, is fudden, and forced her to put her felf the hatred of their subjects: and again, su- into the hands of the King of Aragon. table to the hatred of the subjects, is the Like unto his father was Francu Sforza, the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, first of that race, Duke of Millan; who being that, in wars abroad, the Carthaginians durst entertained by the Millanois, forced them to use the service of African Souldiers; in Africk become his slaves, even with the very same ir felf they had rather be beholding to army which themselves had levied for their others, that were farther fetcht. For the own defence. But Lodowick sforza, the fon of fame purpose did Hannibal, in the second this Francis by the just judgement of God. Punick war, thift his Mercenaries out of their was made a memorable example unto posteown Countries; Ut Afri in Hispania, Hispa-rity, in loling his whole elfate by the trea-tions, in Africa, melior procul ab dono futurus chery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his aterg, miles, velut matuis pignoribus obligati own Father had been. For having waged an fipendia facerent; that the Africans might army of Switzers, and committed his Durchy, Groe in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being together with his person, into their hands he each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, was by them delivered up unto his enemy the farther they were from home, as if they the French King, by whom he was inclosed in

Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdom, flew the same Alexander, who had invited him, and made himfelf King of Macedon. Syracon the Turk was called into Egypt by The dangers growing from the use of mercenary Sanar Soldan, against his opposite: but this Turk did fettle himfelf fo furely in Egypt. that Saladine his successor became Lord HE extream danger, growing from the thereof; and of all the holy Land, foon afimployment of such Souldiers, is well ter. What need we look about for exam-Imprograme to fuch solutions, is well fer. What need we look about for examinating the property of the propert

drawn; as being held by no other bond, Against all this, may be alledged the than their own commodity. Yea, that which good success of the United Provinces of the is most fearful among fuch hirelings, is, that Netherlands, using none other than fuch they have often, and in time of greatest ex- kind of Souldiers, in their late war. Indeed tremity, not only refused to fight, in their these Low-Countreys have many goodly and defence, who have entertained them, but re- ftrong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are volted unto the contrary part; to the utter wealthy, industrious, and valiant in their rune of those Princes and States that have kind. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is trusted them. Those mercenaries (saith Ma-their excellency; neither are they bad at chiave!) which filled all Italy when Charls the the defence of a place well fortified: but in eighth of France did pass the Alpes, were open field they have seldom been able to the cause that the said French King won the stand against the spaniard. Necessity there-Realm of Naples with his Buckler without a fore compelled them to feek help abroad: Sword. Notable was the example of Sforza and the like necessity made them forbear to the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Mil- arm any great numbers of their own. For, lan; who being entertained by Queen Joan with money raised by their Trade, they of Naples, abandoned her fervice on the maintained the War: and therefore could,

multitude into good liking of their present cise tyranny? Why did the Athenians?

ill foare unto the Pike and Musket, those Soveraignty of their Country, which they hands, that were of more use in helping to offered, yet being provoked by the spafill the common purse. Yet what of this? wiard their enemy, pursued him with contithey fped well. Surely they fped as ill as might be, whilest they had none other than in Scotland, a King too just and wise (though mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitless at not ingaged in any quarrel) either to make mercenary sounders. Many irruners are not magacian any quarter) either to make tempts, made by the Prince of Orcoge, can profit of his neighbours miferies, or to help witnefs it: and that brave Commander Count Lodowick of Nassau, felt, to his grief, own inheritance: then might the Nasherin his retrait from Graningham; when, in landers very fafely repole confidence in the the very instant that required their service forces of these their Neighbour Countries. in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for The Souldiers that came unto them from money, and so ran away. This was not the hence, were (to omit any other commendaonly time, when the hired Souldiers of the tions) not only regardfull of the pay that States, have either fought to hide their co- they should receive, but well affected unto wardize under a shew of greedines; or at the cause that they took in hand : or, if any leaft, by meer covetousness, have ruined in were cold in his devotion, unto the fide one hour, the labour of many moneths. I whereon he fought, yet was he kept in or will not fland to prove this by many examder, by remembrance of his own home, where the English would have rewarded him Neither would I touch the honour of Monfeur the Duke of Anjou, brother to the rupted by the Spaniard. They were there-French King; fave that it is folly to conceal fore trufted with the cultody of Cities; they what all the world knows. He that would were held as friends, and patrons; the neceflay open the danger of forraign Auxiliaries, needeth no better pattern. It is commonly the pay-day came, with lendings, and other found, that such Aiders make themselves helps, as well as the ability of the States could Lords over tho'e, to whom they lend their permit. When three fuch Princes, reigning fuccour: but where shall we meet with such at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain another as this Monstear, who, for his pro-tection promised, being rewarded with the furprised and wone; the death of the Count the enemy against whom they are entertained. St. Aignan, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own troops, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they were his own French who stood in need of the pity. Then gave them assurance to use the service of their was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind, wherein, smiting his breaft, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, Helas, mon dien, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me? So, the affairs of the Netberlands will not TEre it may be demanded, whether taker with them in the same danger; when ences above rehearsed? The answer is, that the Queen of England refused to accept the their Armies were compounded usually of

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Lordship of the Countrey, made it his first bour-Country of the same Religion, and to work, to thrust by violence a galling yoak which they all are lovingly affected: then upon the peoples ncck? Well, he lived to may fuch a Country be fecure of her Auxilirepent it, with grief enough. Even whileft aries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other he was counterfeiting unto those about business, in hope of like success. But these cirhim, that were ignorant of his plot, an ima- cumftances meet fo seldom, as it may well nini, that were ignorant or inspirot, an ima-ginary forrow for the poor Burghers of Anti-merpe, as verily believing the Town to be raign auxiliary forces are no less dangerous, than

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gave them affurance to use the service of their own Subjects in their Wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyranny, which hindereth the use and benefit of the like moderation.

ferve to prove, that there is little danger in also the Romans were not compelled using Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of to use the service of other Souldiers in their forraign Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their manner sources the search of the search of Sources and Sources of Sources fought help of the Englift, Scots, and French: to arm their own subjects, how hapned it, wherein they did wifely, and prospered that they feared no rebellion? if strangers, For when there was in France a King, par- how then could they avoid the inconveni-

casion required, some companies of Cam- nours, without impairing their Majesty tanes, Hetrurians, Samnites, or other of their thereby. The fum of all is; they had, of inbictis, as were either interested in the their own, a strong army; they doubled it quartel, or might best be trusted. They had, by adjoyning thereunto the Latines; and about their times, (though seldom they did they further increased it, as need required, imploy fo many) ten Roman Legions; a good with other help of their own subjects: all. firength, if all other help had been wanting; or the most of their followers, accounting which served to keep in good order their the prosperity of Rome to be the common fubiects, that were alwaies fewer in the army good. than themselves. As for the Latines, if confanguinity were not a sufficient obligation; ing so effectual, in affuring the people unto vet many priviledges and immunities, which their Lords, and consequently in the estathey injoyed, made them affured unto the blithment or inlargement of Dominion: it State of Rome: under which they lived al- may feem strange, that the practice of Tvmost at liberty, as being bound to little else, ranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been how easie soever, seems troublesome to the may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. whatsoever. For it is less difficult, (who-Therefore many people of Italy have taken foever think otherwise) and more fafe, to occasion of several advantages, to deliver keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than themselves from the Roman subjection. But to turn aside from it ; yet commonly our nished, and the people by degrees have ob- seduceth our reason; the same unruly appe-

with their own present estate. Wherefore temper, and the vehemency of private hait is no marvel, that Petellia, a City of the tred among them? Doubtles, we must be Brations in Italy, choic rather to endure all extremity of war, than, upon any condition, vice diffinct from others. A Man, we know,

therefore willed them to look to their own are common likewise unto brute beasts;

their own Citizens, and of the Latines in good, as having been faithful to the utmost. equal number: to which they added, as oc- Such love purchased these mild Gover-

The moderate use of soveraign power bethan to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke so common in all ages. The like, I know. fill they have been reclaimed by war, the paffions do lead us into by paths. But where Authors of rebellion have sharply been pulling, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection, tained such liberty, as made them esteem tite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at none otherwise of Rome, than as the com- least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. mon City of all Italy. Yea, in process of In tyranny it is not so: for as much as we time it was granted unto many Cities, and can hardly descrythe passion, that is of force those far off removed, even to Tarfis in Cili- to infinuate it felf into the whole tenour of cia, where St. Paul was born, that all the a Government. It must be confessed, that Burgeffes should be free of Rome it felf. This lawless defires have bred many Tyrants: favour was conferred absolutely upon some; yet so that these desires have seldome been upon some, with restraint of giving voice in hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended election of Magistrates, or with other such commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto before his death; by which means the gomay be added, that it was their manner, af vernment hath been reduced to a better ter a great conquest, to release unto their form. In such cases, the saying of Aristotle Aris, pal. new subjects half of their tribute which they holds, That tyrannies are of a short continual. 5 is 128 had been wont to pay to their former ance. But this doth not satisfie the question Lords, which was a ready way to bring the in hand. Why did the Carthaginians exer-

condition; when the review of harder times Why have many other Cities done the like? palt, should rather teach them to fear a re- If in respect of their general good; how lapfe, than to hope for better in the future, could they be ignorant, that this was an ill by feeking innovation. Neither would it be course for the safety of the Weal publick? forgotten, as a special note of the Romans If they were led hereunto by any affection; good Government, That when some, for what was that affection wherein so many their well-deserving, have had the offer to thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided be made Citizens of Rome, they have refused within themselves by factions, did all conit, and held themselves better contented curr, notwithstanding the much diversity of toforsake the Romans; even when the Ro- is Animal politicum, apt even by Nature, to mans themselves had confessed, that they command or to obey; every one in his prowere unable to help these their subjects, and per degree. Other desires of Mankind.

but the desire of rule belongeth unto the this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a nobler part of reason; whereunto is also name. Tyranny is more bold, and seareth answerable an aptness to yield obedience. not to be known, but would be reputed ho-Now as hunger and thirst are given by na- nourable: for it is prosperum & fælix selun. ture not only to Man and Beast, but unto all a fortunate mischief, as long as it can subsist. forts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of There is no reward or bonour (faith Peter their life: as Fear, Anger, Lust, and other Charron) affigned unto those, that know how affections are likewise natural, in conveni- to increase, or preserve humane nature: all ent measure, both unto Mankind, and to all honours, greatness, riches, dignities, Empires, Creatures that have sense, for the shunning triumphs, trophees, are appointed for those, that or repelling of harm, and seeking after that know how to afflict, trouble, or desiroy it. Celar which is requifite: even to is this defire of and Alexander, have un-made and flain. ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in each of them, more than a million of men: the race of Man, and in Man only as a rea- but they made none, nor left none behind Sonable creature, for the ordering of his life, them. Such is the errour of Mans judgein a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred ment in valuing things according to the qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, common opinion. But the true name of Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Glut- Tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none tony and Drunkenness, which, in reproach, other than Feritie: the same that Aristotle are called beaftly, by an unproper term : faith to be worfe than any vice. It exceedeth fince they grow from appetites, found in less indeed all other vices, isluing from the pafworthy creatures than beasts, and are yet sions incident both to Man and Beast; no not fo common in beafts, as in men. The lefs, than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the effects of Anger, and of such other Passions like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that are held less vile; and perhaps not without grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof good reason: yet are the more pernicious. Seiron, Procrustes, and Pityocamptes, that But as no corruption is worse by sharper used their bodily force to the destruction Laws, as being in general more horrible, and of Mankind, are not better examples, than punished more grievously, than of that Phalaris, Dionysius, and Agathocles, whose which is best; there is not any passion, that mischievous heads were assisted by the nourisheth a vice more hurtful unto Man-hands of detestable Ruffians. The same kind, than that which iffueth from the most barbarous desire of Lordship, transported noble root, even the depraved Affection of those old examples of Feritie, and these lat-Ruling. Hence arise those two great mister Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reachiefs, of which hath been an old question son : neither of them knew the use of Rule, in dispute, whether be the worse; That all nor the difference between Freemen and things, or that nothing should be lawful. Of slaves. their, a dull spirit and overloaden by for- The rule of the husband over the wife, tune with power, whereof it is not capable, and of Parents over their children, is natuoccasioneth the one; the other proceedeth ral, and appointed by God himself; so that from a contrary diftemper, whose vehemen- it is alwayes, and simply, allowable and cy the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Un-good. The former of these, is as the doder the extremity of either, no Country is minion of Reason over Appetite; the latter able to subsist, yet the defective dulness, that is the whole authority, which one Freeman permitteth any thing, will also permit the can have over another. The rule of a King execution of Law, to which meer necessity is no more, nor none other, than of a comdoth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; mon Father over his whole Country; which whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleasing the that knows what the power of a Father eth it felf in the excess, with a false colour of is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. Justice. Examples of stupidity, and unapt- But there is a greater and more Masterly ness to rule, are not very frequent, though rule, which God gave unto Adam, when he for this quality troubles not it felf in feeking and over the fowl of the air; and every living Empire; or it by some errour of fortune, it thing that moveth upon the earth: which also encounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, he continued unto Noah and his children, of Rome) some friend, or else a wife, is not shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon

and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: cruelty doth help to shadow. Therefore

fuch natures are every where to be found : faid; Have dominion over the fifth of the Sea, Gazzi hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire saying, The fear of you, and the dread of you, Graph wanting to supply the defect, which also every foul of the air, upon all that mouth

upon the earth, and upon all the fifthes of the to Ariftotles doctrine, to be naturally of beafts. Therefore when Commiferation flaves.

by the captivity of the Midianitifo girls, uphold civil rule, are ( though more noble ) which were made bond-flaves, and the San not fo simply needful, unto the sustentiation 629, 25, ancient : for Noah laid this curfe upon Cana- which notwithstanding are the lowest in de-

to crived that think fo. Saint Paul defired the thould increase, by access of those, that are liberty of Onesimus, whom he had won unto weary of their own more painful condition. Christ: vet wrote for this unto Philemon by This may suffice to prove, that in Mankind way of request, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the the direction, which the same Saint Paul general custom of Nations doth subscribe; Ca. 7 giveth unto servants : Let every man abide in together with the pleasure which most men in the same calling wherein he was called: art take in flatterers, that are the basest of thon called, being a feroant? care not for it, but flaves.

if then maift be made free, use it rather. It is
true, that Christan Religion hath procured how Tyranny hath been so rise in all ages, liberty unto many; not only in regard of and practifed, not only in the fingle rule of piety, but for that the Christian Masters some victous Prince, but ever by consent of stood in fear of being discovered by their whole Cities and Estates: since other vices flaves, unto the perfecutors of Religion. Ma- have likewise gotten head, and born a gene-

homet likewise, by giving liberty to his fol- ral sway notwithstanding that the way of lowers, drew many unto his impiety: but vertue be more honourable, and commodibondage, I cannot tell; fave that by the that the most noble affections should not be practice of the Turks and Moors, it feems he disordered? in the government of wife and

But whether this kind of dominion be Sea: into your hands are they delivered. lawful, or not; Ariftotle hath well proved. He who gave this dominion unto Man, that it is natural. And certainly, we find did give also an aptitude to use it. The not such a latitude of difference in any creaexecution of this power hath fince ex- ture, as in the nature of man; wherein ( to rended it felf, over a very great part omit the infinite distance in estate of the of Mankind. There are indeed no small Elect and Reprobate ) the wifest excel the numbers of men, whose disability to go- most foolish, by far greater degree, than the vern themselves, proves them, according most foolish of men doth surpass the wifest hath given way to reason, we shall find, that Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant nature is the ground even of Masterly poto oppress men with bondage : unless the wer, and of service obedience, which is therelawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, to correspondent. But it may be truly said. where it is faid, That a man shall not be pu- that some Countries have subsisted long nished for the death of a servant; whom he without the use of any servility; as also it is hath flain by correction, if the fervant live a true, that some Countries have not the use of day or two, because he is his money: or else any tame Cattel. Indeed the affections which duary had a part of them for the Lords tri- either of our kind, as are Luft, and the like; bute. Doubtless the custom hath been very or of every one, as are Hunger and thirst; as, that he should be a fervant of fervants;

gree. But where most vile and fervile disposite

and shraham had of Pharaoh, among other

gifts, men-fervants and maid-fervants, which

were none other than slaves. Christian

wonder, how the dangerous toil of Sea-far-Religion is faid to have abrogated this old ing men can find enough to undertake them, kind of fervility: but furely they are de- than how the fwarm of idle vagabonds

whether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his ous. Few there are that have used well the fedators, to hold one another of them in inferiour Passions; how then can we expect, did not. In England we had many bond-children, some are utterly careless, and corfervants, untill the time of our last civil rupt all by their dull connivency: others, by wars; and I think that the Laws concern- masterly rigour, hold their own blood uning Villenage are still in force, of which der condition of flavery. To be a good Gothe latest are the sharpest. And now, since vernour is a rare commendation: and to preflaves were made free, which were of fer the Weal publick above all respects great use and service, there are grown up whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed Hea rabble of Rogues, Cutpurfes, and other roical. Of this Vertue many ages afford not the like trades; flaves in Nature, though not many examples. Hettor is named by Aristotle ; as one of them; and defervedly, if this praise

ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those Soveraignty of their Country, which they hands, that were of more use in helping to offered, yet being provoked by the spafill the common purse. Yet what of this? miard their enemy, pursued him with contithey sped well. Surely they sped as ill as nual war; when the heir of England reigned might be, whilest they had none other than in Scotland, a King too just and wife (though mercenary Souldiers. Many fruitless at not ingaged in any quarrel) either to make tempts, made by the Prince of Orenge, can profit of his neighbours miseries, or to help witness it: and that brave Commander those that had attempted the conquest of his Count Lodowick of Nassau, felt, to his grief, own inheritance: then might the Netherin his retrait from Graningham; when, in landers very fafely repose confidence in the the very instant that required their service forces of these their Neighbour Countries. in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for The Souldiers that came unto them from money, and so ran away. This was not the hence, were (to omit any other commendaonly time, when the hired Souldiers of the tions) not only regardfull of the pay that States, have either fought to hide their co- they should receive, but well affected unto wardize under a shew of greediness; or at the cause that they took in hand : or, if any least, by meer covetousness, have ruined in were cold in his devotion, unto the fide one hour, the labour of many moneths. I whereon he fought, yet was he kept in orwill not stand to prove this by many exam- der, by remembrance of his own home. ples: for they themselves will not deny it. where the English would have rewarded him Neither would I touch the honour of Mon- with death, if that his faith had been corfeur the Duke of Anjon, brother to the rupted by the Spaniard. They were there-French King ; fave that it is folly to conceal fore trufted with the custody of Cities ; they what all the world knows. He that would were held as friends, and patrons; the necesfurprised and wone; the death of the Count the enemy against whom they are entertained. St. Aignan, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the City, discharged against his own troops, informed him better what had hapned; thewing, that they were his own That the moderate government of the Romans, French who stood in need of the pity. Then was his feigned passion changed into a very bitter anguish of mind, wherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, Helas, mon dien, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou do with me? So, the affairs of the Netherlands will not ferve to prove, that there is little danger in also the Romans were not compelled using Mercenary Souldiers, or the help of to use the service of other Souldiers in their forraign Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, many great wars, but performed all by their they were obedient unto necessity, and own Citizens? for if it were their manner fought help of the English, Scots, and French: to arm their own subjects, how hapned it, For when there was in France a King, par- how then could they avoid the inconvenitaker with them in the same danger; when ences above rehearsed? The answer is, that the Queen of England refused to accept the their Armies were compounded usually of

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fubjects, that were alwaies fewer in the army good. than themselves. As for the Latines, if confanguinity were not a sufficient obligation; ing so effectual, in affuring the people unto yet many priviledges and immunities, which their Lords, and confequently in the estathey injoyed, made them affured unto the State of Rome: under which they lived alhow easie soever, seems troublesome to the may be said of all Vice and Irregularity, neck that hath been accustomed to freedom. whatsoever. For it is less difficult, (who-Therefore many people of Italy have taken foever think otherwife) and more fafe, to occasion of several advantages, to deliver keep the way of Justice and Honesty, than themselves from the Roman Subjection. But to turn aside from it ; yet commonly our still they have been reclaimed by war, the passions do lead us into by-paths. But where Authors of rebellion have sharply been pu- Lust, Anger, Fear, or any the like Affection. nished, and the people by degrees have ob- seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetained fuch liberty, as made them efteem tite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at none otherwise of Rome, than as the com-least-wise, taketh away all cause of wonder. mon City of all Italy. Yea, in process of In tyranny it is not so: for as much as we time it was granted unto many Cities, and can hardly descrythe passion, that is offorce those far off removed, even to Tarfus in Cili- to infinuate it felf into the whole tenour of cia, where St. Paul was born, that all the a Government. It must be confessed, that Burgeffes should be free of Rome it felf. This lawless defires have bred many Tyrants: favour was conferred absolutely upon some; yet so that these desires have seldome been upon some, with restraint of giving voice in hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended election of Magistrates, or with other such commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto before his death; by which means the gomay be added, that it was their manner, af vernment hath been reduced to a better had been wont to pay to their former ance. But this doth not fatisfie the question Lords, which was a ready way to bring the in hand. Why did the Carthaginians exermultitude into good liking of their present cise tyranny? Why did the Athenians? condition ; when the review of harder times Why have many other Cities done the like? palt, should rather teach them to fear a re- If in respect of their general good; how lapfe, than to hope for better in the future, could they be ignorant, that this was an ill by feeking innovation. Neither would it be course for the safety of the Weal publick? forgotten, as a special note of the Romans If they were led hereunto by any affection; good Government, That when some, for what was that affection wherein so many their well-descrying, have had the offer to thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided be made Citizens of Rome, they have refused within themselves by factions, did all conit, and held themselves better contented curr, notwithstanding the much divertity of with their own prefent estate. Wherefore temper, and the vehemency of private hatis no marvel, that Petellia, a City of the tred among them > Doubtles, we mult be Brutions in Italy, chose rather to endure all fain to say, That Tyranny is, by it self, a extremity of war, than, upon any condition, vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, to for sake the Romans; even when the Ro- is Animal politicum, apt even by Nature, to mans themselves had confessed, that they command or to obey; every one in his pro-

their own Citizens, and of the Latines in good, as having been faithful to the utmost. equal number: to which they added, as oc- Such love purchased these mild Govercalion required, fome companies of Cam- nours, without impairing their Majette panes, Hetrurians, Samnites, or other of their thereby. The fum of all is; they had, or inbjects, as were either interested in the their own, a strong army; they doubled it quarrel, or might best be trusted. They had, by adjoyning thereunto the Latines; and about these times, (though seldom they did they further increased it, as need required. imploy fo many) ten Roman Legions; a good with other help of their own subjects: all. strength, if all other help had been wanting; or the most of their followers, accounting which ferved to keep in good order their the prosperity of Rome to be the common The moderate use of soveraign power be-

bliffment or inlargement of Dominion: it may feem strange, that the practice of Tymost at liberty, as being bound to little else, ranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been than to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke so common in all ages. The like, I know, ter a great conquest, to release unto their form. In such cases, the saying of Aristotle Arist. pol. new subjects half of their tribute which they holds, That tyrannies are of a fort continu-1.5. a 12 were unable to help these their subjects, and per degree. Other desires of Mankind, therefore willed them to look to their own are common likewife unto brute beafts;

in Law.

and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: cruelty doth help to shadow. Therefore but the defire of rule belongeth unto the this Vice, as a thing unknown, is without a nobler part of reason; whereunto is also name. Tyranny is more bold, and feareth answerable an aptness to yield obedience. not to be known, but would be reputed ho-Now as hunger and thirst are given by na- nourable : for it is prosperum & falix scelus. ture not only to Man and Beaft, but unto all a fortunate mijebief, as long as it can fubfift. forts of Vegetables, for the fultentation of There is no remard or bonour (faith Peter their life: as Fear, Anger, Luft, and other Charron) affigned unto those, that know hom affections are likewife natural, in conveni- to increase, or preserve humane nature : all ent measure, both unto Mankind, and to all bonours, greatness, riches, dignities, Empires, Creatures that have fenfe, for the shunning triumphs, trophecs, are appointed for those, that or repelling of harm, and feeking after that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. Cefar which is requifite: even so is this desire of and Alexander, have un-made and flain. ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in each of them, more than a million of men: the race of Man, and in Man only as a rea- but they made none, nor left none behind fonable creature, for the ordering of his life, them. Such is the errour of Mans judgein a civil form of Justice. All these in-bred ment in valuing things according to the qualities are good and useful. Nevertheless, common opinion. But the true name of Hunger and I hirst are the Parents of Glut-Tyranny, when it grows to ripeness, is none tony and Drunkenne's, which, in reproach, other than Feritie: the same that Ariftotle are called beaftly, by an unproper term : faith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth fince they grow from appetites, found in less indeed all other vices, issuing from the pasworthy creatures than beafts, and are yet fions incident both to Man and Beaft; no not fo common in beafts, as in men. The less, than Perjury, Murder, Treason, and the effects of Anger, and of fuch other Pallions like horrible crimes, exceed in villany, the as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, faults of Gluttony and Drunkenness, that are held less vile; and perhaps not without grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof good reason : yet are the more pernicious. Sciron, Procrustes, and Pityocamptes, that But as no corruption is worse by sharper used their bodily force to the destruction Laws, as being in general more horrible, and of Mankind, are not better examples, than punished more grievously, than of that Phalaris, Dionysius, and Agathocles, whose which is belt; there is not any passion, that mischievous heads were assisted by the nourisheth a vice more hurtful unto Man-hands of detestable Ruffians. The same kind, than that which iffueth from the most barbarous desire of Lordship, transported noble root, even the depraved Affection of those old examples of Feritie, and these lat-Ruling. Hence arise those two great mis-chiefs, of which hath been an old question fon : neither of them knew the use of Rule, in dispute, whether be the worse; That all nor the difference between Freemen and things, or that nothing should be lawful. Of slaves. these, a dull spirit and overloaden by for- The rule of the husband over the wife, tune with power, whereof it is not capable, and of Parents over their children, is natu-occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth ral, and appointed by God himself; so that from a contrary diftemper, whose vehemen- it is alwayes, and fimply, allowable and cy the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Un-good. The former of these, is as the doder the extremity of either, no Country is minion of Reason over Appetite; the latter able to subsist, yet the desective dulness, that is the whole authority, which one Freeman permitteth any thing, will also permit the can have over another. The rule of a King execution of Law, to which meer necessity is no more, nor none other, than of a comdoth enforce the ordinary Magistrate; mon Father over his whole Country: which whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleas- he that knows what the power of a Father eth it felf in the excess, with a falle colour of is, or ought to be, knows to be enough. Justice. Examples of stupidity, and unapt- But there is a greater and more Masterly ness to rule, are not very frequent, though rule, which God gave unto Adam, when he fuch natures are every where to be found : faid; Have dominion over the fifth of the Sea, Ganth for this quality troubles not it felf in feeking and over the fowl of the air, and every living Empire; or it by some errour of fortune, it thing that moveth upon the earth: which also encounter therewithall, (as when Claudius, he continued unto Noah and his children, hiding himself in a corner, found the Empire saying, The fear of you, and the dread of you, Genga

of Rome) some friend, or else a wife, is not shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon

wanting to supply the defect, which also every foul of the air, upon all that moveth

execution of this power hath fince ex-ture, as in the nature of man; wherein (to tended it self, over a very great part omit the infinite distance in estate of the of Mankind. There are indeed no small Elect and Reprobate) the wifest excel the numbers of men, whose disability to go-most foolish, by far greater degree, than the vern themselves, proves them, according most foolish of men doth surpass the wisest to Ariftotles doctrine, to be naturally of beafts. Therefore when Commiscration flaves. Yet find I not in Scripture any warrant nature is the ground even of Masterly poto oppress men with bondage: unless the wer, and of service obedience, which is therelawfulness thereof be sufficiently intimated, to correspondent. But it may be truly said. where it is said, That a man shall not be pu- that some Countries have subsisted long nished for the death of a servant; whom he without the use of any servility; as also it is hath slain by correction, if the servant live a true, that some Countries have not the use of fal. i. day or two, because he is his money: or else any tame Cattel. Indeed the affections which by the captivity of the Midianitish girls, uphold civil rule, are ( though more noble ) Nama which were made bond-flaves, and the San not fo simply needful, unto the sustentation chuary had a part of them for the Lords tri- either of our kind, as are Luft, and the like; bute. Doubtles the custom hath been very or of every one, as are Luir, and the like; or of every one, as are Hunger and thirst; one, as, that he should be a servant of servants; gree. But where most vile and service dispositions have liberty to show themselves begings, men-servants and maid-servants, which were none other than flaves. Christian wonder, how the dangerous toil of Sea-far-Religion is said to have abrogated this old ing men can find enough to undertake them, kind of fervility: but furely they are de-than how the fwarm of idle vagabonds received that think fo. Saint Paul defired the should increase, by access of those, that are liberty of Onessmus, whom he had won unto weary of their own more painful condition. Therety of Onesimus, whom he had won unto Christ: yet wrote for this unto Philemon by way of request, craving it as a benesit, not urging it as a duty. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint Paul the direction, which the same Saint Paul general custom of Nations doth subscribe; is a giveth unto servants: Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art take in flatterers, that are the bases of stages. thon called, being a servant ? care not for it, but flaves. if shou maift be made free, use it rather. It is This being so, we find no cause to marvel, true, that Christan Religion hath procured how Tyranny hath been so rife in all ages. liberty unto many; not only in regard of and practifed, not only in the fingle rule of piety, but for that the Christian Masters some vicious Prince, but ever by consent of flood in fear of being discovered by their whole Cities and Estates: since other vices flaves, unto the persecutors of Religion. Ma- have likewise gotten head, and born a genehomel likewife, by giving liberty to his fol- ral fway ,notwithstanding that the way of lowers, drew many unto his impiety: but vertue be more honourable, and commodiwhether he forbade it, as unlawful, unto his ous. Few there are that have used well the fectators, to hold one another of them in inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, bondage, I cannot tell; fave that by the that the most noble affections should not be practice of the Turks and Moors, it feems he difordered? in the government of wife and did not. In England we had many bond-children, some are utterly careless, and corfervants, untill the time of our last civil rupt all by their dull connivency: others, by wars; and I think that the Laws concern- masterly rigour, hold their own blood uning Villenage are still in force, of which der condition of flavery. To be a good Go-

the latest are the sharpest. And now, fince vernour is a rare commendation: and to pre-

upon the earth, and upon all the fifthes of the But whether this kind of dominion be Sea: into your hands are they delivered. lawful, or not; Ariftotle hath well proved, He who gave this dominion unto Man, that it is natural. And certainly, we find did give also an aptitude to use it. The not such a latitude of difference in any creahath given way to reason, we shall find, that

flaves were made free, which were of fer the Weal publick above all respects great use and service, there are grown up whatsoever, is the Vertue justly termed Hea rabble of Rogues, Cutpurfes, and other roical. Of this Vertue many ages afford not thelike trades; flaves in Nature, thoughnot many examples. Hedor is named by Ariftotle as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise

be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, fuch a King is nevertheless a man, must dve. used in defence of a mans own Country, and may err: yet wisdome and fame shall But if we consider, that a love of the general fet him free, from error, and from death. good cannot be perfect, without reference both with and without the help of time. unto the fountain of all goodness: we shall One thing I may not omit, as a singular befind, that no moral vertue-how great foever, nefit (though there be many other befides can by it felf, deferve the commendation of redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his. more than Vertue, as the Heroical doth. goodness, ) The people that live under a Wherefore we mult fearch the Scriptures, pleafant yoke, are not only loving to their for patterns hereof; fuch as David, Josaphat, Soveraign Lord, but free of courage; and and tolias were. Of Christian Kings, if there no greater in muster of men, than of stout were many fuch, the world would foon be fighters, if need require: whereas on the happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the contrary, he that ruleth as over slaves, shall worth of any by denying the praise where it be attended in time of necessity, by slavish is due, or by preferring a less excellent. But minds, neither loving his person, nor rehe that can find a King religious, and garding his or their own honour. Cowards zealous in Gods cause, without enforcement, may be furious, and slaves outragious, for a either of advertity, or of some regard of time: but among spirits that have once State a procurer of general peace and vielded unto flavery, univerfally it is found nishing his Judges to do justice; by the vi- into bondage. gorous influence of whose Government, civility is infused, even into those places, that seasonably have spoken, in the general dishave been the dens of favage Robbers and course of Government: but where so lively Cut-throat; one that hath quite abolished a an example of the calamity following a tyflavish Brebon Law, by which a whole Nati- rannical rule, and the use of Mercenaries, on of his subjects were held in bondage; and thereupon depending, did offer it self, as is one, whose higher vertue and wisdom doth this present business of the Carthaginians; I make the praise not only of Nobility and thought that the note would be more effeother ornaments, but of abstinence from the ctual, than being barely delivered, as out of blood, the wives, and the goods of those a common place. that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto some good Princes, to appear less regardable: he, I fay, that can find fuch a King, findeth an example, worthy to add unto How the mar against the Mercenaries was divertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under fuch a King, it is likely, by Gods blefling, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in Countries before unknown; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen DEing now to return unto those Merce-Countries; and that the happiness of his subjects, shall cause the Nations far off remov- gressed, I cannot readily find, by what ed to wish him their Soveraign. I need not name henceforth I should call them. They add hereunto, that all the actions of fuch a are no longer in pay with the Carthagini-King, even his bodily exercises, do pertake ans; neither care they to pretend, that of vertue; fince all things tending to the they feek their wages already due; fothat perfervation of his life and health, or to the they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. mollifying of his cares, ( who fixing his con- Had they all been subjects unto Carthage, templation upon God, seeketh how to imitthen might they justly have been termed tate the unspeakable goodness, rather than Rebels: but Spendius, and others, that the inaccessible majesty, with both of which were the principal part of them, ought none himself is indued, as far as humane nature is allegiance to that State, which they endeacapable ) do also belong to the furtherance voured to subvert. Wherefore I will borof that common good, which he procureth. row the name of their late occupation, and Left any man should think me transported still call them Mercenaries, as Polybin also with admiration or other affection, beyond doth.

quiet; who not only useth his authority, but true, what Homer saith, God bereaveth a man Hom. 94. adds the travel of his cloquence, in admo- of half his vertue, that day when he casteth him 1. 12.

Of these things, I might perhaps more

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versty managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with variable success. The bloody conncels of the Mcrcenaries : and their final destru-

Dnaries, from whom I have thus far di-

the bonds of reaton; I add hereunto, that These, using the advantage of their present ftrength, ind in Cities of great importance, as being feated all their libete anchor; fending to the field the great upon the western Haven of Carthage, where their great Captain Amilear, whom they ests to it is divided by a neck of land; Hippagreta furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, ridi Cir. within cafurther out upon the Sea. Neither was enough to do, before he should be able to filly to hinder the Carthaginians from paf- For, besides other places of advantage that Pato For in all parts at once.

rs, or any the Africans themselves, Genal Matha. Nigor faith, that he was the firm it self is ruined, and the place whereon it flood, now called the place whereon was very ancient, and unbuilt before carthage, faith Silbus. As hamilton before Carthage was fee up, 6 did traffer Carthage was through the Banassis in the third Paulick war. Famous it was by the death signal to pumper, who held it against cafer Fisher that worthy Divine, was shalon deteroof in the time of Genfords; the drains, who lived all the insection for grant place was the carthage was an analysis of the carthage was an analysis of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was a support of the carthage was the carthage was a support of the carthage was the carth

Town befieged, as to batter and affail any of his own Citizens. place defended against him. With these pro- There was no need to bid Spendius look visions, and with an hundred Elephants, he about him, when once it was heard, that came to Utica, fo fuddenly, that the ene- Amilcar was come over Bagradas: all the mies as men surprised, for sook their Tren- Mercenaries were troubled with the news; ches, and retired themselves unto a rising knowing that they were no longer to deal piece of woody ground, where they might with the improvident gravity of Hanno, but be fafe against the violence of his beasts, with an able spirit, even with their own Hanno, thinking that he had to do with Nu- Master in the Art of War, whom they donimidians, whose custome was after any loss, red, though they hated him. But time feer toflie two or three whole daies journey off; was foon changed into prefumption; when prefently entred the Town; to thew himself more than fifteen thousand of their own faafter this his victory. But these good fellows, ciety, were come from Utica, and other ten against whom he was to war, had learned of thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Amilear, to retire and to fight again, many Their Army was far greater, than that of times in one day, as need required. There- Amilcar; and they were in their own fore as foon as they perceived, that he knew judgement, the better men; upon which connot how to use a victory; they assailed their sidence, they resolved to charge him on all own Camp, and with great flaughter, drave fides, and beat him down, in despight of his the Carthaginians out of it, forced them to worth and reputation. With this resolution hide themselves within *Wiea*; and got poffelion of all the store that *Hanno* had advantage; and still exhorting one another brought for the relief of the Town. This to play themen, and give the onset. Especibad beginning Hanno followed with futable ally they that followed him in the Rear, had indifcretion; losing the benefit of many a great mind to begin the fight; where unto fair opportunities, and suffering the enemies their promptness was such, as took from to take possession of all the entrance from them their former circumspection. Anil-Carthage to the firm land.

resizes firength, besieged \* Otica and Hippagreta, sexceedingly troubled, and did therefore let and feventy Elephants. Amilear had work the Camp at Tunis abandoned, which lay meet with the enemy upon equal ground. fing up into the Countrey: for Matho and the Mercenaries had occupied. Hanno had spending wanted not men to follow the war suffered them to win the only bridge, by which the River Macra, or Bagradas, was palfable unto these that were to travel into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those easie for a single man to get over: but upon them all was kept fuch guard, as gave to Amilcar little hope of prevailing in

leeking way by force. As for the Bridge it self, Matho and his followers were there How the Carthaginians were amazed with lodged: and had there built a Town. this unexpected peril, any man may con- wherein to lye commodioully, intentive onceive. But the business it self awakes them ly to the custody thereof. But Amilear had haltily. They are hardly prest on all sides; observed, that the very mouth of Bagradas and therefore travelled their brains the ut- used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and termost, how to shake off these furious dogs gravel, that was driven in by certain custofrom their shoulders, who sometimes by mary winds, and could not be driven out night, sometimes by day, came unto the very again, by force of that slow River, till the wals of their City. In this exigent, Hanno wind failing, or changing suffered the was made their General: who failed not in weight of the waters, to difburden their his accustomed diligence of making all good channel. Hereof he made use; and taking preparation: but had gotten together what- his opportunity passed the River, contrary foever was needfull, as well to relieve a to all expectation, either of the enemy, or

car held his way toward the Bridge, keeping The Carthaginians perceiving this, were himself on plain grounds, that were fit-

test for the service of his Elephants, which he much defired : and therefore came unto he placed in front of his Army. Neither made Amilear fignifying his good affection to him. he shew of any defire to fight, but suffered the rashness of his enemies to encrease, till it should break into some disorder. At length unto him his own daughter in marriage; and perceiving, that with more boldness than so wan from the entmies 2000. horse, that good heed, they followed him to near, as following Naravafus turned unto the Carthawould be little for their good, if he should ginians side. With this help he gave battel turn unto them, he hasted his march, even unto spendius: wherein the Numidian lato such a pace, as made a shew little diffe- boured to approve his own valour to his ring from plain flight. The Mercenaries new friend. So the victory was great : for presently sell upon his skirts; believing that there were slain ten thousand of spendies his fellows, and four thousand taken prisoners;
But whilst they confusedly, as in sudden but Spendius himself, with Autarius the Ganl, opinion of victory, were driven at the heels escaped to do more mischief. Amilear dealt of those that had the Rear; Amilear wheel- very gently with his prisoners: pardoning ed about, and met them in the face, charge all offences past, and dismissing as many as ing them hotly, but invery good order, to were unwilling to become his followers; yet that amazed, with the apprehension of un- with condition, that they should never more expected danger, they fled without making bear arms against the Carthaginians; threatany refistance. In this overthrow there ning to take sharp revenge upon all that were fix thousand of the Mercenaries flain, should break this Covenant. and about two thousand taken, the rest fled , This humanity was vehemently suspected Town at the Bridge; whither Amilear followed them so fast, that he wan the place

Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take easily; the enemies being thence also fled such order, that no man among them should unto Tunis, as not having recollected their dare to trust in the good nature of Amilear, fpirits to make it good.

the diligence of Amilear in pursuing it, caufted letters of advertisment, wherein was ed many Towns revolted, partly by fear, contained, that some of their company, repartly by force, to return to their former ipective only of their private benefit, and obedience. Yet was not Matho wanting to careless of the general good, had a purpose himself in this dangerous time. He sent to betray them all unto the Carthaginian, about Numidia and Africk, for new supplies; with whom they held intelligence; and that admonishing the people, now or never, to it was needfull to look well unto Gesco, and do their best, for the recovery of their free- his companions, whom these traitors had a dom : he perswaded spendius, and Autarius, purpose to inlarge. Upon this Theme Spenthat was a Captain of the Gaules, to wait dies makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exupon Amilear, and always to keep the high-horting them to fidelity; and shewing with er grounds, or at least, the foot of some hill, many words, that the seeming humanity of where they might be free from the Ele- Amilear, toward some, was none other than phants; and he himself continued to press abait, wherewith to intrap them all at once the Town of Hippagreta with an hard fiege. together; as also telling them what a dan-It was necessary for Amilear, in passing from gerous enemy Geseo would prove, if he might place to place, as his business required, to escape their hands. Whilest he is yet in the take such wayes as there were: for all the midst of his tale, were letters come to the

nor to hope for any fafety whilst Carthage The same of this victory, together with was able to do him hurt, They counterfei-Country lay not level. Therefore Spendius, same purpose. Then steps forth Antarius, who still coasted him, had once gotten a and speaks his mind plainly: saying, that it notable advantage of ground; the Carthagi- were the best, yea, the only way, for the mians lying in a plain, furrounded with hills, common fafety, to cut off all hope of reconthat were occupied by the Mercenaries, with ciliation with Carthage; that if some were their Numidian and African fuccours. In this deviling to make their own peace, it would difficulty, the fame of Amilear his personal go hard with those that had a care of the worth did greatly benefit his Countrey. war; that it were better to make an end of For Naravajus, a young Gentleman com-Gesto his life, than to trouble themselves with manding over the Numidians, was glad of looking to his custody; that by such a course this occasion, ferving to get the acquain- every one should be ingaged in the present ance and love of to brave a man, which Action, as having none other hope left, than to alter his intended cruelty; but they were them unto wild beafts to be devoured. forthwith stoned to death, as a Document Untill this time Hanno, with the Army execution. Neither were they therewith- from Amilear, and done little as may feem that the subjects or friends of Carthage, without him. But when the war grew to should lose their hands, and so be sent such extremity, as threatened utter ruine to

that it was most execrable ferity. As for Amilear was not enabled to do more than in the councel of using it, it was like unto the former times; rather he could now perform councel of Achitophel; All Israel shall bear, nothing: such was the hatred between him this thou art abborred of the father; then shall and his unworthy Colleague. The Towns the hands of all that are with thee be strong. of Otica and Hippagreta, that had stood al-Such are the fruits of desperation. He that wayes firm to the Carthaginian party, did is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his now revolt unto the enemy, murdering all own fellows, if they be more innocent; the Souldiers that they had in Garrison, and and to avoid the punishment of less offen- casting their bodies forth, without suffering ces, committeth greater. The cowardize them to be buried. The provisions brought of offenders, and the revengeful spirits of by sea, for maintenance of the Army, were those that have been wronged, are breeders lost in foul weather; and Carthage it self of this desperation to which may be ad-stood in danger of being besieged, about ded some deficiency of Laws, in distinguish which Matho and Spendim consulted, whilest ing the punishments of malefactors, accor- one of the Carthaginian Generals did ( asit ding to the degree of their several crimes, were ) bind the others hands. to make amends, for the wrong done in pafe two chief Commanders in equal commission curity.

in victory alone; finally, that fuch as would feel here againft; were worthy to be repu- Severity, used with due respect are the best ted Traitors. This Ausarius wasin great credit with the Souldiers, and could speak sunded. For as long as these his old Souldiers dry languages, in such fort, that he was un- were any way likely to be reclaimed by genderstood by all. According to his motion the couries, his humanity was ready to intherefore it was agreed, that Gesco, and all vite them. But when they were transported the other prisoners, should forthwith be put with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheless honesty and shame, he rewarded their vilthere were some, that for love of Gesco sought lany with answerable vengeance, casting

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unto others; and so the Decree was put in under his command, had kept himself apart all contented, but further ordained, that for that nothing is remembered of him fince all Carthaginian prisoners which they his late losses. Neither was Amilcar forry to took, should be served in like fort : and want his help; as being able to do better home, which rule they observed ever af- the one or the other fide: then was Hanno fent for, and came to Amilcar, with whom he Of this cruelty I need say no more, than joyned his forces. By this access of strength

A coward thinks all provision too little for It hath in all Ages been used as the fafest his own security. If Phocas be a coward course, to send forth, in great Expeditions, (faid the Emperour Mauritius) then is he two generals of one Army. This was the murderous. To be steadfast and sure, in common practice of those two mighty Citaking revenge, is thought a point of ho- ties Athens and Rome, which other States nour, and a defensative against new inju- and Princes have often imitated; perswading ries. But wrongfully : for it is opposite to themselves, that great Armies are not so well the rule of Christianity; and such a quality conducted by one, as by two: who out of discovered, makes them deadly enemies, who emulation to excell each other, will use the fion. This was it which wrought so much on upon this further consideration; the betwoe to the Carthaginians; teaching Matho, ter to restrain the ambition of any one, that and his Afficans, to suspect even their should be trusted with so great a strength. gentleness, as the introduction to extream For hereof all Common-weals have been jear rigour. Like unto the errours of Princes and lous, having been taught by their examples Governours, are the errours of Laws. Where that have made themselves Tyrants over one and the same punishment is awarded un- those Cities and States that have imployed to the less offence, and unto the greater, them. In this point the Venetians having been he that hath adventured to rob a man, is so circumspect, as they have, for the most eafily tempted to kill him, for his own fe- part, trusted strangers, and not their own in all the wars which they have made. It is true,

Dictator was appointed, whose power was bis own courage.
neither hindred by any partner, nor by any
But we need no better example, than of modesty hath often been such, that the less car, and that was enough. shall appear. Now of those ten Generals abroad. which served the Athenians at the battel of Hieron King of Syracufe, though during able fervice. For it, is hard to find two great manifeltly proved.

Captains of equal differetion and valour; but that the one hash more of fury than of judg-fily prefling the City, Amilear was as dili-

that the equal authority of two command- occasions are as often overflipt, as at other ing in chief, serveth well to bridle the ambi- times many actions are unseasonably undertion of one or both, from turning upon the taken. I remember it well, that when the Prince or State that hath given them trust : Prince of Conde was slain after the Battleof but in managing the war it felf, it is com- Jarnac, ( which Prince, together with the monly the cause of ill success. In wars made admiral Chastillan, had the conduct of the near unto Rome it felf, when two good Protestant Army ) the Protestants did greatly friends were Confuls, or fuch two at leaft, as bewail the los of the faid Prince , in respect concurred in one defire of Triumph, which of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comhonour the greatest of any that Rome could forting themselves, they thought it rather an give ) was to be obtained by that one years advancement, than an hinderance to their tervice; it is no marvel, though each of the affairs. For so much did the Valour of the Confuls did his best, and inferred all his one out-reach the advisedness of the other. thoughts unto none other end than victory. as what foever the Admiral intended to win Yet in all dangerous cases, when the Consuls by attending the advantage, the Prince adproceeded otherwise than was defired, one ventured to lose, by being over-confident in

great limitation. Neither was it indeed the the Carthaginians in this present business: manner, to fend forth both the Confuls to who, though they were still fick of their illone war; but each went whither his lot cal-grounded love to Hanno, and were unwil-led him, to his own Province; unless one ling to difgrace him; yet seeing that all ran business seemed to require them both, and towards ruine, through the discord of the they also seemed fit to be joyned in the ad- Generals, committed the decision of their ministration. Now although it, was so, That Controversies, unto the Army that served the Ramans did many times prevail with under them. The judgment of the Army their joynt-Generals: yet was this never fo was, that Hanno hould depart the Camp: feldom, without as much concord, as any which he did, and Hannibal was fent in his other vertue of the Commanders. For their stead, one that would be directed by Amil-

able Captain, though of equal authority, After this, the affairs of Carthage began hath willingly submitted himself to the to prosper somewhat better. Matho and other, and obeyed his directions. This not- secondius had brought their Army near unto withfranding, they have many times by or-daining two Commanders of one Army, re-They might well be bold to hope and adceived great and most dangerous over-venture much, having in their Camp above throws; wherefore in the second Punick lifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad War we shall find examples. On the contra- in Garrisons. Nevertheles, the City was too ry fide, in their wars most remote, that were strong for them to win by affault: and the alwayes managed by one, they feldom fail-entrance of victuals they could not hinder, ed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter if any should be sent in by friends from

Marathon, it may be truly faid, that had not the wars in Sicil he affifted the Romans, and their temper been better than the judgment still continued in their alliance, yet now of the people that fent them forth, and had fent fuccours to the Carthaginians: fearing not they submitted themselves to the con-their fall, and consequently his own; beduction of Militades; their affairs had found cause if no other State gave the Romans the same success which they found at other somewhat to trouble their digestion, the times, when they coupled Nicias and Alci- Principality of Syracuse would soon be debiades together in Sicil: the one being fo voured by them. The Romans also gave over-wary, and the other so hasty, as all them some slender affistance, and, for the came to nought, that they undertook: prefent, refused good offers made unto whereas cimon alone, as allo driffider, and them by the Mercenaries. This they did to there, having folg charge of all, did their to shew a noble kind of disposition; which country and Common-weal most remark-

ment, and so the contrary, by which the best gent in waiting at their backs, and cutting

finding themselves more straightly besieged in person. What they could say unto him by him, than Carthage was by them, they it is hard to conjecture: yet by the condiiffued into the field: when Spendius, and one craved pardon for the multitude. The con-Tarcas an African Captain affilting the re- ditions were, that the Carthaginians should work; leaving Matho in Tunis, to negotiate enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to rein plain battel: untill at length he got them more, in number. into a straight, whence ere they should This was a famous exploit: and the news get out, he ment to take of them a good thereof exceeding welcome to Carthage; and account. Their judgment was enough to terrible to the revolted Cities of Africk. perceive their own disadvantage; and there- Henceforward Amilear, with his Naravalis, fore they had the less stomach to fight; and Hannibal, carried the war from Town but awaiting for help from Tunis. Amilear to Town, and found all places ready to prudently foreseeing, that necessity might yield: Utica & Hippagreta only standing out, teach them to dare impossibilities, useth the upon fear of deserved vengeance; and Tunis, benefit of their present fear, and shut them being held by Matho, with the remainder of close up with Trench and Rampart. There his Army. It was thought fit to begin with they waited miserably, for succour thrt Tunis, wherein lay the chief strength of the came not: and having ipent all their vi- enemy. Coming before this Town, they duals, were so pinched with hunger, that brought forth spendius, with his fellows in they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. view of the defendants, and crucified them This they fuffered patiently, as knowing that under the walls; to terrifie those of his old they had not deferved any favour from Car- companions, that were still in Arms. With thage: and hoping that their friends at Tu- this rigour the fiege began; as if speedy vinis would not be unmindful of them. But ctory had been affured. Hannibal quartered companions, and yet faw none appearance or far afunder to help one another in fudden Intelhood of relief: their obitinacy was accidents: and therefore it behoved each to broken, and they threatned their Captains be the more circumspect.

With what they deferved, unlefs they would go forth to Amilcar, and feek such peace as string from the walls beheld his own degree to a might be gotten. So Spendim, Zarxar, and knew not how to avoid it oberwise than by Amarius; fell to consultation, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yield themselves, if it were so required, unto that lay secure, as if all danger were pass, unto the death of the medium of the string that lay secure, as if all danger were pass, unto the death of the medium of the string that lay secure, as if all danger were pass, unto the death of the medium of the string the string that lay secure, as if all danger were pass, unto the string the string that the string that the string that the string the string that the string the string that the string that the string the string that the stri the death, rather than perish by the hands der the command of Hannibal; and with so

off all that come to their supply: so that these three come forth to talk with Amilear purposed to desist from their vain attempt, tions which Amilear granted, it seems that and try some other course. Hereupon they they took the blame upon themselves, and bellion, take upon them to find Amilear chuse, out of the whole number of these with their friends, and take a general care of main at their discretion; and that the rest the business. The Elephants of Carthage, and should albe dismissed, each in his shirt, or horse of Naravasius, made spendius fearful to descend into the Plains. Wherefore betook himself to his former method that he chose them presently, as part of the of war, keeping the mountains, and rough ten, and so commanded to lay hands on grounds, or occupying the straightest pas-them: the resthe forthwith went to setch fages, wherein the desperate courage of his with his whole Army in order. The Rebels, men might shew it self, with little disadvan- who knew not that peace was concluded tage. But Amilear had more skill in this upon so gentle Articles, thought themselves Art, than could be matched by the labour betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to of Spendius. He drew the enemy to ma- Arms. But they wanted Captains to order ny fkirmishes; in all which the success was them; and the same astonishment that made fuch, as added courage to his own men, them break the Covenants of peace, whereand abated the strength and spirit of the of they were ignorant, gave unto Amilear Rebells. Thus he continued, provoking them both colour of Justice, in accomplishing renight and day: still intrapping some of them, venge and ease in doing the execution. They and sometimes giving them the overthrow were all slain: being forty thousand, or

when they were driven to such extremity, on that part of Tunis, which lay toward that they were fain to devour their own Carthage. Amilear on the opposite side: too likelihood of relief: their obstinacy was accidents: and therefore it behaved each to

of their own companions. Hereupon they great and unexpected fury he fallied, that af-fend to crave parlie, which is granted 5 and ter an exceeding flaughter, he took Hannibal

prisoner:

prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most foretold, without help of witchcraft. Manoble of the Carthaginian prisoners, he pre- tho, and his followers, had nothing whereon fently revenged the death of Spendius, by to prefume, fave their daring spirits, which the same torture. Of this, Amilear knew no- had been well cooled by the many late skirthing, till it was too late; neither had he mishes, wherein they had learned how to frength enough remaining, after this great run away. The Carthaginians had reason to loss, to continue the siege; but was fain to dare, as having been often victorious : and the River Bagradis, where he incamped.

upon the same of this loss, than had been not easily to be matched in that Age. Neithe joy of the late great victory. All that ther was it likely that the desire of liberry could bear arms, were fent into the field,un- should work so much, in men accustomed to der Hanno; whom, it seems, they thought servitude; as the honour of their State the most able of their Captains surviving would, in Citizens, whose future and present the late accidents of War. If there were good lay all at once ingaged in that advenany Law among them forbidding the im- ture. So the Carthaginians wan a great viployment of one sole General near unto Story, wherein most of the Africans their their City (for they are known to have tru- enemies were flain; the rest fled into a fted one man abroad ) the time did not permit, in this hasty exigent, to devise about re- therefore they all yielded; and Matho himpealing it. But thirty principal men are cho- felf was taken alive. Immediately upon this fen by the Senate, to bring Hanno to Amilears victory, all the Africans that had rebelled, Camp, and by all good perswasions to recon-made submission to their old Masters: Viicile them. This could not be effected in one ca only, and Hippagreta stood out, as knowday. It nearly touched Amilear in his ho- ing how little they deserved of favour. But nourathat the carelesness of Hannibal seem- they were soon forced to take what condied to be imputed unto him, by fending his tions best pleased the victours. Matho and enemy to moderate his proceedings. Never his fellows were led to Carthage in triumph; theless after many conferences, the authority where they suffered all torments that could of the Senators prevailed; Amilear and Han- be devised, in recompence of the mischiefs no were made friends; and thenceforth, which they had wrought in this war. The whilst this war lasted, Hanno took warning war had lasted three years, and about four by Hannibals calamities, to follow good dimonths, when it came to this good end: rections, though afterwards he returned to which the Carthaginians, whose subjects did his old and deadly hatred.

abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of ed in the beginning. his late success, whilst it gave some life unto his business. He had reason to do as he did: but he wanted skill to deal with Amilear. The skirmishes, and light exercises of war. wherein Amilear trained his Carthaginians did so far abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of Matho; that he refolved to try the fortune of one battel: wherein either his own defire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the Carthaginians were no less prone, than Matho: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their own men, which kindled the like fire in Sardinia: where had approved it self in many tryals; and murdering Boffar the Governour, and other well affured of Amilear his great worth, Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, and whereunto the enemy hath not what to op-hold that Island to their own use. Against pose. According to his determination, each these, one Hanno was sent with a small Army part was diligent in making provision: in- (fuch as could be spared in that busie time)

break it up, and remove unto the mouth of in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the The terrour was no less within Carthage, rest ) they had such a Commander, as was Town, which was not to be defended, and not love them, should with less expence, by In the mean scason Matho was come contenting their Mercenaries, have prevent-

#### ø. IV.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled : and were afterwards driven out by the Handers. The faithless dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia , contrary to the peace.

7 Hilft Matho and Spendiss were ma-V king terrible combustion in Africk; other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had viting their friends to help; and drawing confifting likewife of Mercenaries, levied forth into the field, all that lay in Garrifon. On the fudden. But these companies that The issue of this battel might have been followed Hanno, finding it more for their

diffrust, they refolved to hang up their reasons that follow. Commander Hanno, and performed it. A Some Indian Merchants had relieved Antecommon practice it hath been in all Ages, the and Spendius with Corn: of whom the with those that have undertaken the quar. Continguing took almost ince handed, and tel of an unjust war, to enjoyn the perforthed them in prition. Hereof was made a mance of fome notorious and villatious act, great complaint: to that the temans from to those that come in to them as seconds, Embaliadours to Carthege, requiring fairly

of fencing.

fafery, and prefent profit, to joyn themselves i there was none other school eneward, rapp with those that were already revolted, than possession and rule of the Country's the morto endanger themselves by battel, for the terms not cally taken us. So they sail to good of that Common-weal, of which blows; which how they were dealt, I know they had no care; began to enter into not; but finally the Mercenaries were driven practice with the sardinian Rebels, effer-out and compelled to fave themselves in Haly. me to run one course of fortune with them Before their departure out of sardinia, they in their enterprife. This their offer was had invited the Romans into it; with as good kindly taken; but their faith was suspected fright, as the Mimertines had called them Wherefore to take away all jealoutie and into sicil. Yer this offer was refused, upon

with offer to partake, and to affift the im- faction. It was no time for the Carthaginians pious purpotes which they have in hand. It to dispute : they quietly yielded to release is indeed the best pawn, that desperate men them all. This was so kindly taken, that they can deliver to each other, to perform fome forbade all their Merchants to trade thencefuch actions, as are equally unpardonable forth with the Rebels; admonifhing them to carry all provisions to Carthage. And up-By fuch a kind of cruelty did the un- on the fame reason did they forbear to gratefull Mantingans murder a Garrison of moddle with sardinia, or to accept the City Achaians, fent unto them for their defence of Vica, offering it felf unto their subjectiagainst the Lacedemonians, by Aratus; who, on. This might have served as a notable exwhen he had formerly pollest himself of ample of the Roman Faith, to all posterity: their City, by right of war, did not only had not the iffue proved, that it was meer spare the lack and spoil thereof, but gave regard of greater profit, which kept them so them equal freedom, with the rest of the temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of Cities united. These revolts are also com- thriving better thereby, than they should mon in our Court-wars; where, in the have done by open breach of Faith. The Conquests of new fortunes, and making of whole estate of Carthage depended at that new parties, and factions, without the de-time, upon the vertue of Amilear: who, had pression or destruction of old friends, we he been overthrown by spending or Matho, cannot be received and trusted by old ene- in one main battel, that mighty City muit mies. Cesont les coups de vieille escrime. These cither have fallen into the barbarous hands (fay the French) be the blows of the old Art of merciles villains, or have humbled her felf under protection of the Romans, with These Mercenaries in Sardinia were no whom she had lately striven for superiowhit less violent in their purpose, than were rity. That extreme necessity, whereinto Spendius, and his affociates: only they want- Matho reduced the City, by the forume ed a Matho among them, to negotiate with of one fally made out of Tunis, is enough the inhabitants of the Province. The Islan- to prove, that Carthage was not far from ders were no less glad, than the Souldiers, such a miserable choice. Wherefore it that the Carthaginians were expelled the was not unwifely done of the Romans, to Country: but they could not agree about make fuch demonstration of kindness, and the profit of the victory. The sardinians honourable dealing, as might invite a rich thought that it was enough, if they reward-but finking ship, to run her self aground ed the fouldiers for their pains taken. Con-upon their shore. But when all was well trariwise, the souldiers were of opinion, that ended in Africk, and the Carthaginians bethe title of the Carthaginians to that Isle, was gan to prepare for the recovery of Sardinia; devolved unto themselves, by right of Con-then did Ambition put off her goodly vizor. quest. The same quarrel would (in likeli- The Romans perceiving that Carthage, hood) have rifen between spendius with his beyond their hope, had recovered her feet Mercenaries, and their African friends; if the again; began to strike at her head. They common defire of both had once taken ef-entertained the proffer of those M remaries, feet: unless the riches of Carthage had served that were fled out of Sardinia; and they tocontent them all. But in Sardinia, where denounced war against this enterbled and Mmmmai impoverithe.

chough. They would have twelve hundred fort suspected to be wisdom. talents, in recompence belike (for I fee But the glory of Amilear was continually not what reason they could alledge) of the upheld and enlarged, by many notable sergreat fear which they had endured, of an vices that he did, to the fingular benefit of invation from Carthage. It is indeed plain, his Country. He passed the straights of Herthat they impudently fought occasion of cules, (now called the straights of Gibralter) war. But necessity taught the Carthagini- and landed on the Western coasts of spain; ans patience; and the mony was payed, in which Country, during nine years that he how hardly foever it was raifed. From this lived there, he subjected unto the State of time forward, let not Rome complain of the Carthage the better part of all those Provinces. Punick faith, in breach of Covenants: she But finally in a battel that he fought with her felf hath broken the peace already, a Nation in Portugal, called the Vettones, which Amilear purposeth to make her dearly (defending himself a long time with an adrepent; but what Amilear lives not to per-mirable resolution ) he was invironed and form, shall be accomplished by Hannibal his slain: carrying with him to the grave the renowned Son.

#### ø. V.

liow the Affairs of Carthage went, between the Son-in-law was made General of the Car-

ren, served to instruct the Carthaginians in thage: adding so many subjects and confea necessary lesion; That either they must derates thereunto, that the Romans began make themselves the stronger, or else re- to grow jealous again of this hasty increase. joive to be obedient unto those that were He built a goodly City upon a commodious more mighty. In a City long accustomed to Haven, in the Kingdom of Granado, opthe braver determination eafily took posite to that of Oran in Africa, and gave it the name of New Carthage, which to this for the increase of Puissance and Empire. day it nearly retaineth, being called now ruine.

were of his faction, took little pleasure in the help this, at the present they know not ; general love and honour, which daily in- for they daily expected to be invaded by the realed towards Amilear and his friends. Gaules, their ancient enemies, and nearest Tet could they not deny him to be the most neighbours to the West. But he needeth country of command in all the City: only little help of force, that knoweth himfelf to they commended peace and quietness; ad- be feared : it is enough if he request, since his

impoverished City, under a shameless pre-vising men to beware of provoking the Rotence, that the preparations made for Saidi- mans, in whose amity they said, that the fenia, were made indeed against Rome it self. licity of Carthage did consist. By such dis-The Carthaginians knew themselves unable courses, harsh to the ears of good Citizens, to relift, and therefore yielded to the Ro- who had feeling of the wrong done to their mans demand; renouncing unto them all Common-weal, they got none other reputatheir right in Sardinia. But this was not tion, than of fingularity: which the ignorant

CHAP. IT

CHAP. II.

same great honour and fame, by which in many fignal victories, he had acquired the name

of a second Mars. After the death of Amilcar, Asdrubal his Airican Kebellion, and the second Punick thaginian forces in Spain. This was a good man of war; but far better in practice and cunning than in deeds of arms. By his THE injurious dealings of the Romans, notable dexterity in matter of negotiation, expressing their desire to pick a quar- he greatly enlarged the Dominion of Carthe thrength, and the jealousie of the Ro- \* Carthagena. With this success of the Car- Town with this faces of the carrancan Sea; but the riches of Spain, that lay a little troubled; but began to accuse their acres pon the Ocean, were unknown to Rome: own negligence. For whereas they had forwherefore that Province might ferve both merly taken fo much pains to beat them out the little to exercise the Carthaginians in war, and to of the Isle of Sicil, as suspecting their neight mich repair their decayed forces, with all needful bourhood there; they had now, by cum-ing po-furplies. Of the *spanifb* Expedition, the bring themselves in a war of far less impor-ind charge and foveraign trust was committed tance, (whereof I shall speak anon) given the year unto Amilear: upon whom his Country did them leifure without interruption, to re-1934 at wholly repose it self; in hope to recover cover upon their own Continent, a Domi-tier strength by his means, that had saved it from nion by far exceeding both in the bodies of a few transfer. men, and in revenue, that which the Ro-yes 1956. Hanno, with some other envious men that mans had taken from them. But how to

requelt shall have the vertue of a com- blows from a fourer Dame; there were from

found some, that by offering themselves to Yet were the Romans utterly destitute of the protection of Rome, became ( as they all good colour, that might help them to in- thought) fellow-fervants with Carthage. But termeddle in Spain. The Spaniards were the Carthaginians will thortly teach themanothen unacquainted with Rome, whereof (in ther lesson. The Saguntines, a people on the probability) they scarce had heard the South-side of Iberns, entred into confederaname : fo that there were no Mamertines, cy with the Romans, and were gladly acceptnor other fuch Rebels, to call in Roman fuc- ed. Surely it was lawful unto the Romans to cours; but in the enterprise of Sardinia, the admit the Saguntines, or any other people Romans had learned an impudent pretence, (neither subject, nor open enemy in war to that might also ferve their turn in Spain. For the Carthaginians) into their society; and though it were apparent, that the Spanish af unlawful it was unto the Carthaginians, to fairs had no relation to the peace between use violence towards any that should thus these two Cities; and though it were no- once become confederate with Rome. Neverthing likely, that Asdrubal had any purpose theless, if we consider the late agreement to extend his victories unto the gates of made with Afdrubal, we shall find that the Rome. or to any of the Roman frontiers: yet Romans could have none other honest colour (as if some such matter had been suspected) of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of they fent unto him, requiring that he should making the River there's a bound, over which forbear to proceed any further, than to the they themselves would not pass, in any Dif-River of Iberus. In addressing their messen- covery or Conquest by them intended to be gers, rather to Asdrubal, than to the City of made upon spain : in which regard, they Carthage; they feem to have hoped, that might have fome honest pretence to require howsoever the generality of the Carthagi- the like of the Carthaginians; though Rome, giniams had sweetly swallowed many bitter as yet, had no foot on the one side of therms, pills, to avoid alloccasion of war with Rome, whereas Carthage on the other side of that yet the bravery of one man might prove River, held almost all the Country. Howsoyet the bravery of one man might prove interpretations at the Country. Howload morefaftidious, and refenting the injury, re-ever it were, this indignity was not so easily turn such answer, as would intangle his digested, as former injuries had been. For it whole Country in the quarrel, that they to was a matter of ill consequence, that the much defired; and might embrace at leilure, I Nations which had heard of no greater power when once they had found apparent cause. But Aldrubal finely deluded their expectation. | tum resting securely among them, upon con-He pretended no manner of dislike at all: fidence of help from a more mighty City. and whereas they would have this insolent Wherefore either in this respect, or for that covenant inferted into the Articles of peace; the fenfe is most feeling of the latest injuries; he took upon him to do it of his own power, or rather for that now the Carthaginiaus with fuch appearance of conformity to their were of power to do themselves right: war will, that they went their wayes contented, against Saguntum was generally thought upand fought no further.

fear of present war, had ratified this new Spain eight years (being flain by a flave, whose composition made by Astrubal; yet should it Master he had put to death) and the Great not have stood bound in honour, to observe Hannibal, Son of the Great Amilear, was chothe same carefully, unless an oath had also sen General in his stead. been extorted, to make all fure. But fince all passed quietly, under the bare authority of Asdrubal, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a second breach of peace; where- The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrof the Romans might be accused more justly. than they could accuse the Carthaginians of perjury, (as they after did) for refuling to stand to ir.

wan some reputation in Spain. For when and the second; the estate of Greece, after it was once conceived by the spaniards, that the death of Pyrrhus, was grown fomewhat. the City which would needs be Mistress like unto that, wherein Philip of Macedon over them, stood in fear her self of receiving had found it; though far weaker, as the

on, let the Romans take it how they lift. In If it had been so, that the State of Car- such terms were the Carthaginians, when thage, thereunto pressed by the Romans, for Asarubal dyed, after he had commanded in

# ø. VI.

rhus, to the reign of Philip the Son of Demetrius in Macedon.

N the long term of the first Punick war, By this Treaty with Asdrubal, the Romans and the vacation following, between it Mmmmm 2

by Alexander the Son of Pyrrhus the Epirot with age. from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of ceeding unto his Father, reigned ten years. his Souldiers, even at such time, as having He made greater proof of his vertue before overthrown with great flaughter an Army he was King, than after. The Dardanians, of the Gaules, he was converting his forces Etolians, and Acheans, held him continualagainst the Athenians, whom he compelled ly busied in war; wherein his fortune was to receive his Garrisons. But his young son variable, and for the more part ill. About Demetrius raised an Army, wherewith he these times the power of the Macedonians chased Alexander, not only out of Macedon, began to decay: and the Gracians to cast off but out of his own Epirus, and restored his their yoke. Father to the Kingdom.

By the help of this young Prince Demethe Town; which was of much importance, ship; and was also called Doson, that is as

after-fpring. The whole Country had re- poisoned by this Antigonus, who deceived covered by degrees, a form of liberty: in his wife Nicea thereof, and got it from her petty tyrannies (bred of those inseriour by atrick. The device was this: Antigonus Captains, which in the times of general com- fent his young fon Demetrius to Corinth, wilbuiltion, had feifed each upon fuch towns as ling him to court Nicea, and feek her marrihe could get) were, by force or accident, ex- age. The foolish old widow perceived not tirpated, and reformed; and some States how unfit a match she was for the young were rifen to fuch greatness, as not only fer- Prince, but entertained the fancy of marrived to defend themselves, but to give pro- age ; whereto the old King was even as reatection to others. This conversion to the dy to consent, as was his son to desire, and better. proceeded from the like dissensions came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereand tumults in Macedon, as had been in upon all Corinth was filled with facrifices. Greece, when Philip first began to encroach feasts, plaies, and all forts of games: in the upon it. For after many quarrels and great midft of which, Antigonus watched his time. wars, about the Kingdom of Macedon, be- and got into the Castle, beguiling the poor tween Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Deme- Lady, whose jealousie had been exceeding trius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Pyrrbus, and the diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he Gaules: Antigonus the fon of Demetrius, final- was fo glad, that he could not contain himly got and held it, reigning fix and thirty felf within the gravity beforming his old years; yet so, that he was divers times age. But as he had stollen it; so was it thence expelled, not only by the Gaules, and again stollen from him : neither lived he to by Pyrrbus, as hath been already shewed, but revenge the loss of it, being already spent

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Demetrius, the fon of this Antigonus, fuc-

Philip, the only fon of Demetrius, was a young child when his Father dved; and trius (though in another kind) Antigonus therefore Antigonus, his Uncle, had the got into his possession the Citadel of Corinth; charge of the Kingdom, during the minoriwhich was justly termed . he fetter of Greece. ty of the Prince; but he affumed the name This Citadel called Acrocorinthus, flood up- and power of a King, though he respected on a steep rocky hill on the North side of the Philip as his own son, to whom he left the Town, and was by nature and art fostrong, Crown at his death; This Antigonus, was that it seemed impregnable. It commanded called the Tutor, in regard of his Protectoras occupying the whole breadth of the much as, Will-give, because he was slow in Islbmus, that running between the Agean his liberality. He represed the Dardaniand Ionique Seas, joyneth Peloponnesus to the ans and Inestalians, which molested his Main of Greece. Wherefore he that held Kingdom, in the beginning of his reign. possession of this Castle was able to cut off Upon confidence of this good service, he all passage by land, from one half of Greece took state upon him, as one that rather unto the other; besides the commodity of were King in his own right, than only a the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich Protector. Hereupon the people fell to and goodly City had commodious havens. mutiny; but were foon appealed by fair Alexander, the son of Polysperchon; and after words, and a seeming unwillingness of his his death, Cratesipolis his wife, had gotten to meddle any more with the Government. Corinth in the great shuffling of Provinces The Achaians took from him the City of and Towns, that was made between Alex. Athens, foon after Demetrius his death; and anders Princes. Afterwards it paffed from likely they were to have wrought him out hand to hand, untill it came, I know not of all, or most that he held in Greece, if their how, to one Alexander; of whom I find no- own estate had not been endangered by a thing else, than that he was thought to be nearer enemy. But civil diffension, which

had overthrown the power of Greece, when I ftrong league of amity, partly, in the Olymlike advantage.

cedonians and Spartans ) they did not Marcus Carynensis was the first, and Aratus only draw all others by their love and alli- the fecond. ance, but induced, through their example, This Aratus was a noble young Gentlethe rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus, to be man of sicyon, who, living at Argos in exile. governed by one Law, and to use one and whilest his Country was oppressed by Tymoney.

Aratus, the Sicyonian, was the first that by night, with ladders; whence they chaunited them again; and gave them courage, fed the Tyrant, and restored the people to after that they had been by the Macedonian liberty. This was in the time of Antigonus Captains divided into many Principalities. In Gonatas King of Macedon, a Prince more elder times they were governed by Kings, as busie in watching what to get among the most of the great Cities of Greece were; to Greeks, than wise in looking to his own. For which kind of rule they first subjected them- fear of Antigonus, the Sicyonians enter into felves, after the descent of the Heraclida, the Achaian league : which though at that when Tifamenus the fon of Orestes possest the time it received more increase by their acces-Territory of Achaia. In this estate they sion than it added strength to them; yet the continued to the time of Gyges, after whom, benefit of this conjunction ferved well when his fons fought to change the Legal enough against Antigonus, whose subtlety Government of their Predecessors unto Ty-was somewhat greater than his valour. As ranny, they expelled them, and made their the industry and counsel of Aratus delivered State popular; as seeming most equal. This his County from bondage, and fortified it by form of Common-weal had continuance, the Achaian league; so further, by his great with fone fmall changes according to the liberality, with the exceeding great coft of diversity of times, till the reign of *Philip* and 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable Alexander Kings of Macedon: who tempest- controversies, between the banished Sicyoni-Alexander Kings or Macroon: Who tempers controverines, between the banimed sizyonilike overturned all things in that part of the
like overturned all things in that part of the
world. For those twelve Cities, called the
Citizens that had possession of these mens
Cities of Alliance (whereof, Helice, and Bura Lands; as also with the same money he drew or Olenus, the Sea had eaten up a little before many others to affift him in those enterprises the Batte of Leathers) were, by diffur-following, that redounded to the fingular bance of the Macedonians, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no less of Polemy Euergetes King of Espt 5 who foolish than cruel, among themselves. But in partly had a desire to hold some strong and the one hundred and four and twentieth fure friendship in Greece, partly was delight-Olympiad ( in which, or near it, Ptolemy the ed with the conversation of Aratus himself, fon of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptole- that made a dangerous voyage to him into my Ceraunus, left the world) two of ten re- Egypt, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, maining Cities and people, namely, the Pa- with the gift of many curious pieces, wherein trenses and the Dimai, united themselves, the workmen of Sicyon excelled. and laid the foundation of the general ac-The first of Aratus his great attempts, was cord, and re-union, which after followed, the surprize of the Acrocorinthus or Citadel For having been, some of them Partisans of Corinth; which he wan by night, being

with fundry Macedonian Captains, and thereinto guided by some theeves that he

others having been governed by petty had hired for the purpose, who living in

it flourished most, overthrew it easily now piad before spoken of, and partly, at such again, when it had scarcely recovered time as Pyrrhus made his first voyage into ftrength after a long fickness; and gave to Haly. Now after the uniting of the Patrenses this Antigonus no less authority therein, than and Dimei, to whom also the Cities of Titrea, Philip the Father of Alexander, got by the and Phara, joyned themselves; Heira chased out her Garrisons: and the Burians, killing These Achaians from small beginnings, their Kings, entred with the Cerannians into had increased in short time to great the same Consederacy. These Cities, for firength and fame: fo that they grew the twenty and five years, used the fame form most redoubted Nation of all the Greek. of Government with the Achaian; who by By the equality of their Laws, and by their a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all clemency (notwithstanding that they things in their Common-weal; and foon after were a long time held under by the Ma-by one Prætor, or Commander: of which,

the same fort of weights, measure, and rants, found means, through the help of other banished men, to enter their own City

his treasury, passing in and out by a secret (who rose up one after another in Argos) in path among the rocks. Yet was he fain to open field, and flew one of them in battail: fight for it, ere he could get it : though in- but all sufficed not : untill at length Ariflodeed Antigonus his Souldiers were rather machus the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaovercome by their own fear, than by any ded, and hired by Aratus, that he confented force of the affailants; as miltrusting lest to refign his Estate. The like did Xenon the the Achaians were more in number, than in Tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus, that had truth they were, and having loft the advan- oppressed the Phliasians. tages of the place already, upon which they had prefumed, before they were aware of on foot, Lylladas the Tyrant of Megalopolis.

ments, furprifes, and practices, Aratus was and annexed it to the Council of Achaia: very cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in whereby he got fuch credit, that he was open field, and plain battail, he was as timo- chosen General of their forces (which was a rous. By this strange mixture of cowardize yearly Office, and might not be held two and courage, he ministred argument of dif- years together by one man :) every second putation, to Philosophers and others; Whe- year, for a certain while, he and Aratus ther a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and succeeded one another by turns. But those infome cases approved) might look pale and tremble, when he began battail; and Whe- and Aristomachus, were carried with prither the vertue of Fortitude were diversifi- vate passion from care of the general good; ed, by the fundry natures of men, and in a in which courses they opposed Aratus, to the manner confined unto several forts of action. great hurt of Achaia, as shall appear in due In resolving which doubts it may be faid, time. that all vertue is perfected in men by exer- The Acheans having obtained so much cife, wherein they are trained by occasion: puissance and reputation, that Ptolemy King though a natural inclination standeth in of Egypt was become Patron of their Allineed of little practice; whereas the defect ance, and (in title of honour) General of hereof must be supplyed with much instru- their forces by Seaand Land; made open ction, use, good success, and other help, yet War upon Demetrius the son of Antigonus hardly shall grow absolute in general. Such Gonatus, for the liberty of Athens. It is was Aratus in matter of War. In sincere affer strange and worthy of noting, That when ons will truly testifie.

ed unto the Common-wealth of Achaia, the the Athenians become; in whom the rule Megarians revolted foon after from Antigo- was verified, that holds true in general of nus, and entred into the same Corporation. the multitude, Aut humiliter servit, aut su-So did the Trazenians, and the Epidaurians: perbe dominatur; It is either base in service, whereby this new erected State grew so or insolent in command. Nevertheless when powerful, that it adventured to take Athens, Demetrius was dead, Aratus performed that from the Macedonians, and Argor and Mega-by money, which he could not by force; lopolis, from tyrants that held them. The enterprise upon the Athenians was of none nian Garrison, purchased liberty to the effect. For though Aratus wasted the Isle of Athenians, who thenceforth held good cor-Salami, to shew his strength, and sent home respondence with the Acheans, loving the Athenian prisoners, without ransome, to them, and speaking well of them, which allure the City by thew of love; yet the Athenians stirred neither against him, nor for him,
as being now grown honest slaves to the belike, in regard of their own out-worn Micedonians. Upon drgos the adventure glory.

Was carryed more ftrongly. The Achaians | Now as the Common-wealth of Achaians | Now as the Common wealth of Achaians | Now as t came sometimes to the gates of the City, but daily increased within Peloponnesus, by juthe people stirred not: once they entred it, stice and honesty; so did the Atolians, in and might have won it, if the Citizens would the utter part of Greece, yea and within Peloown freedom; fundry times, and with di- diness of body, and rude courage in fight,

Whilest this business with the Argives was was fo well handled by Aratus, that, with-In these kinds of night-services, ambush- out compulsion, he gave liberty to his City,

ction to his Country he was unreprovable, Aratus in this quarrel had lost a battail, the and so acknowledged : as his following acti- Athenians wore Garlands, in fign of joy, to flatter their good Lords the Macedonians, When Acrocorinthus was taken, and joyn-that had won the victory. Such were now

have lent any help to the recovery of their ponnefus it felf, wax very powerful, by sturvers events, they fought with the Tyrants, without help of any other vertue. They had

stoutly defended themselves against Anti- vice unto Antigonus; offering to make him in Peloponnesus : so that they were hardened come Achean. with a perpetual travail; feldom putting off their Armour. But their hardiness ill de- these times; and subject to the injuries of ferved the name of valour, feeing they had any stronger neighbour. Pyrrhus had greatly no regard of honesty or friendship, measur- weakned it; The Atolians entring Liconia ing all things by their own insolent wills, with an Army, had carried away fifty thouand thinking all people base-minded, that fand slaves; and, which was worse, their disciwere not as fierce and outragious as them- pline was corrupted, Avarice and Luxury felves.

spoils in Peloponnesus, and occupied a good had sometime been their general vertue, was part of the Country. They had invaded hardly now to be found among the best of the friends of the Acheans; taken and fack-them. There was left in Sparta no more than ed Pallene; where, although they were seven hundred natural Citizens; of whom foundly beaten by Aratus, yet their defire of not above one hundred had Lands; all the gain made them make a new voyage thi- rest were needy people, and desirous of inther, as to a Country wherein somewhat was novation. Hereupon followed intestine sedito be gotten. But they were forced to look tion; which endangered the City most of all. another way, by Demetrias the Son of Anti-Agis a good King, who fought to reform the gonus Gonatas: who prefied them so hardly, disorders of the State, exhorted the people that they were driven to feek help of the to a strict observation of Lycurgue his Laws. Acheans; which they obtained. The war To which purpose he caused them to pass which the Acheans made upon Demetrius, an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and without Feloponness, in Attica, though it equal division of Lands. All the younger, tended to expelling the Macedons out of and poorer fort were glad of this; but the Greece, yet the benefit thereof redounded rich men opposed it. These had recourse chiefly unto the Atolians, at whose instance unto Leonidas the other King, (for in Sparta it was fet on foot : for thereby were the Ma- were two Kings) who took their part : becedonian forces diverted from them. Nei- ing himself a diffolute man, as one trained up ther was this good turn unacknowledged; in the Court of Syria, whence also he had though very basely the Ætolians, giving his wife. In this contention Leonidas was exthanks in words, devised how to requite the pelled the City, and a new King chosen in his benefit with some great mischies. They saw stead. But Agis his friends and Counsellors in that the Acheans were defirous to bring all this enteprize, abused his good meaning to Peloponnesus into their Alliance and Corpo- their own private commodity. They were ration: of which intent, the Lacedamonians hasty to take away all debts, and cancel all were very jealous. Wherefore these Etolians bonds, for they themselves were deeply laboured earnestly to set the Lacedamonians indebted : but the division of Lands they and Acheans together by the ears : hoping afterwards hindred, because their own posthat if this might come to pass, they them- seffions were great. Hence arose a tumult in felves should be called in to help (it skilled Sparta, which these men increased by their not on what fide) and fo get no small share, foul oppression of the poorer Citizens. So both in booty and Territory. Neither did that in fine, Leonidas was brought home,

pater and Craterus; partly by daring to do partaker of their gain, whom they knew to and fuffer much, partly by the natural be offended with the many loffes, that this ftrength and fastness of their Country; but Kingdom hath sustained by the Acheans. Of especially by the benefit of the time, which this plot Aratus was aware: who therefore called away these famous Captains to other determined to suffer many indignities, rather business, as hath been related. They had than to give the Lacedamonians cause to take molested Cassander, in favour of Antigonus, Arms. But this resolution was taken someand were themselves as much plagued by what too late: and not altogether in his own him, and by the Acarnanians, a little, but a power to hold. He had been medling with fout Nation, that took his part. Afterwards the Arcadians, that were dependants of Lathey had to do with Demetrius, the Son of cedamon: and thereby had provoked the the first Antigonus, and more or less with all Lacedamonians to look about them; seeing the Kings of Macedon succeeding him. They that all Peloponness, excepting themselves, likewise held often war with the Acarnani- the Eleans, and a few Arcadians their friends ans, Athamanians, Epirots, and many Cities (who also were attempted) was already be-The City of Sparta was in ill case about

reigned among them, the poor was opprefied These Etolians had lately made great by the rich, and the generosity of spirit, that they forbear to communicate this their de- and restored to his Kingdom, and the two

adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuary; out labour of a painful night travel, and discoof which, Cleombroius, the late-made King, vered his enmity to Sparta; of which Cleomewas difmiffed into exile: but Agis was not was nothing forry. By these degrees the trained forth, drawn into prison, and there war began. In the entrance whereto Aratus by his enemies condemned and firangled, had discovered the Atolian practice, and together with his Mother, and his old therefore would have stayed the quarrel Grand-mother. The like to this was never from proceeding too far. But Liftadas known in sparte: and ( which is the and Ariftomachus would needs fight, and more edicus) this crucky proceeded from he could do none other than be ruled the Fpkori, Magitirates that thould have by them; especially seeing Cleomenes was given Patronage to the Laws, using their to urgent. Aristomachus was at that time power, and more power than to them be- General of the Acheans, (He and Lylladas longed, against a King, that had proceeded being of great account, since they had abanorderiv in reforming the City as the Law re- doned their tyranny ) who fent unto Araquired.

all good Citizens; and ferved to establish the conia. No diffwasions of Aratus would serve. impotent rule of a few tyrannical opprellors, therefore he came in person, and took part In which case Aratus might well hope to of a business, little pleasing him in the preadjoyn Lacedamon to the Acheans Common- fent, and less in the future. When he met wealth: though it were great injustice to with Cleamenes, he durft not fight; but optake fuch advantages, and attempt by force, posed himself against Aristomachus, who that which would have redounded to the defired to give battel. Yet had the Acheans general good of reloponness, and to the be-twenty thousand foot, and one thousand neste of sparta it felf, if it could have been horse, in their Army: whereas Cleomenes

wrought by periwation.

crears of sparia, and revenged the death of raifed an ill report upon Aratus; which Lygo, did also requite the unjust attempts of fladas helped to make worse, by accusing his the recleans, even in their own kind: ob- cowardize. Nevertheless the Acheans would truding upon them by force an union of all not fall out with Aratus their Benefactor, Telogeomejus, though little to their good like- but chose him their General the year foling, for that the Lucedemonians and their lowing; against Lysadas his accuser that fued King should have been the principal; not for the place. Being General himself, it bethey and their Prætor. Leonidas having thus hoved him to confute with deeds, the flancaused sais to be flain, took his wife that derous words of Lysiadas. Therefore he was very rich and beautiful, and gave her purposed to set upon the Eleans: but was in marriage (perforce) to his own Son Clee- met withall on the way, near unto the Mount morer. This young Prince fell greatly ina- Lycens, by Cleomenes, who vanquished him mource on his wife, and fought to win her in a great battel, and drave him to hide affection, as well as he had her person. He himself all night for fear, so that he was discourfed much with her about the purpose thought to have been flain. This misadvenother former husband Agis, and by pitying his ture Aratus recompenced by a trick of his misfortune, began to entertain a defire of own more natural occupation; performing accomplishing that, wherein agis had failed. So coming himself to be King, whiles he hardly have been expected, had he been via covery young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War; for that he hoped by firong hand to effect that, which Agis by take; he fuddenly wrought with some of proceeding formally in to corrupt an estate the Mantineans, who did let him into their of the City, had attempted to his own ru-City. These Mantineans, (whom he had thus ine. Therefore when the Fpkori gave him in brought to his purpose) had once before charge, to take and fortifie Athenaum, a Tem- joyned themselves with the Achaians; but the on the marches of Liconia, to which shortly upon fear, or some other passion, both they and the Megalopolitans pretended they gave themselves to the Etolians; and title, he readily performed it. Hereof Ara- from the Etolians, presently after this victotus made no complaint, but fought to take ry, to Cleomenes, from whom immediately by farprize Teges and Orchoments, Cities they were thus won. For this their levity then Confederate with the Lacedamonians: they were not punished, but freely admitted wherein, his intelligence failing, he lost the now again into the Achean (ociety. As this

tus, lying then in Athens, and required his The death of Agis was much lamented by affiftance in a journey to be made into Lahad no more than five thousand in all. This but the same man who redressed the dis- gave reputation to the Lacedamonian, and good

good success repaired the credit of Aratm; other places, even of Achaia. These news further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. Countrey, and saw that Antigonus, with the This Aratus took patiently, and followed Atolians, or perhaps without them, would the war nevertheless; wherein though Cle-shortly make an end of that, which Cleoomenes wan some Towns, and Aratus got the menes had thus begun. Therefore he adbetter in one small fight, yet little of impor- vised how to provide against the worst, and tance was done; the Acheans being weary, either to repair all, or (if it could not be) and the Spartan King intentive to another to fave all from utter ruine. The office of bufinefs...

altogether stand in need of Mercenary help, as it lately had done, to fave it felf from the Liolians, Illgrians, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the take any. advantage of these his domestical

The Acheans hearing of this great alteration in sparta; thought that it would be long ere Cleomenes durit iffue forth of the City, for fear of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted over all Arcadia at his pleasure; and was Acheans. admitted into Mantinea; and ready to take | The City of Megalopolis had been well

to another battel almost ruined it. Cleomenes displeased them not a little : but they must and he encountred near unto Megalopolis; patiently endure to hear worfe. For where the Acheans had somewhat the bet- when Cleomenes had shaken off the power ter at the first, but their General durst not of the Ephori, that curbed his authority, he follow his advantage. Thereupon Lyliadas, proceeded more roundly in his work, being of whom we spake before, grew somewhat better obeyed, and by better men. His Laimpatient with anger; and taking with him cedemonians refumed their ancient courage; all the horse, brake upon the Lacedemonians and he himself had the heart to demand the whom he routed at the beginning, but pur- Principality of Greece. He did not therefore fuing them too far into places of hard paf-henceforth contend about the possession of fage, he was slain by them, and his follow- a few Towns: but adventured to win or ers driven back upon their own Compani- lose all. The Ætohans, in favour of his atons, in such fort, that finally all the Army tempt, declared themselves on his side: and was disordered an put to flight. This was whereas he had gotten Mantinea, Tegea, and a great loss, and incensed the Acheans against other places; to which they had some title, Aratus: yet their indignation proceeded no they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his General, when it was next put upon him, he Cleomenes having led into the field all refuld; fearing to be fo far prest, as to hazard that were like to hinder his purpose, and in one battel all the force of his Country, tired them with painfull journeys, forfook to which as he had never any affection, nor the Achean war on a sudden, and came un- perchance courage, so was his manner of expected home to sparta, where he flew the warfare otherwife. For he commonly at-Ephori, and restored by force the ancient tempted by surprise, and defended upon the discipline of Lycurgus. Then he gave an ac- advantage of place, after the manner of the count of his doings; and flewing by what Irifs, and of all other Nations, overcharged degrees the Ephori had incroached upon the with numbers of men. Yet did he not forpower of Kings, and many disorders had sake the care of the Weal-publick, though grown in the City; he justified his proceed- in aiming at the general good, it seems that ings, and forthwith began to make equal di- private passion drew him into an ill course. vision of the Lands, reducing all to the first He saw that Megalopolis could not be deinstitution. He also supplied the defect of fended without making a dangerous hazard Citizens, by chusing new, out of such as of battel; that Maninea had not only openwere friends to the State, and valiant men : ed her gates unto Cleomenes, but flain the So that henceforth his Countrey might not Achean Garrison that lay therein; that other Towns had yielded unto him, without compulsion; and that Aristomachus, once Tyrant of Argos, and fince General of the Acheans, was now revolted unto the enemy sparans well satisfied, and Cleomenes him- following the fortune of Cleomenes. Ptolemy self ready in the field, ere his enemies could was too far off to help; and the nearness of Antigonus was very dangerous; yet might be usefull, if this King would (as Polybius faith) like others, be triend or enemy, as should best agree with his own profit. To make trial hereof, Aratus practifed with some of Megalopolis, whom he found apt unto his purpose; and instructed them all the Countrey of Megalopolis; had ranged how to deal with Antigonus, and the

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lieved by the Ackaans, with their own pro- consent. per strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaffadours should be sent un-

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affected to the Macedonians, ever fince the himfelf of all others did most wish: to the time of Philip the Father of Alexander, who end, that he might not afterward fultain the had obliged it unto him by fome special be- common reprehension, if any thing fell out nefits. At this time it lay nearest unto the amis; since it might appear, that he had danger; was very faithfull, and therefore not been Author of this Decree, but only deserved succour; yet could not well be re- followed, and that leisurably, the general

Nevertheless, in true estimation, this fineness of Aratus might have been used, with his to the General Council of Achaia, requesting greater commendation, in a contrary course. leave and good allowance, to try the favour For it had been more honourable to make of Antigoniu in their necessity. This was an end of the war, by yielding unto Cleomegranted, for lack of what else to answer: ner that power which they gave unto Antiand the same Embassadours dispatched gonus: since thereby he should both have away to Antigonus. They did their own er- freed his Country from all further trouble; rand briefly; telling him of the good will and withall, should have restored unto the and respect which their City had of long universal state of Greece, that honourable time born unto him and his Predecessors; of condition, whereof the Macedonians had betheir present need; and how it would agree rest it. But it is commonly found, (which is with his honour to give them aid. But great pity) that Vertue, having rifen to howhen they delivered the more general mat- nour by degrees, and confirmed it felf, (asit ter, wherein Aratus had given them in were) in the feat of principality, by length of struction; shewing how the ambition of time, and success of many actions, can ill en-Cleomenes, and violence of the Atolians, dure the hasty growth of any others reputamight redound to his own great loss or tion, wherewith it sees it self likely to be danger, if the one and the other were not overtopped Other cause to despise the Lacein time prevented; how Aratus himfelf did damonians there was none, than that they ftand affected; and what good likelihood lately had been in dangerous case; neither there was of reducing the Acheans under could any reason be found, why Aratm should the Patronage of Macedon: then began prefer Antigonus before Cleomenes, than that Antigonus to lend a more attentive ear to he had stood in doubt of the one, when he their discourse. He embraced the motion: thought himself more mighty than the other. and to give it the more life, he wrote unto Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he the Megalopolitans, that his help should not faw his own honours reversed by the insolent be wanting, so far forth as it might stand Macedonians : and instead of living as a comwith the Acheans good liking. Particularly panion with Cleomenes, that was descended he commended himself by these Messengers of a long race of Kings, the posterity of Hero to Aratus, assuring them, that he thought cules, was fain to do facrifice unto Antigomus, himself highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceiv
Philip, whose Nobility was but of five deed not to have been grounded upon any scents, and whom perhaps he might have hatred to the Macedonians, but only upon a seen his fellows, if he had not made them his just and worthy love to his own Notion. Lords. By this inclination to the Macedoni-With this answer they returned to Megalo- ans, the love of Ptolemy was lost: who forthpolis: and are presently sent away to the with took part with Cleomenes, though he Council of Achaia; there to make some spee- did not supply him with such liberality, as dy conclusion, as the necessity of the time re- he had used to the Acheans; being warned, quired. The Ache ans were glad to hear, that as may feem, by their example, to be more Antigonus was so inclinable to their desire; wary both in trusting and disbursting. Cleo-and therefore were ready to entertain his fa-menes himself, whillt this business with Antiwith all good correspondence. Heregonse was a-foot, passed through Acadia
unto Aratio gave his consents and praised the
with an Army, and laboured by all means
wisdom of the Countrimen, that so well district to draw the Acheans to battel. At the Cicerned the best and likeliest means of their ty of Dymes in Achaia were assembled all common safety: adding nevertheless, that the remaining forces of the Nation; with it were not amifs, first of all to try their own which it was concluded to make trial; wheability; which if it failed, then should they ther perhaps they might amend their estate, do well to call in this gracious Prince, and without feeking help of the Macedonian make him their Patron and Protector. Thus Thither went Chemener, and there fought he shewedhimself moderate; in that which with them; where he had so great a victory,

that the enemy was no longerable to keep | fought to hinder his coming thither in perbe held , for the conclusion of the war.

all Royal flew, that might breed respect Castle of Corinth, which was the gate of Peochim in the multitude. This was that in-loponnessus, and without which none could deed which aratus feared, and for which he hold affured foveraignty of the Country; he

the open field. The calamity was fuch, that fon; left the people, hearing the promifes of Aratus himself durst not take upon him to Cleomenes ratified by his own mouth, should be their General, when his turn came in prefently be won with his gentle words, and the next election. Wherefore the Acheans limith the bargain without more ado. Therewere compelled to fue for peace; which was fore Cleomenes wrote unto the whole Coungranted upon this easie condition: That they cel, bitterly complaining against these jugashould not arrogate unto themselves the gling tricks; and Aritis was not far behind command of Peloponness, but suffer the La- with him in as bitter an Oration. So becedemonians (as in former ages) to be their tween fear of the one, and reverence of the Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would other, the Affembly knew not how to procondescend, he promised unto them, that he ceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, would presently restore all places taken as it were to fortune. Cleomenes took his from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free: advantage of their present weakness, and also that they should enjoy their own Laws renewed the War. Many Cities yielded unand Liberties without molestation. This to him willingly; many he forced; and gentle offer of Cleomenes was very pleafing to partly by force, partly by terror, he wan the Acheans: who defired him to come to Argos, which never King of Sparta before the City of Lerna, where a Parliament should him could do. In this case Aratus sent his own fon to Antigonus, intreating him to Now feeming the affairs of Greece likely to defer no time, but come prefently to rebe setled in better order, than they had lieve the distressed Achains. Antigonus ever been fince the beginning of the Pelopon- gave good words as could be wished; favenessan Wars, yea, or fince the Persian invasi- ing that he utterly resused to do any thing, on: when God, who had otherwite disposed unless he might first have Acrocorinthus put of these matters, hindred all with a draught into his hands. This demand was somewhat of cold water, which Cleomenes drank in like unto that of the Hunter, who promifed great heat, and thereupon fell extream fick., to help the horse against his enemy the and so could not be present at Lerna, but Stagg: but with condition, that the horse caused the Parliament to be deserved to should suffer him to be saddled and bridled. another time. Nevertheless he sent home the Aratus was herewithall contented , but chief of his prisoners, to shew that he meant wanting all honest colour to do it: seeing none other than good faith. By this fair deal- the Corinthians had no way deserved to be ing he confirmed the Acheans in their de- thus given away to the Macedonians. Yet fire of his friendship; who affembled again at length an occasion was found; for that at Argos, there to establish the League. But the Corinthians, perceiving what he intend-Aratus was violently bent against it, and ed, were minded to arrest him. So he fought by great words, and terrible threats, withdrew himfelf out of their City, and to make his Country-men afraid of refolv- fent word to Antigonus, that their Castle ing. When all would not serve turn, be be- should be ready to let him in. The Corinthitook himself to his cunning; and sent word ans on the other side ran to Gleomenes; who to Cleomenes, that he should do well to leave lost no time, but made hast with them to his Army behind him, and come alone into corinth, where he fought how to get poffer-Argos, receiving hostages for safety of his sion of their Castle, or at least to save it from person. Cleomenes, was already far on his Antigonus, by surrounding it within Trenway, when he met with this advertisement; ches, that none might issue nor enter withand took it in ill part, that he should be thus out his leave. Whilest this was doing, he deluded. For it had been an easie matter, took special order, that Aratus his house and to have told him to much at the first, & not goods, within the Town, should be kept for have made him come so far with an Army, the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger afwhich afterwardshe must dismiss. Yet that ter Messenger, desiring him to come to which chiefly seems to have troubled him, agreement, and not to bring in the barba-was the drift of his oppugners; who sought sous Macedonians, and Illyrians, to Peloponthereby, eitherto make him wait without webs; proming, that if he would hearken to she gates, and deal only with themselves and these persuasions, then would he give him their Messengers, or if he would adventure double the same pension, which he had been himself into the City, then to deprive him of wont to receive of King Ptolomy. As for the

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defired that it might not be committed unto men; and called him Tyrant for his doings his own disposition, but be joyntly kept by at home, because he would not do the like the Lacedamonians and Achaans. All this en- abroad. So they took their time, invited the treaty served to no purpose. For Aratus, Acheans, assailed his Garrison, cut in rejecting utterly the motion, sent his own pieces the rescue that he sent, and compel-son as an Hostage to Antigonus; and labour-led him at length to forsake the desence of ed with the Acheans, to put Acrocorinthus Corinth, and look unto the enemies that into his hands. Which when Cleomenes were behind his back. For when he underunderstood, he seised upon the goods of stood by continual messengers, that his men Aratus in Corinth , and wasted all the Coun- which held the Citadel at Argos were almost trey of Sieyon, whereof this his Adversary lost: he began to fear lest his labour in

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the Isthmus; having patied with his Army that lay within. Therefore he forfook his through Eubea, because the Etolians beld custody of the Isthmus, and made all haste the straights of Thermopyla against him. This towards Argos: which if he could lave, he they did, either in favour of Cleomenes, which meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so they pretended; or in doubt of the great- far he prevailed at his coming to Argos, that nels, whereunto the Mucedonians might at- both Argives and Achaans were glad to tain by the good success of this journey. house themselves, leaving him Master of the At his coming thither, he found the Lace- streets; when the horsemen of Antigonus damonians ready to forbid his entrance: were discovered afar off, hasting torelieve and that with fufficient strength; yet with no the Citizens; and Antigonus himself ( to purpose to hazard battel, but rather to wea-whom Corinth was yielded, as soon as the ry him thence with hunger; against which Spartan had turned his back ) followhe came not well provided. Antigonis there- ing apace with the body of his Army. Chofore laboured hard to make his way by menes therefore had no more to do, then to force; but he was not able fo to do : he fe- make a safe retreat. This he did, and got cretly got into the Corinthian Haven; but him home into Laconia: lofing in short was violently driven out again, with great space all, or most of that which he had been loss ofmen; finally he resolved to turn aside, long in getting. and feek a passage over the gulfe of corinth, to Siegon, or some other part and commended the Citizens, went into of Achaia; but this required much time, Arcadia; where he wan such Castles as were and great preparation, which was not eafily held for Cleomenes, and restored them to

In this perplexity, news from Argos came by Sea, that greatly comforted Antigo- ment by the Acheans; to whom he declared nue, and no less troubled his enemies. The the cause of his coming, and spake brave Acheans were gotten into that City; and words, that filled them with hope. The the Garrison which Cleomenes had left there- Acheans were not behind with him; but in, though it was not driven out of the Cita- made him Captain-General over them and del, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in their Consederates: and further entered inneed of present help. Argos had always been to covenant with him, That they would not enemy to Sparta, and well affected to the deal with any Prince or State, either by King of Macedon. When Cleomenes took writing, or Embassadour, without his conit, he forbare to chase out those whom he sent. All this while & somewhat longer Aramost suspected; partly, at the entreaty of two was the only man, that seemed to rule the friends, and partly, for that they all made Kingsheart : carrying him to Sicyon his own thew to be glad of his prosperity. They were Town, (for Winter was come on ) where he gladindeed of Cleomenes his victories, both not only feasted him as a great Prince, but in Areos and elsewhere, as many as hoped suffered more than humane honours, as facrithat he would cause all debters to be dif- fices and the like, to be done unto him. This charged from their creditors, as he had lately example of Aratus and his Sicyonians, was

guarding the entry should grow frivolous; Antigonis in the mean time drew near to the Achaans in the mean while spoiling all Antigonus having shewed himself at Argos,

the old Possessors. This done, he took his way to Egium, where was held a Parliadone in Sparta. But that which Cleomenes had ollowed by the rest of Achaia: which had done in Sparta was agreeable to the Spartan made (forfooth ) a very wife bargain, if in institution: in other places, where it would litead of Cleomenes that would have been a have been tyrannical, he did not. Thereup King, it had obtained the protection of a on fuch as were disappointed of their unjust God. But this god was poor, and wanting hopes began to turn good Common-wealth wherewith to pay his Macedonians , imposed

the burthen upon the Achaens. This was fent unto Egypt, yet the aid came not. For hardly taken: yet worfe must be indured in Ptolemy was slow; as dealing in the busihope of better. Neither was Aratus him- ness of Greece, rather for his minds fake, than Gif over-carefully respected; when the star upon any apprehension of necessity. Cleotues of those Tyrants, which he had thrown menes therefore provided for himself, as well down in Arges, were again erected by Anti- as his own ability would serve. He magenus; or when the statues which he had numifed all the Heilotes which were the Laerected, of those that had taken Acrocorin- cedamonian flaves: taking money for their the with him, were all thrown down by the liberty, and arming two thousand of them sme King, and one only left unto himself after the Macedonian fashion. Having thus at his earnest intreaty. It might there-increased his forces, he came on the sudden fore appear, that this god was also spight- to Megalopolis, that lay secure, as having deful. Nevertheless in taking revenge upon fended it self in more dangerous times, and those that offended him, Aratus did satisfie having now Antigonus near at hand in his own passion by the aid of these Macedo- Agium. The Town he wan: but after he vians. For with extreme torments he did was entred, all that were fit to bear Arms put Aristomachus to death, who had been rose hastily against him; and though they once Tyrant of Argos, afterwards General could not drive him out, yet faved the mulof the Acheans, and from them revolting titude, to whom they gave a Port free for unto Cleomenes, did fall at length into their their escape. He sent after the Citizens, ofhands. In like fort handled he (though not as fering their Town and goods to them again, vet ) the Mantineans, for their ingratitude if they would be of his party. But they and cruelty shewed to the Achaens. For he bravely refueld his offer: wherefore he sackflew all the principal Citizens, and sold the ed and ruined it, carrying with him to sparrest, men, women and children, all for bond14 a great booty that he found therein. These flaves : dividing the spoil; two parts to the news astonished the Acheans at Agium: Macedonians, and the third to the Acheans. who thereupon brake up their Parliament. The Town it felf was given by Antigonus to Antigonus fent hastily for his Macedonians. the Argives, who peopled it with a Co-out of their wintering-places : but they iony of their own; and Aratse having were folong in coming, that Cleomener was charge of this business, caused it be new safely gone home. Therefore he returned named Antigonia. Surely of this cruelty them back to their lodgings, and went himthere can be no better excuse, than even the self to Argos, there to pass the rest of his unflattery which Aratus was driven to use to lucky winter, somewhat further from the Antigonus: forasmuch as it was a token of eyes of the grieved Acheans. When he fervility, whereinto they had urged and had layn a while at Argos, Cleomenes was at brought him; whom he, as in revenge the gates, with no great number of men.vet thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to with more than Antigenus had then about speak of this change, which the coming in hir. The Argives perceiving that their of the Macedonian wrought in the Civil Country would be spoiled, if Antigonus did State of the Acheans; let us return unto this not iffue into the field, were very earnest war against the Lacedamonian. The next Summer Antigonus wan Tegea, wifer than to be moved with their clamors.

The reason why he ftirred no further, nor nor other thrength unto Lacedamon. followed Antigonus to Mantinea, & to those Afterwards, when the season was more fit other Towns that he wan, was this : He had for war, Antigonus gathered together all his few Souldiers, and had not money enough to troops; meaning to requite these bravadoes wage more. Ptolemy the Egyptian promised of his enemy, with the conquest of Sparta. much, but would perform nothing, unless cleomenes, on the other fide laboured to he might have Cleomenes his own Mother, keep the war from his own gates; and and his children in pledge. These were therefore entred upon the Country of Argos.

with him to go forth and fight. But he was Mantings, Orchomenus, Herea, and Telphuffa: and fuffered them to fee their villages burnt; Mantinea he dif-peopled, as was faid before; to bid him refign his Office of Protector unto in Orchomenus he placed a Garrison of his some that were more valiant; and to satisfie Macedanians; the rest he restored to the their passions with foolish words, rather than Atheans, with whom he wintered at Agi- he would be overcome in fight, and thereby where they held a Parliament. Once lose more honour than could easily be reonly Cleamenes had met him this year; and paired. By this Cleamenes had his defire, in that was on the borders of Laconia, where weakning the reputation of his enemy: he lay ready to defend his own Territory. though he hereby added neither followers,

where he made such a havock, as drew Anti- their Illyrians were driven to fall back upon course thither, from his intended invation of the Army following them; perswaded the Liconia. Many great affronts the Maccdoni- Captains of the Achean horse, to break upon an was fain to endure, in coasting of the Spar- the Spartan Mercenaries. But they would tan King; that ranging over the Country not: partly despising his youth and want of of the Argives, Phliafians, and Orchomenians, charge; partly, for that Antigonus had given drave a Garrison of his out of Oligyris; order, that they should keep their places. and did facrifice, as it were before his face, untill they received a fign from him, which in the Suburbs of Argos, without the Temple was not as yet. Philopamen perceiving them of Juno, that was thut up; fending unto to be more orderly than well advised, inhim in foorn to borrow the keys. Thele were treated fome of his own Country men to follight things; yet ferved to dif-hearten the low him, gave a charge on the spartans, and Achean fide, and to fill the enemy with cou- forced them, not only to leave the Illmians, rage, which was no matter of light impor- but feek how to fave themselves. Being so tance. Therfore he concluded to lay apart far advanced, he found the place which the all other regard of things abroad, and to Illyrians had attemped, like enough to be rut all to hazardaby fetting up his rest, with- won, through the unskilfulness of him that out any more delay, upon sparta it felf. He held it. Wherefore he alighted, and perhad in his Army eight and twenty thou- fwaded the men at Arms his Companions to fand foot, and twelve hundred horse, col- do the like: the folly of Euclydas being malected out of fundry Nations, as Macedoni ans, Illgrians, Ganles, Epirots, Buotians, Acar- red not to hinder those that ascended, but naniaus, and others; together with the Ache- waited for them in a Plain, where they might and their friends of Peloponnelus. Cleo- fight upon even terms. So he recovered the menes had of all forts twenty thousand, Hill-top; where, though he was fore hurt. with which he lay at Selafia: fortifying yet he made good the place that he had flightly the other passages into Laconia, gotten, until the whole Army came up to through which the Macedonians were not him; by which the Lacedamonians were likely to feek entrance. Antigonus coming beaten from it, with great flaughter of them unto Selafia, found his enemy fo strongly en- in their descent. This overthrow, and death being resolved to make an end one way or ages past. other; Antigonus attempted with his Illy- Chemenes fled unto Sparta; where he had rians, to force that part which lay on the no defireto stay; finding only two hundred hill Fua. But his Illyrians were so ill seconded left, of fix thousand spartans that he had led by the Achean foot, that the Spartan horse, unto this battel, and most of his hired Souland light-armed foot, incamped in the diers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded

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nifest, who kept the top of the Hill, and ffircamped, upon and between the hills of Eva of Euclydas, made Cleomenes lofe the day: and Olimpus, that he was constrained to spend who fighting bravely on the other fide, upon much time there, before he could advance Olympus, against Antigonus himself, waslike any one foot : neither lay it in his power to to have been furrounded and loft, if he had come hastily to blows, which he greatly de- not withdrawn himself with an extraordifired, without the hazard of his whole Army, nary fpeed. In this battel ended the glory of in affailing their well defenced Camp. But Lacedamon, which, as a light ready to go at length (as it happens, when men are weary out, had with a great, but not long blaze, both of their hopes and fears ) both Kings shined more brightly of late, than in many

ftraight valley between those hills, issuing his people to yield themselves unto Amigo-forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only mas; and promising to do all that should at disordered them, but were like to have en- any time lye in his own power, for their dangered all the reft. If Cleaneves himself good, he halted away to the Sea-like where had stood in that part of the battel, he had shipping long before provided would have made great use of such a fair against all that might happen and imbale beginning. But Euclydia, his Brother, a more ed himfelf for Egypt. He was lovingly entervaliant than ikilfull Souldier, commanded in tained by Ptolemy Energetes; who undertook that wing: who neither followed this ad- to reffore him to his Kingdom, and (perhaps) vantage, nor took such benefit as the ground meant no left, as being much delighted with afforded, whereon he lay. Philopamen the his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the Arcadian of Megalopolis, who afterwards pro-wed a famous Captain, served then on horse, of four and twenty Talents, yearly. But as a private young man, among the Achaans, this Ptolemy died; and his Son Ptolemy Phi-He reeing that all was like to go to rout, if lopater fucceeded him: a vicious young Prince.

flew some enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, which is very strang, to fight against him on the Kings behalf) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be minifters of their own death. Upon his dead body Ptolemy was bold to shew his indignation: and flew his Mother and Children, that had fed Agis, with his Mother and Grand-mo- also war with the Illgrians, wherein they dren.

and Government : tarrying there no longer it is not meet to be utterly filent. than two or three daies: after which he otherwise determined.

brake a vein that bled inwardly, and in to be chosen into the Office , contradicting

Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, short space finished his life, who was trouand bale Men, unmindful of all vertue, and bled before with a confumption of the hating any in whom it was found. When lungs. His Kingdom descended unto Philip therefore Cleomenes was defirous to return the Son of Demetrius, being then a Boy : as into Greece, whither the troubles in Pelopon- also about the same time it was that Antiorefus did feem to invite him; Ptolomy and chas, furnamed (I know not why) the Great; his Minions, would neither give him aid; and Ptolomy Philopater, began to reign in Alis nor yet dared to dismiss him (as he defired) and Egypt; Boyes all. Of these, Ptolomey, though to try his own friends in Greece, because he old enough to love Harlots, when he first was too well acquainted with the weakness was King, yet continued a Boy all the sevenof Egypt: nor well knew how to detain teen years of his reign. The unripe age of him against his will. At length they devised Philip and Antiochus; bred such intestine inmatter against him, and made him prisoner, convenience to their Kingdoms, as is usual the last aft of him was, that with thirty of in the minority of Princes : but their elder his Country-men, he undertook a desperate years brought them acquainted with the enterprize; breaking out of the prison, and Romans; upon which occasion, when it provoking the Alexandrians to rebell and comes, we shall more seasonably speak of feek their liberty. In which attempt he them, and of their Kingdoms, more at large.

### d. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the Coast of Greece; and bow they were subdued by the Romans

Whilst things thus passed in Greece, and whilst the Carthaginians were been sent thither, as Hostages, together with buse in their conquest of Spain: the Rothe Wives of his Adherents, as many as were mans had found themselves work among there, attending upon the old Queen. Such the Sardinians and Corficans, that were eawas the end of Cleomenes, a generous filly fubdued at first, and easily vanquished Prince, but Son of Leonidas, who had cau- again, when they rebelled. They made ther, to come to such a bloody end, as now got much honour with little pain. With the befell his own Wife, Son, and Grand-chil
Gaules they had much ado, that lasted not Line 50, 21. long; being rather, as Livy faith, a tumult After the victory at sellafia: Antigonus than a war. So that by all these light exerwithout resistance entred Sparta: wherein- cises their valour was hardly kept from rust. to never the force of any Enemy, before him, How they got the Illands in the Mediterracould make way. He kindly intreated the nean Sea, it hath been shewed before: of Citizens, and left them to their own Laws their dealings with the Illgrians and Guales.

The Illyrians inhabited the Country now haltned out of Peloponnesus, and never re- called Slavonia; a troublesome Nation, impaturned. The cause of his speedy departure tient of rest, and continually making war for was an advertisment that he received out gain, without either regard of friend or foe. of Macedon; how the Illyrians over-ran and They were invited by Demetrius, King of destroyed the Country. Had these news Macedon, to help the Mydionians his friends, come a little sooner, or had Gleomenes ei- that were besieged by the Etolians, for that ther deferred the fight, a few daies longer, they refused to be of their society. Before or at least-wise tarried a few daies after the the Illyrians succours came, the Mydionians fight, in Sparta; the Kingdom of Lacede- were fo far fpent, that the Ætolians contendmon would have stood, and perhaps have ed about the booty: the old Prætor, or extended it felf over all Greece. But God had chiefMagistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the ho-Antigonus fought a great battel with the nour of the victory, and the division of the Illyrians, and overcame them. Yet therein spoyl to be referred unto him; for that he he caught his bane : not by any wound, but had in a manner brought the fiege to an end, by over-straining his voice; wherewith he and won the Town:others, that were in hope

ample.

quished the stoutest of the Greeks, he found home by letters from Tenta the Queen, that feasted, and drank so immoderately; that ces to hazard, but offered composition, ended his life. His Kingdom, together That the Epirots might ransome their Town, with his great hopes, he left unto Teuta his and all their people that were prisoners;

-12 11 1 all forts at Sea, making no difference be- made this profitable and honourable bartween friend and foe; as if the had been gain, the Illyrians returned into their own fole Mistress of the falt Waters. She armed a Country by Land, sending their booty away fleet and fent it into Greece; willing her by Sea. Captains to make war where they found ad- At their coming home, they found no such vantage, without any further respect. These great trouble, as that which they brought, fell on the weitern coast of Peloponnesus; or had occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulwhere they invaded the Eleans, and Meffani filling the commandment of their Queen, ans. Afterwards they returned along by they had taken many Italian Merchants, Epirus, and stayed at the City of Fhanice, whilesthey lay at Phanice; and made them to take in victuals and other necessaries good prize. Hereof the complaints made There lay in Phanice eight hundred Gaules, unto the Roman Senate, were to frequent, that having been Mercenaries of the Cartha- that Embaffadours were fent to require of ginians, went about to betray, first Agri- Tenta, that she should abstain from doing gentum, then Eryx, to the Romans; but fail- fuchinjuries. These Embassadours found her ing to do either, they nevertheless revolted, very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet and were for their mildeeds difarmed and had brought in; and for that the had, in thort

this, and defiring that old orders might be fent to Sea by the Romans, yet entertained kept. It was a petty strife, and somewhat by these Epirots, and trusted to lye in Garlike to that of the French in latter ages, who rison within their Town. The Gaules were thought upon dividing the prey, before they foon grown acquainted with the Illyrians, to had won the victories, which anon hey loft, whom they betrayed Phanice; which deat Foitiers and Agincourt. The Etolians ferved none other, in trusting them. All Epiwifely compounded the difference, order- rus was presently in arms, and hastned to ing it thus, That the old and the new drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilst Practor should be joyntly intituled in the the Epirots lay before the Town, there victory, and have equal authority in di- came news into their Camp, of another Illyfributing of the gettings. But the Illyri- rian Army, that was marching thitherward ans finished the strife much more elegantly, by Land, under one scerdilaidas, whom and after another fashion. They arrived Queen Tenta had sent to help his fellows. and landed ere any was aware of them; Upon this advertisement, a part of them is they fell upon the Atolians, and though fent away towards Antigonia, to make good good refiltance was made, yet got the vi- that Town, and the straights adjoyning, by ctory, partly by force of their multitude, which these new comers must enter into partly by the help of the Mydionians, that their Countrey; another part of them rewere not idle in their own bufiness, but mains at Phanice, to continue the siege, frontly fallied out of the Town. Many of Neither the one nor the other speed well in the Etolians were flain, more were taken, their business. For Scerdilaidas found their Camp and all their baggage was means to joyn with his fellows; and they loft : the Illyrians took the spoil, and that were befieged within Phanice, fallied went their way; the Mydionians erected out of the Town, and gave such an over-a Trophie, inscribing the names both of throw to the Epirots, as made them despair their old and new Magistrates (for they all of saving their Country, without great and so chose new Officers at the same time) speedy help from abroad. Wherefore as the Etolians had directed them by exand Ætolians: craving their help, with The success of this voyage highly pleased very pitifull terms of intreaty. Theyob-Agron King of the Illyrians : not only in tained their fuit; neither was it long, beregard of the money, wherewith Demetrius fore an Army, fent by these two Nations, had hired his affiftance; or of the booty was ready in Epirus to present battel unto that was gotten; but for that having van- scerdilaidas. But scerdilaidas was called

it not uneafie to enrich himself by setting signified a rebellion of some Illyrians against upon the less warlike: For joy of this he her: so that he had no mind to put his forhe fell into a Pleurifie, which in few daies which was accepted. The agreement was, and that the illyrians should quietly depart Tenta gave her people free liberty to rob with all their booty and flaves. Having

a good look to the Romans, that found fault less may an Embassadour do it without inwith her doings, and, calling them by a curring justly the same danger to punishtrue name, Piracy, required amends. Yet ment, with other Traitors; in which case, when their speech was ended, she vouchsaf- his place gives him no priviledge at all. But ed to tell them, That injury in publick the we will leave this dispute to the Civilians; would do them none: as for private matters, and go on with the revenge, taken by the no account was to be made of them; neither Romans, for the flaughter of their Embaffawas it the manner of Kings to forbid their dour Coruncanus, subjects to get commodity, how they best The Illyrian Queen was secure of the Rovenge in publick, of those private wrongs than she, both before and since: Having that are born out by publick authority: more regard unto fame, than unto the substance therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to of things. The Greeks were at that time more reform your Kingly manners, and learn bet- famous than the Romans; the Ætolians and ter of us. These words the Queen took so Epirots had the name of the most warlike impatiently, that no revenge could fatisfie people in Greece; these had she cassly vanher, but the death of him that had spoken quished, and therefore thought, that with them. Wherefore, without all regard of the the Romans she should be little troubled. Had common Law of Nations, she caused him to she considered that her whole Army, which bellain: as if that had been the way to fet wrought such wonders in Greece; was not her heart at rest; which was indeed the much greaterthan often thousand men; and mean to disquiet and afflict it ever after.

feems to be this; that fince without media- fron to take all that could be gotten. This tion, there would never be an end of war fleet divided it felf, & one part of it fell with (a) Divided and destruction, therefore it was equally re- (a) Dyrrachium, the other with Corcyra, when y person of that Prince, in whose Countries than to trust her. they refide, warranted by any law whatfo- The Romans were even ready to put to

space, tamed her rebells, and brought all to jever. For whereas the true office of an Emgood order, fave only the Town Is, which basiadour residing, is the maintenance of her forces held straightly besieged. Swelling amity; if it be not lawfull for one Prince to with this posperity, she could hardly afford practice against the life of another; much

could by Sea. But (faid the younger of the mans, as if they would not dare to stir against two Embaffadours) we Romans have a man-her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath ner, and a very laudable one, to take re- undone many of all forts, greater and less that nevertheless, it prevailed as much by The Romans, provoked by this outrage, odds of number, as by valour, or skill in arms: prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, she would have continued touse her advanconfisting of two hundred fail, commanded tage against those that were of more fame by C. Fulvius; the other by Land, led by A. than strength, with such good caution, that Posthumus. They trouble not themselves any she should not have needed to oppose her more with requiring latisfaction: for this late-gotten reputation, against those that injury is offuch nature, as must be requited were more mighty than her self. But she was with mortal war. It is indeed contrary to all a woman, and did what she listed. She sent humane Law, to use violence towards Em- fortha greater fleet than before, under Demebaffadours: the reason and ground whereof, trius of Pharos; with the like ample commif-

and destructions, insections in an algebra by Dyrachium was almost surprised by the tilly sometime ceived by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Dyrachium was almost surprised by the tilly sometime could be all the country of the tilly sometimes. Nature, that Embassadours should pass free- rians; yet was it rescued by the stout Citi diare, and ly, and in fafety, between enemies. Never-zens. In (b) Coreyra the Illyrians landed, now Desirable and the life and befored the Town Mixed the life and before the life an theles, as I take it, this general Law is not wasted the slife, and besieged the Town of most without limitation. For if any King or State, Hereupon the Atolians and Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Additional Control of the Acheans were the Acheans we layhold upon Emballadours fent by their called in to help; who came, and were not between enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some beaten in a fight at Sea : losing, besides de thanks third, whom they should draw into the quar- others of less note, Marcus Carpunfis, the en Petro rel; then it is as lawful to use violence to first Prætor of Achaia, whom Aratus sucthose Embassadours (thus employed to make ceeded. The Town of Corcyra, dismayed (b) corgthe war more terrible ) as it is to kill the men with this overthrow, opened the gates unto the difficult of of war, and subjects of an enemy. And so Demetrius Pharius, who took possession of it the distance of war, and nubjects of all the might the Athenians have answered it when with an Illyrian Garrison: sending the restricts to might the Athenians have answered it when with an Illyrian Garrison: sending the restricts to make the might be supported by the sending the restricts to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending the restrict to the sending t they slew the Lacedemonian Embassadours, of his forces to besiege Dyrrachium. In the from Dr. that were sent to Xerxes, to draw him into mean season, Testa was angry withher Cap-rayto, cala warupon the Athenians. Neither are those tain Demetrius: I know not why; but so led now Embassadours, which practise against the as he resolved to try any other cour, e, rather in the pair

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Sea, though uncertain which way to take, when advertisement was brought to C. Fulwill as a Conful, of Demetrius his fear and of the War between the Romans and Gauls. discontent. Likely it was that such an occafion might greatly help to advance the bufiness in hand. Wherefore the Conful failed thither; where he found the Town of Coregra fo well prepared to his hand by Deme- were the next, against whom the Rotrius, that it not only received him willing- mans took Arms. These were a populous ly, but delivered into his power the Illgrian Nation, and often molested Rome; some-Garrison, and submitted it self unto the Ro-times with their own forces, and sometimes man protection.

After this good beginning, the Conful fail- France. Once their fortune was good, when (6) done ed along the coast to (c) Apollonia; accom- they took Rome and burnt it: though the ms, active panied with Demetrius, whom he used iffue of that war proved not answerable to mear 13.7 pathenceforth as his Councellor and guide. To the beginning, if we may give credit unto Praces, Apollonia came also Posthumus, the other Koman Historians. In following times their upon the Conful, with the Land-Army, numbred at success was variable, and commonly bad. twenty thousand foot, and two thousand Many overthrows they received; and if horse. Thence they hastened towards Dyrra- they got any victory, it yielded them no chium, which the Illyrians had belieged; but profit, but was foon extorted out of their upon news of the Roman army they disperse hands. They were indeed more sierce than themselves. From thence the Romans enter well advised: lightly stirred up to war, Illyria, and take Farthenia; beat the Illyri- and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, ans by sea, take twenty of their ships, and they were said to be more than men; but enforce the Queen Tenta to for sake the coast, when that was past, less than women. The and to cover her felf in Rison far within the Romans were acquainted with their temper, Land. In the end, part of the Romans hafte by long experience, and knew how to hanthem homeward, and leave the best places die them: yet gave alwayes careful heed to of Illyria in the hands of Demetrius; anotheir approach, were it only bruited. For ther part staics behind, and prosecutes the the danger of them was sudden, and uncerwar, in such fort, that Tenta was forced to tain; by reason of their neighbourhood and beg peace; which the obtained upon mifer- want of intelligence among them. Few of able conditions; to wit, That the should their attempts upon Rome were called wars, quit the better part of Illyria, and pay tri- but tumultus Gallici, tumults of the Gaules: bute for the reit; and from thenceforth ne- and rightly. For they gave many alarums to ver fend any of her thips of war towards the Italy, and used to rise with great Armies, but coafts of Greece, beyond the Island of Liffa: after a few dayes march, and sometimes beexcept it were some one or two vellels un-fore their setting forth, any small occasion armed, and by way of Trade.

Embaliadours into divers parts of Greece, years, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they lignifying their love to their Country, and were stirred up again, by younger heads, how, for good will thereunto, they had made unacquainted with the danger. Whilft they war with good success upon Tenta, and her rested, the State of Rome, that against these people. They hoped, belike, that some distref- made only defensive war, had leisure to led Cities would take this occasion, to defire grow, by fetting upon others. Herein God their patronage: which if it hapned, they provided well for that Monarchy, which he were wife enough to play their own games. intended to raife: that the Ganles never fell But no such matter fell out. The Embassa- upon Italy with a mighty power, in the time dours were only rewarded with thanks; and of any other great and dangerous war. Had a decree made at Corinth, That the Romans they attempted to conquer it, whilst Pyrthenceforth might be partakers of the Isth- rhus was travelling in the same enterprize: he more hereafter.

6. VIII.

Comewhat before the coming of Hannibal into Italy.

He Gaules that dwelt in Lombards

with the assistance of those that inhabited ferved to disperse them. Having received an After this Illyrian war, the Romans fent overthrow, they would rest ten or twelve mian rastimes. This was an idle courtesie, or in either of the two former Punick wars: but well meant by the vain Greeks, and it may be doubled what would have become therefore well taken by the Romans: who of this Imperious City. But it feems that by this Illyrian expedition got nothing in the Gaules had no better intelligence in the Greece, fave a little acquaintance, that shall affairs of Italy, than strangers had in Ganle. At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to fmart,

The Hetruria, and belieging Arretium, had won Nations about Rhodanus, wageable as the a great battel, and flain L. Celius, with the Smitzers in these times. The Geffates having most of his Army. Mannius Curius the new received a great imprest, come to the field Conful fent Embassadours to them, to treat under the conduct of their Kings Concolitaabout ranfom of prisoners. But these Em- | nus and Anoroesius: who with the Boji, and bassadours they slew. Therefore when for- Insubrians, compound an Army of tifty tune turned to the better, the Romans fol- thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and lowed it so well, that they expelled their and those of the best men, and best appoint-Senones out of their Countrey, and fent a co- ed, that ever invaded the Roman Territory; lony of their own to inhabit it. This caused to whom the senogalli, that had been beawere of the (a) Boji, another people of Gaul, to fear ten out of their polletions, gave a great inthe like measure: who thereupon took arms, crease of strength. On the contrary side, Illyrian war.

they were neerer; like as they called Cifal- of Tuscane. try between Ancona and Ariminum: exter- fand foot, and two hundred horse. There were minating utterly those Gauls. Such an offer also appointed for supplies (if any misadvenwere it made in England, concerning either ture came to these) of the Sabines and Hetrujoy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of fand horse, which Army was to be lodged that Flaminius had ever after their good there were twenty thousand; and of the Ve-

whenfoever the enemies, whom they had f. This dreadfull Prefident extremely difmuch provoked, and little hart, should had pleased the Boji; who being neighbours to leilure to visit them at their own home: Ariminum, feared the like displantation. which was now after the first Turick War. And because the rest of the Gauls had rea-Once before this, the Romans had been bold. fon to refolve, that themselves also should be to fet upon the Gauls in their own Coun- rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of trey: and that was three years before the the Infubrians, which inhabited the Dutchy coming of Pyrrbus into It.ily. At that time of Milan, joyned with the Boji, and upon the Senones, a Tribe of the Gauls, invading a common purse entertained the Gellates. nee, and and drew the Hetrurians to their fide. But the Venetians, and the (b) Cenomanni, ad-(b) Conois the Romans overthrew them in two great hered to the Romans: as better believing in the people battels; and thereby made them fue for their prosperity and rising fortune. For fear about Borin River peace, which lasted until the end of this of whose incursions therefore, the Gauls the north were forced to leave a good part of their fide of the It vexed the Gauls to fee a Roman colo- Army, on the frontier of Milan: with the in River !! ny planted in their Countrey; who had been rest of their forces they entred into Tuscane. There accultioned to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Where
\*\*Emilias to Rimine, to ftop their paffage; Comment for they laboured with the Translapines (to and in the place of C. Atilias their other in France, as lying Conful, who then was in Sardinia, they in and inhaps board the three their hands to be the state of the state from them beyond the Alpes, though to us ploy one of their Prætors, for the defence Country

pines, or by-hither the Alpes, those who dwelt | Being at this time greatly troubled with between them and the Mountains) to draw the confideration of this powerfull Army, them to their party: reasonably presuming, which the Gauls had assembled, they caused that as their disjunction had caused their a view to be taken, as well of all their own loss, so their union might recompence it, with forces, as of those of their Allies: who were large amends. But the business was so foolish- no less willing than themselves, to oppose the ly carryed, that the Cifalpines and Transalpines incursions of the barbarous people; fearfell together by the ears, putting the Komans ing, as they had cause, that their own deonly to a tumnit, without further trouble of struction could not be prevented otherwise, war. Soon after, they were urged by a great than by the good fortune of Rome. The er indignity, to go more substantially to numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be work. For C. Flaminius, a popular man in recorded : because they set out the power of Rome proposed a Decree, which was ratified the Romans in those dayes. With the Conby the people; That, befides one Colony fulsthey fent forth to the war four Legions already planted in the territory of the Seno- of their own: every Legion confifting of five nes, as many more should be carried thither, thousand two hundred foot, and three hunas would ferve to people the whole Coun- dredhorfe; and of their Allies thirteen thou-Virginia, or Guiana it self, would not over- rians fifty thousand foot, and four thou-Rome took this in fo good part, notwith- in the border of Hetruria. Of the Umbri and standing all danger joyned with the benefit, Sarfinates, which inhabited the Apenines, netians and Cenomans, other twenty thou-

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fand: which latter Armies were directed to general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere invade the Boji, that forcing them to defend might be found. their own Territories, the General Army of Notwithstanding all these counter prepathe Gauls should be thereby greatly dimi- rations, the Gauls keep on their way: and

(c. Janger and ) reventy thousand; in that of the (g) Lapper and be charged on their backs, they turned head: Bus seem Meffippees, fifty thousand foot, and fixteen and in the same evening discovered the Ro-Nation; thousand the thousand now a matter of apparent necessity, that allo called horse; the (b) Marsi, (i) Marsisini, (k) Fer- fight they must. Wherefore they helped Penalise, rentani, and the Vestini, of twenty thousand themselves with a stratagem, that shew-Applies, foot, and four thousand horse. The Romans ed no great fineness of wit, but such and Gala-bases. The had also two Legions in Sicil, and about Ta- as well beseemed those that had none Country rentum, containing eight thousand four hun- other occupation than war; and stood them con aining of the Romans and Campanes joyntly, reckon- the night, they cause their foot to march of cashing fand foot; and of horse three and twenty off at the first light of day, with such a speed, (7) A per thousand: of which, reckoning the Romans as might rather argue a running away, than pic of the me were an hundred and fifty a retreat; as if they had not dared to abide thousand foot, and about six thousand horse. battell. The Romans, interpreting this their (1) Prelime Casting up the whole forces of all the Pro hasty departure, as the Gauls desired they a resple of vinces in Italy, both of the Romani and their should, follow them in disorder. The Gault

nine thousand two hundred of the foot. fwerable to this large accompt. Yet were the themselves any further. Romans fain to arm their flaves, even for This indeed had been a good resolution, want of other Souldiers, after their over if they had taken it, before the enemy had throw at Canna. Wherefore the marvel is been in fight. But as well in the wars of not great, that the Carthaginians and others these later ages, as in former times, it hath were little terrified with report of such a ever been sound extream dangerous to make multitude. For all heads are not fit for Hel-

nished. There were besides these, to be entring into Tuscane, destroy, and put to fire ready against all uncertain chances of war, and sword, all that lay before them. From thirty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred thence they march directly towards Rome: horle-garrifoned in Rome it felf, of their own hoping to find the Romans rather in delipeople; and of their Allies, thirty thousand beration, than in the field. But their infoot, and two thousand horse. Over and telligence fails them. For the Roman Arabove thele great troops; in the Roll of the my, fent into Tuscane, having taken some Latines that was fent unto the Senate, there other way than they did, and finding that were numbred fourscore thousand foot, and it had missed of them, came again fast after five thousand horse; in that of the Sam- them, to arrest them in their journey. Herenites, seventy thousand foot, and of horse of when they heard the rumour, fearing to thousand horse; the Lucans sent a list of man Army, by whom they incamped. It was dred foot, and four hundred horse. So as in good stead at the present. In the dead of ing men armed, and fit to bear arms, there away, but not far, leaving their horse in were regiltred two hundred and fifty thou- guard; to whom they give order to come (E.A. ro. confederates, it amounted to feven hundred return, charge them, and kill fix thouland (6) Apro-thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse. upon the place; the rest take a piece of profits cal- But the number is somewhat mis-cast by Po- ground of advantage, and defend themselves, day Fron lybius; not with a purpose to inrich himself till L. Emilius, being at Ariminum, comes day Finds by the dead payes; for where he reckons to their fuccour. Upon the coming of the nine hundred horse too many, he falls short Consul, the Gauls consult, whether they should give the Romans battel, or forbear. How great soever this muster was, it In which dispute, Aneroestus, one of their feems to have been like unto that, which Kings, perswades them, rather to return in-Lodowick Sforza made, when Lewis the to their own Countreys; where, after they twelfth invaded Milan: at what time, the had disposed of the great spoils and riches better to encourage himself and his subjects which they had gotten, they should then hetook a Roll of all persons able to bear renew the war, being without carriage, pearms, within the Dutchy, though indeed he fter or other impediment. This advice they were never able to bring a tenth part of all embrace; for, feeing they that were them into the field. Certain it is, that the Mercenaries, had obtained what they came battels of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Canne, did for, to wit, the spoils of their enemies, they not confume any fuch proportion, as was an- thought it wisdom, to hazard neither it, nor

mets: though the Roman Citizens were, in For although they that retire, do often turn

heads yet in always going on from the purfu-Inels, and was one of them that had cause to ing enemy, they find within few miles, either thank him for it. Now the Gauls, embracing the fafe ad-

ftraight, hedge, ditch or place of difadvan-

upon a retreat made by the Marques of sal, the place, accompanied with the two Kings doth testifie no less. For although a great of the Gauls, Concolitanus and Aneroestus;

ing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leasure to trot away; yet being retarded courage; and, ere long, all that they held in by often turnings, the Spanish foot overtook Italy. For they were invaded the year foland defeated them utterly. During the lowing this overthrow, by the new Confuls, wars between the Imperials and the French, Fulvius and Manlius. The Romans knew

fore they left the field. So was stroft over- Gauls, to repair their forces, as the Gauls thrown by the Marques of Marignan, be- had done to them. These new Consuls beat cause he could not be perswaded to dislodge the Boji; but by reason of the great rains the night before the Marquess his arrivall, that fell, and the great pestilence that reign-Therefore did the French King Francis the ed, they were compelled for that prefent

there is less dishonour to dislodge in the and all forts of their divination, the Rodark, than to be beaten in the light. And mans were extremely superstitious) had hereof M. de la Noue gives this judgement of a not only foreshewed little good, when they days retreat, made in France, presently before were chosen, but had also nullified the elethe battel at Moncountour. For (faith he) ction. C. Flaminius, receiving letters of

were forced to fight upon our disadvan-unto the enemies, vanquished them, and tage, and to our ruine. And yet did that spoiled their Countrey; then perused the worthy Gentleman Count Lodowick of Naf- letters; and returning home obtained a Jau, brother to the late famous Prince of triumph, fore against the will of the Senate.

Orange, make the retreat at Moncounter with and not altogether with good liking of the so great resolution, as he saved the one half people, who yet bear him out, for that he

of the Protest ant Army, then broken and dif- lided in faction with the Commonalty, banded; of which my felf was an eye-wit-though a man of great Nobility.

tage, which they are inforced to pals in dif- vice (as they take it) of one of their Kings. order. In such cases, the Souldier knows turn their backs to the enemy, and their it as well as the Captain, that he which for- faces homeward. Amilius follows them as fakes the field, perceives and fears fome ad- near as he can, without ingaging himfelf, atvantage of the Enemies. Fear, which is tending his advantage. In the mean while. the betrayer of those succours that reason C. Atilius the other Conful, with the Legions offereth, when it hath once possest the of sardinia, lands at Pila; so as the Cauls heart of man, it casteth thence both cou-inclosed between two Armies, are forced to rage and understanding. They that make fight. They therefore equally strengthen retreat, are alwayes in fear to be abandon- their Rear and Front. To fultain Amilius ed; they that lead the way, fear to be in- they appoint the Geffates, and the Milanois; gaged: and so the hindmost treads on his in the Front they range the Piemontois, and heels that is foremost, and consequently, all the rest of the Gauls inhabiting upon the disband, run, and perish, if those that favour | River of Po. The manner of the fight Polybins the retrait be not held to it by men of great describeth at large: which was well fought courage. The miserable overthrow that the of all hands. But in the end the Gauls fell; French received in Naples, in the year 1503. and so did Atilius the Consul: who died in

troop of French horse sustained the pursu- with forty thousand of their Vassals After this fatal overthrow, the Ganls loft Boili and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who well how to use their victory: they gave not in a bravery would needs see the enemy, be- ten, twenty, or thirty years time to the first wisely: when without respect of point to surcease. In the second year, Furius and of honour, he dislodged from before Lander- Flaminius invade the Milanois; and prefer, by night, as many other the most advi- vail very far, being strongly affisted by the fed Captains, ( not finding themselves in Cenomanni and the Venetians. Neverthecase to give battel) have done. Je ne trouve l'es these Consuls were revoked out of their point (faith the Marshall Monluc) ant fait des Province, by the Senate of Rome, and comarmes chose st difficile, qu'unne retraitte; I pelled to resign their Office; because the find nothing in the art of war so difficult as Augures, or Soothsayers, had found, that to make a safe retreat. A sure rule it is that some token or other of the Birds (in which, staying upon our reputation, in shew, not to this revocation from the Senate, and being dislodge by night; we lost our reputation in otherwise advertised of the contents, was deed, by dislodging by day: whereby we not hasty to open them; but first gave battel

MAP. III.

CHAP. II.

rounded the Decree, for dividing the voking any one to fight with him. Marcellus Countrey of the Senones among the people was no less daring, than the barbarous of Kome. He was the first, or one of the King : whether more wise in this action. I first, that understanding the Majesty of will not dispute; he was more fortunate and Rome to be indeed wholly in the people, and that fufficed to commend him. He flew and no otherwise in the Senate, than by a way disarmed Britomarus, in the presence of both of Delegacy, or grand Commission; did not Armies: whereby his own men took such stand highly upon his birth and degree, but courage, and his enemies were so dismayed, courted the multitude, and taught them to that without much trouble of fight the Reknow and use their power, over himself and mans obtained a great Victory. his fellow Senators, in reforming their dif- This was the third and last time, that orders. For this, the Commons highly esteem- ever any Roman General slew the General of ed him, and the Senators as deeply hated the enemies, with his own hand. To this him. But he had the furer fide, and found kind of victory, belonged a peculiar triimitators, that role by the fame art, which umph; whereof only Romulus, Coffus, and in process of time, grew the only or chief this Marcellus, had the honour : yet I dare way to preferment.

poled, M.Claudius Marcellus, and Conselius ter men of war than any of these three; Scipio, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of though they never offered up to Jupite, that year. The Gauls about this time desi- Opima spolia, The Armour of a General slain red peace; and were like to have obtained by themselves, when they were Generals, nor it : though the new Confuls were against it, perhaps affected so to do. as fearing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the Gessates following their the Romans; and Milan soon after : with all King Britomarus, were come over the Alpes, that belonged to the Cifalpines, or Gauls, and joyned with the Insubrians: all other that dwelt in Lombardie. Thus was that vadiscourse, than ofpresent war, was at an end. liant and mighty Nation, that had so many So the Confuls hasted into their Province, | years vexed the State of Rome, and in forwhere they besieged Acerra, a Town not mer times taken the City it self, brought to far from Novarro ( fo far had the Romans pierced already in the Dutchy of Milan.) To divert them from this fiege, Britomarus fat down before Clastidium, a Town in the fame Tract, with a great part of his forces: leaving the rest, with the Insubrians, to attend upon the Confuls at Acerra, and to look felves in the cold and barren Mountains, like to the defence of Milan. But this would not fuffice, to make the Romans break up their fiege. Marcellus, taking with him the greateft part of the horse, and fix hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deal well enough with those at Classidium. Britomarus heard of the Confuls coming, and met him upon the way: fo fuddenly, that the Roman had aveonce in the reign of Numa; nor in long no leifure to rest themselves after their jour time after, untill the reign of Augustus. But ney, but were compelled instantly to fight : number, both of horse and foot : but he might boldly undertake, to extend their Mothought so well of his own personal valour, narchy as far as their ambition could reach.

This was that Flaminius, who had pro- that he rode out fingle before his Army, pro-

fay, that the two Scipio's, and divers of the Flaminius and his Colleague, being dif- Roman Captains, especially Casar, were bet-

After this victory, Acerra was yielded to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territory possest by the Romans; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting Italy, fo many as would not subject their necks to the Roman voke, either forced to abandon their Countreys, or to hide them-Outlawes and Thieves. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twenty years following the peace made with Carthage. In part of which time, they were at fuch leifure, that they closed up the Temple of fanus: which they never did before, (it standney, but were compelled instantly to fight: this their present happiness was not to last Herein Britomarus had done well, if he had long: a dangerous War, and perhaps the not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his greatest that had ever been, was to come ungame at a cast. He had advantage enough in to their Gates; which being well ended, they

CHAP. III.

Of the fecond Punick Warr.

6. I.

The Wars of Hannibal in Spain. Quarrels between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal besiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whilft the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. War proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.

by the Army, as foon as Asarubal was dead: famine or pestilence, or after some great and the election was ratified by the State of loss of Army or Fleet, they should be driven Carthage; wherewith Hanno and his Com- to yield unto the impudent demands of plices were nothing pleased. This was now their enemies; and to give away basely the third of the Barchine family ( fo called of their lands and treasures, as they had lately Amilear, whose surname was Bareas ) that done; ot miserably fight, upon terms of had command in chief, over the men of war. difadvantage.

Which honour would perhaps have been This difpolition of his Country-men, Hanless envied by these domestical enemies, if nibal well understood. Neither was he igthe Alies and friends of the Bachine house, norant (for his father, and other friends, had had not also born the whole sway in Go- long time devised of this business ) that in vernment, and been the only men regarded, making war with the Romans, it was no both by the Senate and the people. This ge- small advantage to get the start of them. If neral good will, as it was first purchased by once he could bring an Army into Italy, the most worthy deserts of Amilear in sa- without molestation; there was good hope ving his Country from imminent ruine, in- that he should find friends and affistance, larging the Dominion thereof, and inriching even of those people, that helped to increase it with treasures and great revenues; so was the Roman Armies in foreign wars. But this it retained, by the same good Arts, among could never be effected, if the matter were his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be and his Partisans, being neither able to tax doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad the vertue of their enemies, that was unre- foever they would be, to hear that he had provable; nor to perform the like services set the war on foot, would nevertheless be unto the common-weal; had nothing left flow and timorous, as commonly men are in whereby to value themselves, excepting the the beginning of great enterprises, if the general reprehension of War, and cautelous matter were referred to their deliberation advice of not provoking the Romans. This Which if it should happen, then were the they seasoned other-whiles with detraction; Romans like to be made acquainted, not onfaying, that the Barchine faction went about ly with the generalities of his purpose, but to oppressthe liberty of the City. But their with such particulars as must be discoursed malicious words were unregarded; and if it of, in procuring allowance to his defign. were factious, to bear ill-will to Rome, then This might suffice to disorder the whole were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege less Barchine, than Hannibal himself. For it unto Saguntum, which might seem not greatwas long fince apparent, that the oath of the ly to concern the Romans, and would highly Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in no security to Carthage, were she never so mind the indignity of that Spanish Towns quiet, and officious; unlefs the should yield alliance with her half triends. So should to become their subject. Since therefore the he assay both the patience of his enemies, peace was like to hold no longer, than until and the disposition of his own Citizens.

ANNIBAL, the Son of Amil- the Romans could find some good advancar, was about fix and twenty tage, to renew the war: it was rather defiyears old, when he was chosen red by the Carthaginians, that whilest their General of the Carthaginian ownestate was in good case, the war should forces in Spain. He was elected begin; than that in some unhappy time of

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went fair and orderly to work: and begin- in the Army, the most adventrous, but that ning with those that lay next in his way, ap- which may befeem a Captain, or inferiour proaching unto Saguntum by degrees. This Commander, doth not alwayes become a he did (faith Livie) to give some colour to Chief; though it hath sometime succeeded his proceedings : as if he had not principally well with fuch great ones, as have been intended the war against Suguntum, but had found more fortunate than wife. At this been drawn thither by course of business, time, our great Man of war knew as well Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without how to dissemble his courage, as at other regard of fuch formalities, it was needful to times to make it good. For he with-drew finish the conquest of the rest, before he did himself from the River-side, as if searfull to any thing that should provoke the Romans. foord it; thereby to draw over that great First therefore he entred upon the Territo- multitude from their banks of advantage. · A necotte ry of the \* Olcades; and having befreged Al- The Spaniards, apprehending this in such (Jinh Su-that (Livic called it Carteia) their chief fort, as Hannibal defired that they should City, he became, in a few daies, Master not thrust themselves in fury and disorder, into Bieres only thereof, but of all the other Towns of the swift stream, with a purpose to charge their Country. This Nation which he first the Carthaginians, abandoning ( as they definition undertook, being subdued, and the winter thought for fear ( the defences on the conof Spain at hand, he refted his Army in new Carthage, trary fide. But when Hamibal faw themin or Carthagena; and imparted liberally to their way, and well-near over; he turned found mear the Souldiers, the spoils he had gotten in back his Elephants to entertain them at by Soldier, and his late Conquest.

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called Salamanca; and after it, (b) Arbucala, midst of the staff; had such an advantage the Old by affault : though not without a long over the foot, that were in the River, under callior At- fiege, and great difficulty. But in his return, their strokes, clattered together, and unable bicair, an he was put to the height, both of his cou- to move or shift their bodies, as on firm rage, and of his Martial judgment. For all ground, that they slew all those (in a manthe Fance fuch of the Vaccei, as were able to bear ner) without refiftance, which were already " Japan arms, being made desperate by the spoil of entered into the water ; and pursued the rest, their Country, with those of Salamanca, and that fled like men amazed, with so great a of the Olcades, that had escaped in the late slaugher, as from that day forward, there overthrow, joyning themselves with the To- was not any Spaniard, on that fide the River letans; compounded an Army of an hundred of Iberus, (the Saguntines excepted) that thousand able men : and stayed Hannibal had the daring to lift up their hands against on the banks of the River Tague, which runn-eth to the Sea by Libborn in Portugal. These four Nations, having had experience of wards them, cryed before they were hurt. Hannibals invincible courage, and that he They fent Embassadours to Rome, and benever faw enemy, upon whom he durst not mouned themselves, as likely to suffer that, give charge; were throughly resolved, that which afterwards they suffered indeed; on-his natural valour would at this time no less ly because of their alliance and friendship neglected the cold advice of discretion, than with this honourable City, which the Carat other times it had feemed to do, when thaginians hated. This tale moved the Sethe like great occasion perswaded him to nate, but much more a report, that Sagunuse it. But he that makes himself a body tum was already besieged. Hereupon some of Crystal, that all men may look thorow cry out, that War should be proclaimed by him, and discern all the parts of his dispo- Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls fition, makes himself (withall) an As: and should be fent with Armies, the one into thereby teacheth others, either how to spain, the other into Africk But others went ride, or drive him. Wife men, thoughthey more Roman-like to work, and carried it. So have fingle hearts in all that is just and ver- it was only concluded; that Embassadours tuous: yet they are like Coffers with double | should be fent into spain, to view the state bottoms: which when others look into be- of their confederates: which were indeed ing opened, they see not all that they hold, none other than the Saguntines. For if Hanon the fudden, and at once. It is true, that | nibal intended war against Rome, it was this fubtle Carthaginian, when he ferved un- likely that he should give them, ere it were

CHAP. III. Having thus concluded, he nevertheless der Asdrubal, was, of all the men of mark their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, In the Spring following, he pursued the both above and beneath them, into the Rifrom New war against the (a) Vaccai; and without any ver, These carrying a kind of Lance de Gay, Castings, and against the (a) seems and without any ver, There earlying a kind of Lance at Gay,

long, a more plaufible occasion to take | In the mean while, Demetrius Pharius, herve to countenance their following De- thankful disposition. The commotion of the that they found Hannibal before Saguntum, ginian war, emboldened him to despite his but could not get audience of him, and there- Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to fore went to Carthage, where also they were have defended and aided, in all perils, even not regarded, nor heard. But Polybins an with the hazard of his whole eltate, which Historian of fincerity less questionable, tells, he had received of their gift. But he was a that they found him at Carthagena, and had Traitor to his own Queen; and therefore conterence with him, though fuch as left dealt according to his kind, with those that them doubtful. This is more agreeable to had rewarded him for being fuch. First he the rest of Hannibal his whole course. And built ships, and spoiled the Isles of Greece; furely we might wonder, why the Carthagi- against the covenants to which he was nians should afterwards admit a more pe- bound. Then he adventured further, and seiremptory Embailage (as Livie confelleth) fed upon some places, that the Romans kept and fall to disputation about the covenants in their own hands. If he had begun sooner, of Peace; if they had rejected that which or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer. was fent, upon none other pretence than pre- he might have feed better. For the butiness vention of war.

CHAP. III.

fro, Hannibal prepared not only his forces, felf by his doings, an enemy, and was vanbut some Roman pretences, against sagun- quithed. The Roman Conful, Amilius, was tum. He found out Mamertines, or people fent against him: who in seven daies wan that should do as the Mamertines in sicil the strong Town of Dimalum; and thereby had done for the Romans; and implore his brought fuch terrour upon the Country help against the Saguntines. These were round about, that Embassadours were sent the Turdetani, a Nation adjoyning to Sagun- from all places, to yield themselves, withtum, and having many quarrels with them. Out putting him to further pains. Only the (as happens commonly among neighbours) City of Pharus, in which Demetrius lay, of which, Hannibal himself hatched some. prepared to resist: which he might have Finding therefore such an occasion, what done long, if the hot-headed Rebel had not loever it was, as made himable to fay, that been too foolish. Amilius landed a great the Saguntines had first provoked him, ere part of his Army in the Isle of Pharus, by he medled with them; he made no more night; and bestowed them in covert, preado, but fate down with his whole power be- tenting himfelf the next morning with twenfore their Town. He was now more secure, ty ships before the Town, and offering to than he had formerly been of his own Citi- force the Haven. Demetrius with all his zens: for that they had not entertained the power issued out against the Consul, and was Roman Embassadours, with any trembling re- loon intercluded from the Town, by those verence, as of late years they had been wont. that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away Nevertheless, he was glad of any handsome through by-paths to a Greek, where he had colour, to shadow his actions: not only be shipping ready for him, and imbarqued himcause the War, which he so much desired, self: leaving all his estate unto them, of was not proclaimed; but that he might not | whose liberality he first had it. be checked in his course, as an open enemy, make Saguntum, the feat of the War.

Arms against him : if he had no such purpose, whom the Romans had made King over a vet would it be in their power to determine great part of Illyria, rebelled against them; what they lifted themselves, upon the report either for that he found himself overof these Embassadours; and this their gra- straightly tyed up by them, with hard condivity, in being not too rash at first, would tions; or rather because he was of an uncree. Of these Embassadours Livie reports, Gauls, and afterward the same of the Carthawith the Gauls was ended; with Hannibal, Whilest the Embassadours passed to and not throughly begun, when he declared him-

This business, though it were soon disbefore he could fet foot in Italy. The Romans patched, yet prevented it not the fiege of Sahad the like, though contrary defire. They guntum; before which Hannibal fate down, were glad of the quarrel; as hoping that ere Amilius was landed in Illyria. In the Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should beginning of the siege, the Carthaginians thereby in short space become their own. Yet were much discouraged, by reason of the were they not hasty to threaten, before they brave fallies made by the Saguntines; in one were ready to strike; but meant to tempo- of which, their General received a dangerous rize, until they had an Army in readiness to wound in the thigh, that caused him to lye be fent into Spain, where they thought to many daies unable to move. Nevertheleft, he was not unmindfull of his work in the

Ppppp

movable Towers, that might equal those the War. which were built on the walls of the City :

mean while; but gave order to raife certain friends at Carthage, and to animate them unto

These tydings exceedingly vexed the Roand to prepare to batter the curtains, and mans, who had good cause to be angry at make a breach. These being finished and ap-their own slowness, in forbearing to send plied, had foon wrought their effect. A help unto the Saguntines, that held out eight great and large breach was made, by the fall months, looking Itill for fuccour, but in vain. of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; Wherefore they determined to repair whereat an hot all ault was given; but it was their honour, by taking tharp revenge. To fo well fulfained by the sagantines, as the this end they fent Embaffadours again to Carthaginians were not only beaten from Carthage: demanding only, Whether it were the breach, and out of some ground with- by general consent and allowance of the Carin the Town, which upon the first fury they thaginians, that Hannibal had made war uphad won; but they were pursued even to on Saguntum: which if they granted (as their own trenches and camp. Nevertheless it feemed they would) then to give them the Carthaginian Army, wherein were about defiance. Hereunto answer was made, in an hundred and fifty thousand men, did so the Senate of carthage, to this effect; That weary the Towns-men with continual tra- this their fecond Embaffage, howfoever vel, that at length it got within the walls; qualified with mild words, was indeed more and was only hindred from taking full pol-infolent than the former. For in that, they fellion of the City, by fome counter-works only required justice against Hannibal; but of the Saguntines, that were also ready to be in this, the very State and Common-wealth won. In this extremity, there was one Alcon of Carthage, was urged to plead guilty, or a Saguntine, that conveyed himself out of not guilty. But (faid the Carthaginian the Town, to treat with Hannibal for some ac- speaker) whether the General of our Army cord. But the conditions which the Cartha- in Spain, in belieging Saguntum, have only ginian offered were so severe, and without followed his own counsel; or whether he all compass of honour, as Alcon durst not did it, by direction from us: it is not the return to propound them to his Country-question which the Komans ought to ask us.

men. For Hannibal demanded all that they had, gold, sliver, plate, and other riches within the City: yea, the City it self to be lawful for Hannibal to do as be hath done.

For it belongs to us, to call our own Comhe would assign some other place for their manders in question, and to punish them achabitation: not allowing them to carry out with them any other thing, wherechallenge us, if we have done any thing with to fustain themselves, than the cloaths contrary to our late League and contract. on their backs; or other arms, to defend It is true, that in our negotiation with Luthem, than their nails and teeth. Yet might datim the Conful, the Allies of both Nathey far better have submitted themselves tions were comprehended: but the Sagununto this miserable appointment, (seeing times were not then of your Allies, and therethereby they might have injoyed their lives, and faved the honour of their wives and faved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have rested at the discre- was no dispute. As touching the last agreetion of the Conquerour, as soon after they ment between you and Asarubal, wherein did: by whom their wives and daughters you will say that the Saguntines were comwere deflowed before their own faces; and prehended by name; it is you that have all put to fword, that were above fourteen taught us how to answer that particular. For years of age. For it was a poor comfort, what loever you found in the Treaty between which a great number of them took; when us and Luctatins, to your own disadvantage, not daring to fight, and fell their blood at you cast it upon your Consuls presumption the dearest rate, they shut themselves up as promising those things, for which he had like most wretched creatures in their own no warrant from the Senate and people of houses, and therein burnt themselves with Rome. If then it be lawfull for the Romans, all that they had: fodying unrevenged. The to disavow the actions of their Consuls and treasures found in saguntum, which were Commanders, concluding any thing without very great, Itannibal kept wherewith topay punctual and precise warrant; the same lihis Army: the flaves and other booty, he berty may we also assume, and hold our divided among his Souldiers, referving tome | felves no way bound in honour to perform things of choice, wherewith to present his those bargains which Astrubal hath made

for us, without our commandment and Fabius) take the War, and there it among confent.

This was an impertinent answer, and cepted. little better than a meer cavil. For Luctatius the Conful, in his Treaty of Peace with the pretences, when each part had resolved to had been therefore much better to have ever been maintained by the party unwildealt plainly, and to have alledged, That ling, or unable to sustain the War. The rusty after this League was made and confirmed sword, and the empty purse, do alwayes plead on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, open War. As for the Saguntines, it little Peace between ambitious Princes and States, skilled that the Romans had admitted them is but a kind of breathing) the best advised breach of Peace, in taking away Sardinia, as he could, ere the War brake out; Don were no better than Roman injuries, as im- John, with the Netherlands; and Philip the plying this commination, Do what sever we second of Spain, with the English, when in require ; else will we make War, without the great Imbarge he took all our thing and regard of our oath, which we have already goods in his Ports. broken.

But this the Carthaginians did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as Poly- juries received from these enemies, had anobiss takes it ) the best of their Plea. Yet since ther private and hereditary desire, that vio-Livie himself doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Father Amilcar, at what time he did facri-Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of Amil fice, being ready to take his journey into car with defire of revenge : we may reaso- spain, had solemnly bound him by oath, to nably think, that the mention of this inju- purfue them with immortal hatred, and to ry was omitted, not so much upon forgetful- work them all possible mischief, as soon as nels, as for that it was not thought conver he should be a man, and able. Hannihal was nient, by ripping up such ancient matter of then about nine years old, when his Father quarrel, to shew that the war, now towards, caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, had long been thought upon, and like to be and make this yow: fo that it was no marvel. made with extraordinary force, in other if the impression were strong in him. manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the That it is inhumane to bequeath hatred Carthaginian Senate moved the Roman Em- in this fort, asit wereby Legacy, it cannot tines, and the confining of their Armies that as foon as their coffers shall be full, they ces. Whereupon 2. Fabius gathering up ple of England. the skirt of his gown, as if somewhat had been laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gown-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like belt, and purpose to imbrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Even which of them you your felf have a fancy to offerus. Marry then (quoth which he had drawn against the Saguntines,

you: Which the affembly willingly ac-

This was plain dealing. To wrangle about Carthaginians, had expresly referred the al- make War, it was meerly frivolous. For all lowance thereof to the people of Rome. It these disputes of breach of Peace, have performance of covenants. There have in robbing the Carthaginians of the Ille of been few Kings or States in the World, that Sardinia, and withall of twelve hundred have otherwise understood the obligation of talents: which perjury the State of Carthage, a Treaty, than with the condition of their being now grown able, would revenge with own advantage: and commonly (feeing into confederacy, and forthwith inserted have rather begun with the sword, than their names into the Treaty of Peace with with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois Aldrubal: feeing that the Treaty with Af- with the French in Naples; Henry the second drubal, and all other business between Rome of France, with the Imperials, when he and Caribage, following the violence and wrote to Brifac, to surprise as many places

But Hannibal, besides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of inlently carryed him against the Romans. His

bassadours, to deliver unto them in plain be denyed. Yet for mine own part, I do not terms the purposes of those that sent them, much doubt, but that some of those Kings, and the worst of that, which they had long with whom we are now in peace, have redetermined against them: as for the Sagun- ceived the like charge of their Predecessors, within Iberus; those were but their preten- shall declare themselves enemies to the peo-

#### ø. 11.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spain, and Africk. His fourney into Italy.

WArr being thus proclaimed, Hannibal refolved not to put up his sword Ppppp 2

untill he had therewith opened his pallage asking leave: which that others might not unto the gates of Rome. So began the se-\*Majora, \* Baleares. Befides these, he selected four fore sought to keep him from passing over Elephants.

of his house, who sate still at carthage) to on which the beasts were towed over. whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, both the rage of the River, and of those that and one thousand horse. Being arrived defended it, he was visited by the Princes at the borders of Spain, some of his spa- of the Gauls Cisalpines, that inhabited Pienish Souldiers returned home, without mont and Milan, who lately had revolted

cond Punick War; fecond to none that many more that feemed willing to be gone. ever the Senate and people of Rome sustain- Hereby it came to pass, that the Journey ed. Hannibal wintred at Carthagena; where seemed the less tedious unto those that ache licensed his Spanish Souldiers to visit companied him, as being not enforced by their friends, and refresh themselves against compulsion. With the rest of his Army, conthe Spring. In the mean while he gave fifting now but of fifty thousand foot, and instructions to his Brother Asdrubal for the nine thousand horse, he past the Pyrenes, and Government of spain in his absence. He entred into Gaul. He found the Gauls that also took order, to send a great many troops bordered upon Spain, ready in Arms to forof spaniards into Africk, to equal the bid his entrance into their Countrey: but number of Africans formerly drawn thence won them with gentle speech, and rich preinto Spain; to the end, that so the one sents that he bestowed upon their Leaders. Nation might remain as pledges and gages to favour his Expedition. So without any for the other. Of the Spaniards, he trans-molestation, he came to the bank of Rhodaported into Africk thirteen thousand, eight mus; where dwelt, on each side of the River, hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred a people called Volce, These were unacquainhorse; also eight hundred slingers of the ted with the cause of his coming; and therethousand foot, all young men, and of quali- the water. But he was greatly affished by ty, out of the best Cities of Spain; which he some of those Ganls, that inhabited on the appointed to be garrisoned in Carthage it self, West side of Rhodanus, to wit, by those of not fo much in regard of their forces, as that Vivaretz and Lyonnois. For although many they might serve for hostages: for among of them had transported themselves and those four thousand, the best of the Spanish their goods, into the Country of Dauphine, Citizens, and those that swayed most in thinking to defend the further bank against their several States, had their Sons or Kins- him: yet such as remained, being very demen. He also left with his Brother, to sirous to free their Countrey of so many ill guard the Coasts and Ports, fifty and seven guests, were better pleased to have their Gallies; whereof thirty seven were present- Countrey-men well beaten, which had abanly armed, and appointed for the war. Of doned them, than to have their own store of Africans and other Nations, strangers, he left corn and cattel wasted, by the long stay offo with him above twelve thousand foot, and great an Army, as lay upon them. For which two thousand horse, besides one and twenty reason, they helped him to make boats; informed him of another more easie passage, Having in this fort taken order for the de-fence of Spain and Africk; he sent disco-When the Vessels for transportation of his verers before him, to view the Passages of Army were in readines; he sent Hanno, the the Pyrenaun Mountains, and of the Alps. Son of Bomilear, up the River: himfelf in the He allo fent Embassadours to the Mountai-mean while making countenance to enter ners of the Pyrenes, and to the Gauls, to ob- the Foord below. The end of this labour, tain a quiet passage: that he might bring his was, that Hanno charging the Gaules una-Army entire into Haly, and not be compelled wares upon their own side, and Hannibal, at to diminish his force, by any War in the the same time, passing the River in their faway, till he came to encounter the Romans, ces, the further bank was won, though with His Emballadours and Discoverers being re- some difficulty; and the enemies dispersed. turned with good satisfaction; in the begin- Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying ning of the Spring, he past over the River of over his Elephants; who marvellously feared theres, with an Army confifting of fourfcore the water. He was therefore driven to make and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand raffs of trees, and cover them with Earth horse. All those parts of Spain, into which and Turf; whereof he fastned one to each he had not entred before, he now subdued: bank, that might serve as a bridge, to and and appointed Hanno (not that old enemy from another of the same fort, but loose upgovern spain on the East side of Iberus; to Having past this first brunt, and overcome

from the Romans. These informed him of the rooted out, and destroyed by the Caribagiand refistance:

## s. III.

Romans.

marched thus far, had been folicited before, rather some assurance from the people of by the same Roman Embassadours, who Massilia, which were consederates with had denounced the war at Carthage. Thefe, Rome, that the Gauls were determined to as they were instructed by the Senate, took take part with their enemy. Of this inclinaspain in their way home-ward from Car-thage, with a purpose to draw into the Ro- For when the news was brought into Italy, man Alliance, as many of the Cities and that the Carthaginians had passed Iberus, Princes as they could; at least to diffwade and were on the way towards Rome; this them from contracting any friendship with alone sufficed to stir up the Boji, and Insubrithe Carthagimians. The first which they at- ass, against the Romans. These reople were tempted were the Volcians, a people in Spain, lately offended at the plantation of new from whom, in open assembly, they received Roman Colonies, at Cremona, and Placentia, by one that spake for the rest, this uncom- within their Territories. Relying therefore fortable answer : With what face (faith he) upon the Carthaginian succour, which they can ye Romans periwade us to value your supposed to be now at hand; they laid Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship aside all regard of those hostages, which of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught they had given to the Romans, and fell upon by the example of the Saguntines, to be more the new Colonies. The Towns it feems they wifethan fo? For they, relying on your faith could not win; for Hannibal shortly after

paffages of the Alps; that they were not so mians; whom they might else have held difficult, as common report made them; and their affured friends, and good neighbours. from these he received guides, with many as we, and other the people of Spain have other encouragements. All which notwith- found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with standing, he found himself extreamly in this resolution from us, That for our parts combred by the Savoyans; and loft, both of (and fo I think, I may answer for the rest of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more our Country-men) the Romans henceforth than willingly he would, or had formerly are not to expect any kindness at our hands thought that he should. For he was twice who are resolved, never to make account of mainly affailed by them, before he could re-their protection, nor amity. From the Volcover the plain Countreys on the other fide. cians, the Embassadours took their way to-And whereas his Journey over the Moun- wards the Gauls ; using their best arguments rains cost him fifteen dayes travel, he was to perswade them not to suffer the Cartha. every day, more or less, not only charged ginians to pass into Italy, thorow their Terby those Mountainers, but withall extream- ritory: and withall greatly glorifying themly beaten with grievous weather and snow: selves, their strength, and large Dominion. it being the beginning of Winter, when he But the Gauls laught them to fcorn, and had began, and overcame this passage. But the hardly the patience to hear them speak. fair and fertile Plains, which were now rea- For shall we (faid one of their Princes) dy to receive them; with the affiftance and by refifting Hannibals paffage into Italy, enconduct of the Cifalpine Gauls, who by their tertain a war which is not meant to be made proper forces had so often invaded the Ro- against us? Shall we hold the war among man Territory; gave them great comfort our felves, and in our own Territory, by and encouragement to go on : having no- force which marcheth with a speedy pace thing else of difficulty remaining, but that from us, toward our ancient enemies? Have which from the beginning they made ac the Romans deserved so well of us, and the compt to overcome, by their proper valour Carthaginians fo ill, that we should fet fire on and resolution; namely, the Roman Armies, our own houses, to save theirs from burning? No, we know it well, that the Romans have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance: and constrained others, as free as How the Romans in vain folicited the Spa-themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not niards and Gauls to take their part. The therefore make the Carthaginians, our ene-Rebellion of the Cifalpine-Gauls against the mies, who have no way as yet offended us,

nor we them. With this unpleasing answer the Embassa-HE Countries of Spain and Ganl, dours returned home, carrying no good through which the Carthaginians news, of friends likely to help them; but and promised assistance, have been utterly failed to get them. But they forced the Roman

Commissioners

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Commissioners, (who belike were abroad five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three in the Country) to flye to Modena: where hundred of his better appointed Roman they besieged them. The siege of Modena horse. These met and fought, and the Nahad continued some small time; when the midians were beaten: yet could not the Gaules, having little skill in assaulting Cities, Romans greatly brag, having slain only two waxed weary, and feemed defirous to have hundred, and loft of their own, one hundred peace, and to come to some good accord and forty. But when Scipio drew near, to with the Romans. This they did of purpole, have met with the Carthaginians; he found. to draw on some meeting; that they might that they were gone three dayes before; and therein lay hand upon the Roman Deputies, that (as he then found affuredly true) with thereby to redeem their Hostages in way of an intent to look upon the walls of Rome. exchange. And it fell out, in part, according This interrupted his intended Voyage into to their wish. For the Romans sent out Em- Spain. Nevertheless he sent away thither balladours to treat with them, and to con- his Brother Cm. Cornelius Scipio, with the clude a Peace; whom they detained. Man-greatest part of his Fleet and Army, to try lius the Prætor, who lay in these quarters what might be done against Asdrubal, and with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in the in all halte to the relief of the besieged. But Country. He himself, taking with him a the Gaules, having laid a strong ambush in a few choise bands, returned by Sea to Pifa; wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Præ- and so patting thorow Tuscane into Lumbartor so opportunely, as he was utterly over- die, drew together the broken troops of thrown, and all his followers left dead in Manlius and Atilius that lately had been the place, a few excepted, that recovered, beaten by the Gaules: with which forces by fait running to a little village, but defen- he made head against the enemy, thinking fible supon the River of Po. When this was to find him over-laboured, with travel of heard at Rome, C. Attilius, another of the his painful Journey. Prætors, was hastily sent to relieve the befieged with a Legion, and five thousand of the Roman affociates: which forces were taken out of the Confuls Army, and supplyed Scipio the Roman Conful overcome by Hanby a new levy.

As the Gaules were too rash and hasty ; fo were the Romans too flow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded that Carthage, Five Months Hannibal had spent in his which had almost servicely endured so matter tedious Journey from Carthagena; what whereof he was neither glad, nor forry, as feveral shares. not meaning to have to do with him. Each Having newly paffed the Alpes, and scarce others number and doings : Hannibal, about of Piemont ; he fought to win the friendship

#### ø. IV.

nibal at Ticinum. Both of the Roman Confuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battel at Trebia.

ny indignities in time of the late peace; great muster he could make, when he had would be to brave and couragious on the passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. Some fudden, as to attempt the conquest of Haly it reckon his foot at an hundred thousand, and felf. Wherefore they appointed one of their his horse at twenty thousand; others re-Consuls to make war in spain, the other port them to have been only twenty thouin Africk : resting secure of all danger at land foot, and six hundred horse. Hannibal home. Titus Sempronius took his way toward himself in his monument which he raised, in Affick, with an hundred and fixty Quin- the Temple of Juno Lacinia, agreeth with queremes, or Gallies of five to an Oar, which the latter fumm. Yet the Gaules, Ligupreparation may feem to threaten even the rians, and others that joyned with him, City of Carthage, to which it shall not come are likely to have mightily increased his near. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Conful, Army, in short space. But when he march made all possible halte, by the way of Ge- ed Eastward from the banks of Rhodanus, noa, into Provence; and used such diligence, he had with him eight and thirty thouhaving the wind also favourable, as in five land foot, and eight thousand horse; of dayes he recovered Meljilia. There he was which, all fave those remembed by him-advertised of Hannibal his having passed the self in the Inscription of his Altar in Juno's River of Rhodanus, whom he thought to Temple, are like to have perished by dihave found busse yet a while in Spain. Har-have found busse yet a while in Spain. Har-hibal had also news of the Consuls arrival: which mischiefs had devoured, each their

of them fent forth Scouts to discover the refreshed his wearied Army in the Country

Their of the (a) Taurini, who lay next in his way. | prepared the minds of their Souldiers, by But the Taurini held war at that time with the best arguments they had: unto which the Insubrians, which were his good friends; Hannibal added the Rhetorick of a prefent and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his example, that he thewed upon certain priin amity. Wherefore he affaulted their Town; foners of the Sacoians, which he brought and wan it by force in three daies. Their along with him, fitted for the purpote, into fooil ferved well to hearten his Army; and Italy. For their, having been no less mifertheir calamity, to terrifie the Neighbour ably fettered and chained, than toaringly has places. So the Gault, without more ado, fed; and withall fo often foourged on their at the places. So the Gault, without more ado, fed; and withall fo often foourged on their at the places. fell unto his fide: many for fear, many also naked bodies, as nothing was more in their for good-will, according to their former in- defire, than to be delivered from their miclination. This disposition ran thorow the series by any kind of present death, were whole Country: which joyned, or was all brought into the micdle of the Army in readiness to joyn with the Carthaginians; where it was openly demanded, which of when the news of scipio the Conful his ar- them would fight hand to hand with fome rival, made some to be more advised than other of his Companions, till the one of thereft. The name of the Romans was ter- them were flain, with condition, being the rible in those quarters; what was in the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid reward. This was no fooner propounded. open. Since therefore the Roman Conful than all of them together accepted the offer. was already gotten thorow the most defen- Then did Hannibal cause lots to be cast. fible passages, ere any speech had been heard which of them should enter the List, with of his approach: many fate still for very such weapons, as the Chieftains of the Ganls fear. who else would fain have concluded were wont to use in single combats. Every a League with these new-come friends; and one of these unhappy men wished, that his some for greater fear, offered their service own lot might speed; whereby it should at against the Carthaginians, whom neverthe- least be his good fortune, to end his miseries less they had wished well to speed.

by death, if not to get a reward by victory. This wavering affection of the Province, That couple, whose good hap it was to be whereinto they were entred, made the two chosen, fought resolvedly : as rather de-Generals hasten to the tryal of a battail. siring, than fearing death; and having none Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were Pavia; where each of them wondred at the some few couples matched, it skilled not others expedition: Hannibal thinking it how equally: for all these poor creatures strange that the Consul, whom he had left were willing, upon whatsoever uneven behind him on the other fide of the Alpes, terms, to rid themselves out of flavery. The could meet him in the face, before he had fame affection that was in these Combatants. well warmed himself in the Plains; Scipio and in their fellows which beheld them. admiring the strange adventure of passing wrought also upon the Carthaginians, for those Mountains, and the great spirit of his whom the speciacle was ordained. For they Enemy. Neither were the Senate at Rome deemed happy, not only him, that by winlittle amazed at Hannibals success, and sud- ing the victory had gotten his liberty, toden arrival. Wherefore they dispatched a gether with an horse and armour : but even Messenger in all haste unto Sempronius, the him also, who being slain in fight, had escapother Conful, that was then in Sicily, giving ed that miserable condition, unto which him to understand hereof: and letting him his Companions were returned. Their Gcfurther know, that whereas he had been di- neral perceiving what impression this dumb rected to make the war in Africa, it was now shew had wrought in them, began to adtheir pleasure that he should forbear to pro- monish them of their own condition, speakfecute any fuch attempt, but that he should ing to this effect: That he had laid before return the Army under his charge, with all them an example of their own estates; seepossible speed, to save Italy it self. According ing the time was at hand, wherein they were to this order, Sempronius fent off his Fleet all to run the same fortune, that these flaves from Lilybeum; with direction to land the had done; all to live victorious and rich; Army at Ariminum, a Port Town not far or all to die, or (which these prisoners from Ravenna: quite another way from esteemed far more grievous ) to live in a Carthage, whither he was making hafte. In perpetual flavery: That none of them all, the mean while, Scipio and Hannibal were in whom was common sense, could promise come so near, that fight they must, ere they to himself any hope of life by flight : fince could part afunder. Hereupon both of them the Mountains, the Rivers, the great di-

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purfuit of merciles Enemies, must need re- long after this, ere the two Generals met: trench all fuch impotent imaginations. He each being far advanced before the gross of therefore prayed them to remember, that his Army, with his Horse; and the Roman they, who had even now praifed the fortune having also with him some light-armed foot, both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, to view the ground, and the enemies counwould make it their own cale; feeing that tenance. When they discovered the apthere was never any in the world, appoint- proach one of the other; Scipio fent before ed with fuch a resolution that had ever been him his horsemen of the Gauls, to begin the broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the light, and bestowing his Darters in the void contrary, he told them that the *Romans*, ground between their troups, to affilt them: who were to fight upon their own foil, and himself with his *Roman* men at arms, followin view of their own Towns; who knew as ed foftly in good order. The Gauls (whemany waies to fave themselves by flight, as ther delirous to try the metal of the Carthathey had bodies of men to fight withall, ginians, or hoping thereby to get favour of could no way entertain such a resolution as the Romans) behaved themselves couragitheirs: feeing the same Necessity, (to which oully, and were as couragiously opposed. nothing feen's impossible) did no way press Yet their foot that should have aided them, them, or constrain them. In this fort did shrank at the first brunt, or rather fled co-Hannihal, with one substantial Argument, wardly away, without casting a Darts for fear That there was no mean between Victory and ot being trodden down by the enemies horse. Death, encourage his Companions. For, This notwithstanding, the Gauls maintained (faith a great Captain of France) La com- the fight, and did more hurt than they remodite de la retraitte advance la fuite; The ceived; as presuming that they were well commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a backt. Neither was the Conful unmindful to flat running amay.

given order for the laying of a bridge over have stood by them, admonishing him that the River of Ticinus, did not neglect to use it was needful. Wherefore he adventured the best arguments and reasons he could, to himself so far, that he received a dangerous encourage the Army he led: putting them wound; and had been left in the place, if in mind of the great conquelts and victories his Son (afterward furnamed Africanus) had of their Ancestors; against how many Nati- not brought him off: though others give ons they had prevailed; and over how ma- the honour of this refeue to a Lieurian flave. ny Princes, their Enemies, had they trium- Whilst the Romans were busied in helping phed. As for this Army commanded by Han- their Conful; an unexpected ftorm came wind, although it were enough to tell them, driving at their backs, and made them look that it was no better than of Carthaginians, about how to help themselves. Hannibal whom in their late war they had to often had appointed his Numidian light-horfe, to besten, by Land and Sea ; yet he prayed give upon the Romans in flank, and to comthem withall to confider, that at this time it pass them about, whilst he with his men at was not only fo diminished in numbers, as it Arms sustained their charge, and met them rather feemed a troup of Brigants and in the face. The Numidians performed Thieves, than an Army likely to encounter this very well: cutting in pieces the featthe Romans, but fo weather-beaten, and star-tered foot, that ran away at the first enved, as neither the men, nor horses, had counter; and then falling on the backs of ttrength or courage to fustain the first charge those, whose looks were fastned upon Hanthat thould be given upon them. Nay (faid nibal and scipio. By this impression, the he)ye your felves may make judgment what | Romans were shuffled together, and routed: daring they have now remaining, after fo fo that they all betook them to their speed, array travails and miferies; feeing when they and left unto their enemies the honour of wei in their best strength, after they had the day. pair the Roan, their horfe-men were not only

france from their own Countries, and the people, both in Africa, and in Sicil. It was not relieve them: their hardiness deserving his Scipio on the other fide, after that he had aid; and the hasty flight of those that should

When Scipio faw his horsemen thus beabeaten by ours, and driven back to the very ten, and the rest of his Army thereby greatly Trenches of their Camp, but Hannibal him-discouraged; he thought it a point of wiftelf, fearing our approach, ran headlong dom, having loft fo many of his Fleet upon Towards the Alps: thinking it a left diffio- the first puff of the wind, totake Port with nour andie there by frost, famine, and pre- the rest, before the extremest of the temichastor, than by the sharp swords of the pest overtock him. For he saw by the lowtransans, which had to often cut down his ring morning what manner of day it was like

to prove. Therefore his battail of footbe-1 do; yet this diminished his reputation. For ing yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the every day more and more of the Gauls fell retrait; and recovered the Bridge over Iici- to the Carthaginian iide; among whom was, which he had formerly built. But not- came in the Eoji, that brought with them withstanding all the haste that he made, he the Roman Commissioners, which they had left fix hundred of his Rear behinde him: taken in the late Insurrection. They had hiwho were the last that should have passed, therto kept them as pledges, to redem their and staid to break the bridge. Herein he follown hostages: but now they deliver them lowed this rule of a good man of War, Si cer- up to Hannibal, as tokens and pledges of tamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam their affections towards him; by whose help miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando they conceived better hope of recovering laudanda: which must be understood in this their own men and lands. In the mean while, fort: If a General of an Army, by some unpros- Hannibal, being in great scarcity of victuals, perous beginnings doubt the success; or find his attempted the taking of Clastidium, a Town Army fearful or wavering, it is more profitable wherein the Romans had laid up all their to fteal a safe retrait, than to abide the uncer- store and munition. But there needed no tain event of battail.

pas the River; Scipio the whilest refreshing little money. his men, and easing himself of his wound in Placentia. But as foon as Hannibal presented Rome, filled the Senate and People, rather his Army before the Town, offering battail with a defire of hafty revenge, than any great to the Romans, who durst not accept it, nor forrow for their loss received; feeing that in iffue forth of their Camp; the Gauls, that a manner, all their Foot, wherein their hitherto had followed Scipio for fear, ga- strengthand hope consisted, were as yet enthered out of his fear, courage to forsake tire. They therefore hasted away Sempronihim. They thought that now the long-denum, that was newly arrived, towards Arimifired time was come, in which better Chiefnum, where the Army, by him fent out of tains and Souldiers, than Aneroestus, Brito- Sicil, awaited his coming. He therefore hastmarus. and Gessates, were come to help them: ed thither; and from thence he marched if they had the hearts to help themselves. speedily towards his Colleague: who attend-Wherefore the same night they fell upon ed him upon the banks of Trebia. Both the the Roman Camp; wounded and slew many Armies being joyned in one, the Consuls deespecially of those guards that kept watch at vised about that which remained to be done: thegate; with whose heads in their hands, Sempronius received from Scipio the relatithey fled over to the Carthaginians, and pre- on of what had passed since Hannibals arrifented their service. Hannibal received them val; the fortune of the late fight; and by exceeding courteoully, and dismiss them to what errour or misadventure the Romans their own places: as men likely to be of were therein foiled: which Scipio chiefly more use to him, in perswading the rest laid on the revolt and treason of the Gauls. of their Nation to become his Confe- sempronius, having received from scipio derates, than in any other service at the the state of the affairs in those parts; sought prefent.

a great blow, if the Numidians, greedy of objecting the unlkilfulness of the new-come fpoil, had not staid to ransack their Camp: Souldiers: and withall, gave him good River of Trebia, and fave themselves. Scipio, being both unable to travel by reason of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to of Trebia and Po, being already revolted. attend the coming of his fellow-Conful; in- Sempronius knew all this as well as scipio: but

force; a Brundusian, whom the Romans It was two dayes after, ere Hannibal could had trusted with keeping it, fold it for a

The news of these disasters, brought to

by all means to try his fortune with Hanni-About the fourth watch of the night fol- bal, before scipio were recovered of his lowing, the Conful stole a retrait, as he had wounds, that thereby he might purchase to done before 3 but not with the like ease and himself the sole glory of the victory, which fecurity. Hannibal had a good eye upon him, he had already, in his imagination, certainly and ere he could get far, sent the Numidians obtained. He also feared the election of the after him: following himself with all his new Consuls: his own time being well-near Army. That night the Romans had received expired. But Scipio perswaded the contrary; and thereby given time to all (lave some few reason, to affure him that the Gault, natuin Rear, that were slain or taken) to pass the rally unconstant, were upon terms of abancamps himself strongly upon the banks of being both guided and blinded by his ambi-Trebia. Necessity required that he should so tion, he made haste to find out the dishonour

avoided. This resolution of Sempronius was Army, after they had well warmed, and well exceeding pleating to Hannibal: who fear- fed themselves in their Camp, he led into the ed nothing fo much as delay and los of time. field, and marched towards the Conful. Ear-For the firength of his Army, confifting in ly in the morning, he had fent over Trebia strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gauls; he some companies of Numidian light-horse, to no less feared the change of affection in the brave the enemy, and draw him forth to a one, than the impatience of the other: who bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. Sembeing far from their own home, had many pronius was ready to take any opportunity to passions moving them to turn their faces to- fight: and therefore not only issued out of his wards it. To further the desire of Sempro- Camp, but soorded the River of Trebia, in a nius, it fel' out so, that about the same time, most cold and miserable day; his foot being the Gauls, inhabiting near unto Trebia, com- wet almost to the arm-holes: which, togeplained of injuries done by the Carthagini- ther with the want of food, did so enfeeble ans. They did not supply Hannibal with ne- and cool their courages, as they wanted force dertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore these they ranged in a gross Battalion, guard-

them to retire faster than they came. Sem- all sorts, Horse and Foot.

pronius was ready to back his ownmen; and
Three great errours Sempronius commitrepelled the enemies. Hannibal did the ted, of which every one deserved to be relike. So that at length all the Roman Army compensed with the loss that followed. The was crawn forth; and a battel ready to be first was, that he fought with Hannibal in a fuied it.

which he might otherwise easily have Horse, and as many foot. The rest of his ceffaries, as he supposed that they might to handle the arms they bare. Strong they have done; although he daily reprehended were in foot, as well of their own Nation, as their negligence, teiling them, that for their of the Latines: having of the one fixteen, of fakes, and to fet them at liberty, he had un- the other twenty thousand. The mass of how little they regarded his words, he was ed on the flanks with three thou and horfe; bold to be his own Carver; and took from thrusting their Light-armed, and Dargers, in them by force, as much as he needed of that loose troops in the head of the test in the nawhich they had. Hereupon they fly to the ture of a Vantguard. The Carthaginian num-Romans for help: and, to make their tale the bers of foot were in a manner equal to their the tra, fay that this wrong is done them, bethey refused to joyn with Hannibal.

they refused to joyn with Hannibal.

both in number and goodness. When therefore the Roman horse ranged on the slanks 3.00d, and was affured of their mu-but Sempronius affirmed, that it when their foot, were charged both in from with the honour of Rome, to preserve and flank, by the Spaniards, Gauls and Elereir Confederates from fuffering injury: phants; when finally the whole Army was and that hereby might be won the friend unawares preft in the Rear, by Mago and his ftip of all the Gault. Therefore he fent out a two thousand, that rose out of their place of thousand Horse: which coming unlooked ambush; then fell the Romans, by heaps, unfor upon Hannibal his forragers, and finding der the enemies swords: and being beaten them heavy loaden, cut many of them in down, as well fighting in diforder, as flying pieces, and chased the rest even into their towards the River, by the Horsemen that own Camp. This indignity made the Carpursued them, there escaped no more of fix thaginians sally out against them: who caused and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of

fought, if the Carthaginian had not re- Champain, being by far inferiour in Horse, and withall, thereby subject to the African This victory ) for so the Consul would Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even have it called) made the Romans in general grounds & wood-lands, would have been of desirous to try the main chance in open field: no use. His second errour was, that he made all the perswasions of Scipio to the contrary no discovery of the place upon which he notwithstanding. Of this disposition Hanni- fought; whereby he was grossy over-reacht, bal was advertised by the Gauls, his Spies, and infnared, by the ambush which Hannibal that were in the Roman Camp. Therefore he had laid for him. The third was, that he bethought himself how to help forward the drencht his footmen with empty stomacks, victory by adding some stratagem to his in the River of Trebia, even in a most cold forces : he found in the hollow of a water and frosty day, whereby, in effect, they lost courfe, over-grown with high reed, a fit the use of their limbs. For, as one saith well, trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast There is nothing more inconvenient and perilous, his brother Mago with a thousand choice than to present an Army tyred with travel, to

an enemy fresh and fed; since where the strength; their territory. Wherefore some of them of body faileth, the generofity of mind is but conspired against his life; others admonithas an unprofitable vapour.

my, was collected by Scipio, who got there- dife against him; but were in likefort detectwith into Placentia; stealing away the same ed. He was the refore glad to use Periwizs of night, which was exceeding rainy, from hair, and falle beards of divers colours: to the Carthaginians, who either perceived him the end that he might not be descrived, nor not because of the showrs; or would not known, to those that should undertake to perceive him, because they were over-weari- make him away. Fain he would have passed ed. Sempronius escaped with extream dan- the Appenines, upon the first appearance of ger, flying, through the Countrythat was Spring; but was compelled by the violence over-run by the enemies horse. He was at- of weather, to tarry among the Gauls, till tended by more than were requisite in a se- he had seen more swallows than one. At cret flight; yet by fewer than could have length, when the year was fomwhat better made refistance; if the enemy had met with opened, he resolved to take his leave of these him. Nevertheless he got away, and came to giddy companions and bring the war nearer Rome; where he did hisoffice in chuling new to the gate of Rome. So away he went, ha-Consuls for the year following: and then ving his Army greatly increased with Lieureturned into his Province, with afresh sup- rians and Ganls; more serviceable friends ply against Hannibal.

# 6. V.

fymene.

followers he not only well intreated, but heard news of the c Rean Confuls. fent them to their Countries without ransome; with the protestation, That he there- been chosen Consuls for this year: Servilius fore undertook the War in Italy, to free a tractable man, and who lly governed by them from the oppression of the Romans. advice of the Senate; Flaminius an hot-By these means he hoped, and not in vain, headed popular Orator; who having once to draw many of them to his party and af- been robbed (as he thought) of his Confulfiltance. But the Gauls were not capable of thip, by a device of the Senators, was afraid fuch perswassions. They stood in fear, lest to be served so again, unless he quickly sihe should make their Country the seat of nished the war. This jealous Consul thought War, and perhaps take it from them. They it not best for him to be at Rome, when he were also more grieved than reason willed entred into his Office, lest his adversaries, by

ed him of the danger; and thele that gave The broken remainder of the Roman Ar- him the advice, were ready foon after to praabroad, than in their own Country. That the passage of the Appenine Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needless to make any doubt. Yet fince the Roman Armies found The departure of Hannibal from the Cifalpine no memorable impediment, in their marches Gauls into Hetruria. Flaminius the Ro- that way: the great vexation which fell man Conful flain, and his Army destroyed upon Hannibal, when he was travelling by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thra- thorow and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes alwayes foul, than to any HE Winter growing on apace, was intollerable difficulty in that journey. Nevery tharp, and unfit for service: to vertheless, to avoid the length of war, tothe great contentment of the Romans who, gether with the refistance and fortifications being not able to keep the field, lay warm which may not improbably be thought to in Placentia, and Cremona. Yet Hannibal did have been erected upon the ordinary pafnot fuffer them to rest very quiet; but vex- fages towards Rome: he chose at this time, ed them with continual Alarms: assayled though it were with much trouble, to travel divers places, and taking some; beating thorow the Fens and rotten grounds of the Gauls their adherents, and winning the Tuscane. In those Marishes, and bogs, he lost Ligurians to his party, who presented him, in all his Elephants, save one, together with token of their faithful love, with two Ro- the use of one of his eyes; by the moistness man Questors, or Treasurers, two Colonels, of the air, and by lodging on the cold and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, ground, and wading thorow deep mire and which they had intercepted. These, and in water. In brief, after he had, with much general all fuch prisoners as he had of the ado, recovered the firm and fertile Plains, Romans, he held in straight places, loaden he lodged about Arretium; where he somewith Irons, and miferably fed: those of their what refreshed his wearied followers, and

C. Flaminius, and Cn. Servilius had of late them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting feigning some religious impediment, should

Qqqqq 2

detain

CHAP. [11.

detain him within the City, or find other, and the Lake, There was he charged unawhere he shortly found them.

be plucked up by the Enfign-bearer. Of liberties. this tale, whether true or false, Tully makes This accord Hannibal refused to confirm; a jest, faying, That the cowardly knave faying, that it was made by Maharbal did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) without fufficient warrant, as wanting his having hardly pitched it into the earth. authority to make it good. Hereinhe taught Neither was the answer of Flaminius (if it them ( yet little to his own honour) what it were true)difagreeable hereto: for he com- was to keep no faith : and fitted them with manded that it should be digged up, if fear a trick of their own. For if it were lawful had made the hands too weak to lift it: unto the Romans, to alter covenants, or asking withall, whether letters were not add unto them what they listed; if the carcome from the Senate, to hinder his pro- thaginians must be fain to pay certain hunceedings. Of this their icalouse, both he dreds and yet more hundreds of talents, beand the Senate that did give him cause, are sides their first bargains; as also to renounce likely to repent.

butinels for him at home, to disappoint him wares, on all sides, (save only where that of the honour that he hoped to get in the great Lake of Perufia, permitted neither his war. Wherefore he departed secretly out of enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from the Town, and meant to take possession of them) knowing not which way to turn, or his Office when the day came at Ariminum. make relistance. So was he flain in the place. The Fathers (fo the Senators were called ) accompanied with fifteen thousand dead highly displeased with this revoked him by carkastes of his Country-men. About fix Embaffadors: but he neglected their in-thousand of his men, that had the Vantjunction; and haltening to meet with the guard took courage, as for the most part it Carthaginians, took his way to Arctium, happens, out of desperation: and breaking thorow the enemies, that ftood in their way, The fiery diffosition of this Conful, pro- recovered the tops of the Mountains. If these mifed unto Hamibal great affurance of vi- had returned, and given charge upon the cto: y. Therefore he provoked, with many in- Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they dignities, the vehement nature of the Ro-might have greatly amended, if not wholly man; horing thereby to draw him unto altered the fortune of the day. But that viofight, ere Servilius came with the rest of the lence of their fear, which, kindled by neces-Army. All the Country between Fefula and fity had wrought the effects of hardiness. Arctium, he put to fire and fword, even un- was well allwaged, when they eeafed to deder the Confuls nofe; which was enough to spair of faving their lives by flight. They make him ftir, that would not have fitten stood still, in acold sweat, upon the Hill-top ftill, though Hannibal had been quiet. It is hearing under them a terrible noise, but not true that a great Captain of France hath any way discovering how things went, be-fined a Paja saffe n'. ft. pas perdu; A wasfeed cause of the great fogg that held all that Country is not three by lost. But by this waste of the Country, Flammins thought his own Air was cleared, and they might plainly dishonour to be much impaired; and there-cern the lamentable flaughter of their felfore advanced towards the Enemy. Many lows. But they staid not to lament it; for it advised him (which had indeed been best) was high time, they thought, to be gone ere to have patience a while, and stay for his they were descryed and attached by the Co-league. But of this he could not abide to enemies horfe. This they should have hear; saying, that he came not to defend thought upon sooner, since they had no mind Arctium, whilst the Carthaginians went to return into the fight. For, described burning down all Italy before them, to the were, and Maharbal sent after them, who gates of Rome. Therefore he took horse, and overtook them by night in a Village, which commanded the Army to march. It is re- he furrounded with his horse: and so they ported as ominous, that one of their Enfigns yielded the next day, rendring up their stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not arms, upon his promise of their lives and

their interest in Sardinia, and be limited in All the Territory of Cortona, as far as to their Spanish Conquests, according to the the lake of Thratymene, was on a light fire; good pleasure of the Romans, whose present which while the Conful thought to quench advantage is more ample, than the condiwith his enemies blood, he surfued Han tions of the late concluded Peace then can nibal fo unadvisedly, that he fell with his Hannibal be as Roman, as themselves; and whole Army into an ambuth cunningly laid make them know, that perfidiousness gainfor him between the Mountains of Certons eth no more in prosperity, than it losethin the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand Ita- | not, contrary to all good advice, have been fian prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his fo halty to fight, before the arrival of ser hands : of which, all that were not Romans, vilius. It sempreneus had been continued in he fet free without ranfom; proteiting, as his charge, it is probable that he would have fakes, and to free them and others from the time, and have fearched all fuspected places. fon, and in fetters, making them learn to eat We may boldly avow it, that by being conthage, yet a contempt of Rome: as if this war gether with the Helvetians and many of the had not concerned the general fafety, but Germans, under the Roman yoke; into which of her oppressions. But an antient reputation wit in the World can do, to inform it self. any Italian Partifans.

matter of importance, when the news was perswaded the imitation. brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and deathin Hetruria; that made himhaften back to the defence of Rome.

fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the Romans to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that all men are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. Flaminius had heard in what a trap Sempronius had been taken up but the year before, this their ill success, and at the danger by this subtile Carthaginian; yet suffered he apparent; which threatned them in more himself to be caught soon after in the same terrible manner, than ever did war since manner. He had also belike forgotten how Rome it self was taken. They were good Sempronius, fearing to be prevented by a Souldiers, and so little accustomed to renew Conful, and ambitious of the fole ho- ceive an overthrow, that when Parrhus had nour of beating Hannibal in battle, without beaten them, once and again, in open field,

he had done before, that it was for their taken his companion with him the record Roman tyranny, that he had undertaken this proper to have fludowed an ambush : both war. But the Romans he kept in straight pri- which this new Conful Flaminius neglected. hard meat. This was a good way to breed tinued in his Government of France ten in the people of Italy, if not a love of Car- years, Cafar brought that mighty Nation, toonly the preferving of her own neck from parts had there been every year a new Licuthe voke of flavery, which her over-ftrong tenant fent, they would hardly, if ever, have enemies would thrust upon her in revenge been subdued. For it is more than the best confirmed by fuccels of many ages, is not within one years compals, of the nature of lost in one or two battles. Wherefore more a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Plais to be done, ere the Carthaginians can get ces, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to profecute a War to the best effect. Our Presently after the battle of Thrasimene, Princes have commonly left their Deputies C. Centronius, with four thousand Roman in Ireland three years; whence by reason of horse, drew near unto the Camp of Hanni- the shortness of that their time, many of bal. He was fent from Ariminum by Servilius them have returned as wife as they went the other Conful, to increase the strength of outjothers have profited more, & yes when Flaminius: but, coming too late, he increathey began but to know the first rudiments fed only the mitadventure. Maharbal was of War, and Government, fitting the Counemployed by Hannibal, to intercept this try, they have been called home, and new tompany; who finding them amazed with Apprentices sent in their places, to the great report which they had newly heard of the prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it great overthrow, charged them, and brake hathever been the old course of the World rathem : and killing almost half of them, drave ther to follow the errours, than to examine the rest unto a high piece of ground, them: and of Princes and Governours to where they came down, and finiply yielded uphold their flothful ignorance, by the old to mercy the next day. Servilius himself examples and policy of other ages and peowas in the mean time skirmishing with the ple; though neither likeness of time, of oc-Gauls; against whom he had wrought no casion, or of any other circumstance, have

## o. VI.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the How Q. Fabius the Roman Diffator, Sought to confume the force of Hannibal, by lingring War. Minutius the Mafter of the Horfe, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting; adventures rashly upon Hannibal, and as like to periff with his Army, and rescued by Fabius.

Reatly were the Romans amazed at help of his companion Scipio, had been re- all Haly was strangely affected with his sucwarded with shame and loss; else would be cess, and held him in admiration, as one that scould work wonders. But Pyrrhus his quar- when the Dictator was newly fet forth rel was not grounded upon hate: he only against Hannibal, word was brought that the fought honour, and fought (asit were, upon Carthaginian Fleet had intercepted all the a bravery; demeaning himself like a cour supply, that was going to Cn. Scipio in Spain. teous enemy. This Carthaginian detested the Against these Carthaginians, Fabius comwhole Roman name; against which he burn- manded servilius the Consul to put to Sea; ed with defire of revenge. Ticinum, Trebia, and taking up all the ships about Rome and and Thrasymene, witnessed his purpose, and Oftia, to pursue them: whilst he, with the his ability; which to withstand, they fled Legions, attended upon Hannibal. Four Lepower was greater than the Confuls, and lies the Conful had conducted thither. scarcely subject unto controll of the whole | With these forthwith he followed apace named by one of the Confuls, at the ap- alwayes lodged himself on high grounds. Maximus; the best reputed man of war in he incamped upon the Adriatick shores; repetit, contrary winds, contrary courses. 2. Fa- Companies, armed his Africans after the bius chose M. Minutius Rusus Master of the manner of the Romans, and made his difhorse: which Officer was customarily as patches from Carthage; presenting his friends, the Dictators Lievtenant; though this Mi- which were in effect, all the Citizens with more upon him.

Livilb 22 were true (as Livie reports it) that the wards Apulia a Northern Province of the fear. And surely this was a time, when Rome wife. He would not engage himself in any was exceedingly diftempered with passion; such enterprise, as should detain him, and whereof that memorable accident, of two give the Romans leave to take breath. All his paired and fortified; the Bridges upon Ritery. To this end he presented Fabius with

unto a remedy that had long been out of gions he had levied in hafte; and from Ariuse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators minum he received the Army which Servi-

City. Wherefore this Officer was seldom after Hannibal; not to fight, but to affront chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no him. And knowing well, what advantage longer time than fix months. He was to be the Numidian horse had over the Romans, he pointment of the Senate: though it were to, and of hard access. Hannibal in the mean that the Consul (if he stood upon his prero- while, pursuing his victory, had ranged gative ) might name whom he pleased. At over all the Country, and used all manner of this time the one Consulbeing dead, and cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially the other too far off, the people took upon to those of the Roman Nation, of whom he them, as having supream authority, to give did put to the sword all that were able to the Dignity by their election, to 2 Fabius bear arms. Passing by Spoletum and Ancona. the City. Novum factum novum consilium ex- freshed his diseased, and over-travelled nutius grew afterwards famous, by taking part of the spoils that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his The first act of Fabius, was the reforma- wounded Souldiers, and(as Polybius hathit) tion of somewhat amiss in matters of Religi- healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by on: a good beginning and commendable, washing their pasterns in old wine: he folhad the Religion been also good. But if it lowed the coast of the Adriatick Sea to-Books of Sphil were consulted, and gave di- Kingdom of Naples spoiling the Murrucini, rection in this business of devotion; then and all other Nations lying in his way. In must we believe that those books of sybil, all this ground that he over-ran, he had not preserved in Rome, were dictated by an evil taken any one City: onely he had affayled spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, spoletum a Collony of the Romans; and findmade in the beginning of this war to Mars, ing it well defended, presently gave it over. should be made anew, and amplysted, as having not been rightly made before: also the force of it spent in a great siege. This the that great Plays should be vowed unto Jn-Protestant Army sound true at Poiltiers, a piter, and a Temple to Venus; with such little before the battle of Moncountour; and other Trumpery. This vehemency of super-their victorious enemies, anon after at stition, proceeds always from vehemency of s. Jean d. Angelp. But Hannibal was more women that suddenly died, when they saw care was to weaken them in force and reputheir Sons return alive from Thrasjmene, may tation: knowing, that when once he was abserve to bear witness, though it be more pro- solute Master of the field, it would not be perly an example of motherly love. The longere the walled Cities would open their Walls and Towers of the City were now regates, without expecting any engine of batvers were broken down, and all care taken battle, as foon as he faw him; and provoked for desence of Rome itself. In this tumult, him with all manner of bravadoes. But

defires battel : and this of Hannibal, was his light footmen, with some slaughter of the both the invading and victorious. Fabius Romans, that began to hold them in fkirtherefore suffered Hannibal to cross the Ap-miss. After this, Hannibal made semblance penines, and to fall upon the most rich and of taking his journey towards Rome: and pleasant Territory of Campania; neither the Dictator coasted him in the wonted could be by any arguments be perswaded, manner , keeping still on high grounds, beto adventure the Roman Army in battel : but tween him and the City, whileft the Carthabeing far too weak in horse, he alwayes kept ginian wasted all the Plains. The Carthagithe Hills and fast grounds. When Hannibal nian took Geryon, an old ruinous Town in faw he could by no means draw this wary Apulia, forfaken by the Inhabitants, which Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, he turned into Barns and Store-houses for and that the Towns flood firm for the Ro- winter, and incamped under the broken mans, whose Legions were in fight, though wall. Other matter of importance he did afar off; he resolved to rest his Army, that none: but the time passed idly, till the Diwas loaden with spoil, in some plentiful and cator was called away to Rome, about some affured place, till the following spring. But business of Religion, and left the Army ere this can be done he must pass along by in charge with Minutias the Master of the the Dictators camp, that hung over his horse. head upon the hills of Collicula, and Casilinum: for other way there was none, by to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully which he might iffue out of that goodly gar- perswaded, that his Romans, in plain field den-countrey, which he had already wast- would be too hard for the Africans and Spaed, into places more abundant of provision neards: by whom if they had been foiled for his wintering. It was by meer errour of already twice or thrice, it was not by open his guide, that he first entred within these force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he straights. For he would have been directed thought himself wife enough to prevent. unto Calfinum, whence he might both affay All the Army was of his opinion; and that the fair City of Capua, which had made him to earneftly, ashe was preferred, by judgefriendly promifes under-hand, and hinder ment of the Souldiers, in worthiness to comthe Romans from coming near it to prevent mand, before the cold and wary Fabius. him. But his guide mif-understood the Car- In this jollity of conceit, he determined to thaginian pronunciation, and conducted him fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forawry another way, from Cassinum to Casili- bidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach "um, whence Fabius hoped that he should of whose command was extream peril of

values would not bite. He knew well the not eafily escape. Now began the wisdom differences between fouldiers bred up, ever of Fabius to grow into credit; as if he in tince they were boyes, in war and in blood, taken the Carthaginians in a trap, and wen resinced and hardened in Spain, made proud the victory without blows. But Hannibal and adventurous by many victories there, reformed this opinion, and freed himfelt, by and of late by some notable acts against the a sleight invention, yet serving the turn as Romans ; and fuch, as had no oftner feen well as a better. In driving the countrey the enemy, than been vanquished by him, he had gotten about two thousand Kine Therefore he attended the Carthaginian fo whose hornes he dressed with dry saggers neer, as he kept him from stragling too far; and setting fire to them in the dark night. and preferved the countrey from utter spoil, caused them to be driven up the hills. The He inured his men by little and little, and spectacle was strange, and therefore terrimade them acquainted with dangers by debes, especially to those that knew it to be grees, and he brought them first to look on a work of a terrible enemy. What it should the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might mean, Fabius could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore Now Minutius had a contrary disposition, kept within his Trenches. They that kept the and was as fiery as Flaminius: taxing Fabius hill tops were horribly affraid, when some with cowardize and fear. But all stirred of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond not this well-advised Commander. For them; and ran therefore halfily away, thinkwife men are no more moved with fuch ing the enemies were behind their backs noise, than with wind bruised out of a blad- and fell among the light-armed Carthaginider. There is nothing of more indifcretion ans, that were no less afraid of them. So Hanand danger, than to purfue misfortune: it nibal, with his whole Army recovered fure wasteth it self sooner by sufferance, than by ground without molestation: where he staid opposition. It is the invading Army that till the next morning, and then brought off

Minutius was glad of this good occasion

death. But the honour of the victory, which | For this piece of service Minutius was he held undoubtedly his own; and the highly effected by the Army, and more love of the Army, and the friends that he had highly by the people at Rome, to whom he at home bearing office in Rome, were enough fent the news, with somewhat greater boast to fave him from the Dictators rods and than truth. It feemed no small matter, that axes, took he the matter never fo hainouf- the Roman Army had recovered fpirit, fo far ly. Harnibal on the other fide was no less forth that it dared to set upon Hannibal in glad, that he should play with a more adhis own Camp; and that in so doing, it came venturous Gametter. Therefore he drew off with the better. Every man therefore near, and to provoke the Komans, sent forth praised the Master of the Horse, that had a third part of his Army to waste the Coun-wrought this great alteration; and confea third part of this Ariny to wantetine of the string real after after and conte-trey. This was boldly done, feeing that quently, they grew as far out of liking with Alimitius incamped hard by him: but it Fabius and his timerous proceedings, thinkfeems, that he now despited those whom he ing that he had not done any thing wilely, had so often vanquished. There was a piece in all his Distatorship: faving that he chose of high ground between the two Camps; such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed which because it would be commodious to in no other thing he had so greatly erred. him that could occupy it, the Carthaginians But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little feized upon by night with two thouland of good luck, as angry with the breach of dicitheir light armed. But Minutius, by plain pline; and fearfull of greater danger, thereforce, wan it from them the next day; and on likely to enfue. He faid that he knew his neerer neighbour.

was, to provide abundantly, not only for he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking his men, but for his Horfes, which he knew it openly, That good fucces iffuing from to be the chief of his strength; that he might keep them in good heart against the next lamity; for as much as the one breda foolish Summer: if besides this he could give the considence, the other taught men to be wa-Romans another blow, it would increase his ry. Against these Sermons every one cryed reputation, incourage his own men, terri- out, especially Metellus, a Tribune of the fee his enemies, and give him leave to for-rage the Countrey at will. Since therefore and do what he lift, without fear of the Di-Minutius did not in many dayes issue forth dator. Is it not enough (saidhe) that this of his Camp, the Carthaginian sent out (as our only Man, chosen to be General, and before) a great number of his men, to fetch | Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity. in harvest. This advantage Minutius wisely hath done no manner of good, but suffered espied, and took. For he led forth his Ar-all Italy to be wasted before his eyes, to the my, and fetting it in order, presented battel utter shame of our State; unless he also hinto Hannibal, that was not in case to accept der others, from doing better than himself it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, can, or dares? It were good to consider and all his light Armature, divided into what he means by this. Into the place of many companies, he sent abroad against the C. Flaminius he hath not chosen any new forragers; who being dispersed over all the Consul all this while; Servilius is sent away fields, and loaden with booty, could make to Sea, I know not why; Hannibal and he, no resistance. This angred Hannibal, that have as it were taken Truce; Hannibal was not able to help them; but worfe did sparing the Dictators grounds: (for Hanit arger him, when the Romans took heart nibal had indeed forborn to spoil some to affail his Trenches. They perceived that grounds of Fabius, that fo he might bring it was meer weakness, which held him with- him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictain his Camp, and therefore were bold to tor giving him leave to spoil all others, withdespile his great name, that could not resist out impeachment. Surely his drift is even their present strength. But in the heat of the this: he would have the War to last businets, Asarubal came from Geryon with long, that he himself might be long in of four thousand men, being informed of the fice, and have the fole Government both of danger, by those that had escaped the Ro- our City and Armies. But this must not be man horse. This imboldened Hannibal to so. It were better, that the Commonalty of iffue forth against the Romans; to whom Rome, which gave him this authority, should received.

intrenching himself thereupon, became their own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Master of the Horse to do so The main business of Hannibal at this time likewise; and make him give account of what nevertheless he did not much hurt, as he had again take it from him and conferr it upon one more worthy. But left, in moving the

people

people hereto, I should seem to do him in-1 jury ; thus far forth I will regard his ho- had dispatched the election of new Connour: I will only propound, That the Malter full, which was M. Atilius Regulus, in the of the Horse may be joined in equal author room of C. Flaminius: and, having finished rity with the Dictator; a thing not more all requifite bufiness, went out of Town. new, nor less necessary, than was the electi- perceiving well, that he should not be able on of this Dictator, by the People.

wife; and fince they had found one ( this test with it; as if herein consisted the proof worthy Master of the Horse) that was bet-ter affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; make good the opinion which had thus adand give him authority, according as was vanced him. Therefore he was no less care-Propounded by the Tribune, that so he ful of getting occasion to fight, than was Famight be encouraged and enabled to bins of avoiding the necessity. That which proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed. Minutius and Hannibal equally defired, could

Before this buffe day of contention, Fabius to withstand the multitude in hindering the Though all men, even the Senators, were decree. The news of Minutius his advanceill perswaded of the course which Fabius ment, was at the camp as soon as Fabius: had taken against Hannibal, as being neither so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colplaulible, nor feeming beneficial at the pre- league, began to treat with him as a Comfent; vet was there none so injurious, as to panion; asking him at the first, in what think that his general intent, and care of forthe thought it best to divide their authe Weal-publique, was less than very ho-thority: whether that one, one day; and nourable. Whereas therefore it was the the other, the next; or each of them fucmanner, in paffing of any act, that some cessively, for some longer time, should comman of credit and authority, besides the mand in chief. Fabius briefly told him, That propounder, should stand up, and formally it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make deliver his approbation, not one of the the Master of the Horse equal to the Dictaprincipal Citizens was found so impudent, tor, but thathe should never be his superias to offer that open disgrace, both unto or: He would therefore divide the Legions a worthy Personage, and (therewithal) with him by lot, according to the custom. unto that dignity, whose great power had Minutius was not herewith greatly pleased; freed the State at several times, from the for that with half of the Army he could not greatest dangers. Only C. Terentins Varro , work such wonders as otherwise he hoped who the year before had been Prætor, to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do was glad of fuch an opportunity, to win his best, and so taking his part of the Army. the favour of the Multitude. This fellow incamped about a mile and a half from the was the son of a Butcher, afterwards be- Dictator. Needful it was (though Livy seems came a Shop-keeper; and being of a con- to tax him for it) that he should so do. For tentious spirit, grew by often brabling, to where two several Commanders are not take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor subordinate one unto another, nor joyned in mens causes. Thus by little and little he Commission, but have each intire and absogot into Office; and role by degrees, lute charge of his own followers, there are being advanced by those, who in hatred of the forces (though belonging to one Prince the Nobility favoured his very baseness. And or State ) not one, but two distinct Arnow he thought the time was come, for him mies: in which regard, one Camp shall not to give a hard push at the Consulship; by hold them both without great inconvenidoing that, which none of the great men, ence. Polybius neither finds fault with this fearing or favouring one another, either distinction, nor yet reports, that Fabius was durst or would. So he made an hot inve- unwilling to command in chief successively dive, not only against Fabius, but against (as the two Consuls used) with Minutius, by all the Nobility; saying, That it grieved turns. He saith that Minutius was very rethem to fee the people do well, and take fractory, and so proud of his advancement. upon them what belonged unto them, in that continually he opposed the Dictator: matter of Government; That they fought who thereupon referred it to his choice, eito humble the Commons by poverty, and ther to divide the forces between them, as is to impoverish them by War; especially by said before, or else to have command over War at their own doors, which would foon all by courfe. This is likely to be true. For confume every poor mans living, and find Natures impatient of subjection, when once him other work to think upon, than matter they have broken loofe from the rigour of of State. Therefore he bade them to be authority, love nothing more, than to con-

Rrrrr

AP. 111.

detain him within the City, or find other, and the Lake, There was he charged unabutinels for him at home, to disappoint him wares, on all sides, (save only where that of the hoseur that he hoped to get in the great Lake of Perufus, permitted neither his war. Wherefore he departed fecretly out of enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from the Town, and meant to take pollellion of them) knowing not which way to turn, or his Office when the day came at Ariminum. make reliftance. So was he flain in the place. The Fathers (to the Senators were called ) accompanied with fifteen thousand dead highly displeased with this, revoked him by carkasses of his Country-men. About fix Emballadors: but he neglected their in thousand of his men, that had the Vantjunction; and haltening to meet with the guard took courage, as for the most part it Carthaeinians, took his way to Arctium. happens, out of desperation: and breaking where he shortly found them.

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miled unto Hannibal great affurance of vi- had returned, and given charge upon the cio: v. Therefore he provoked, with many in- Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they dignities, the veloment nature of the Romight have greatly amended, if not wholly
min; horing thereby to draw him unto altered the fortune of the day. But that viofight ere servilius came with the rest of the lence of their fear, which kindled by neces-Army. All the Country between Fefula and fity had wrought the effects of hardiness. Arctium, he put to fire and fword, even under the Confuls nofe; which was enough to spair of saving their lives by flight. They make him ftir, that would not have litten ftood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, ftill, though Hannibal had been quiet. It is hearing under them a terrible noise, but not true that a great Captain of France hath any way discovering how things went, bestaid; rays gafte n' ft pas perdu; A wasted cause of the great fogg that held all that Country 1 int thereby loft. But by this walte morning. When it grew toward noon, the of the Country, Flammins thought his own Air was cleared, and they might plainly difhonour to be much impaired; and there-cern the lamentable flaughter of their felfore advanced towards the Enemy. Many lows. But they staid not to lament it; for it advised him (which had indeed been best ) was high time, they thought, to be gone ere to have patience a while, and ftay for his they were descryed and attached by the Colleague. But of this he could not abide to enemies horse. This they should have hear; faying, that he came not to defend thought upon sooner, since they had nomind Arctium, whilft the Carthaginians went to return into the fight. For, described they burning down all Italy before them, to the were, and Maharbal sent after them, who gates of Rome. Therefore he took horse, and overtook them by night in a Village, which commanded the Army to march. It is re- he furrounded with his horse: and so they ported as ominous, that one of their Enfigns yielded the next day, rendring up their stuck so fast in the ground, as it could not arms, upon his promise of their lives and be plucked up by the Enfign-bearer. Of liberties. this tale, whether true or falle, Tully makes This accord Hannibal refused to confirm, a jeft, faying, That the cowardly knave Taying, that it was made by Maharbal did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) without sufficient warrant, as wanting his having hardly pitched it into the earth, authority to make it good. Hereinhe taught Neither was the answer of Flaminius (if it them ( yet little to his own honour) what it were true)difagreeable hereto: for he com- was to keep no faith : and fitted them with manded that it should be digged up, if fear a trick of their own. For if it were lawful had made the hands too weak to lift it : unto the Romans, to alter covenants, or asking withall, whether letters were not add unto them what they listed; if the Carcome from the Senate, to hinder his pro- thaginians must be fain to pay certain hunceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he dreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, beand the Senate that did give him cause, are sides their first bargains; as also to renounce likely to repent.

the lake of Thraymene, was on a light fire ; good pleasure of the Romans, whose present which while the Conful thought to quench advantage is more ample, than the condiwith his enemies blood, he surfued Him- tions of the late concluded Peace: then can nibal so unadvisedly, that he fell with his Hannibal be as Roman, as themselves; and whole Army into an ambuth cunningly laid make them know, that perfidiousness gain-

thorow the enemies, that food in their way, The fiery diffrosition of this Conful, pro- recovered the tops of the Mountains. If these

their interest in Sardinia, and be limited in All the Territory of Cortona, as far as to their Spanish Conquests, according to the for him between the Mountains of Certona eth no more in prosperity, than it losethin the change of fortune. Fifteen thousand I. a., not, contrary to all good advice, have been war. But the Romans he kept in straight priconfirmed by fuccels of many ages, is not any Italian Partifans.

Presently after the battle of Thrasimene, C. Centronius, with four thousand Roman horse, drew near unto the Camp of Hannimatter of importance, when the news was perswaded the imitation. brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in Hetruria; that made him haften back to the defence of Rome.

In these passages, it is easie to discern the fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the Romans to the yearly change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certain it is, that ailmen are far better taught by their own errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. Flaminius had heard in what a trap Semproniw had been taken up but the year before,

fan priloners, or thereabout, he had in his to halty to figut, before the arrival of ser hands : of which, all that were not Romins, cilius. Is sempronius had been continued in he fet free without ranfom; proteiting, as hischarge, it is probabl, that he would have he had done before, that it was for their taken his companion with him the econd takes, and to free them and others from the time, and have fearened all fuspected places, Roman tyranny, that he had undertaken this proper to have fluslowed an ambush : both which this new Conful Flaminius neglected. fon, and in fetters, making them learn to eat We may boldly avow it, that by being conhard meat. This was a good way to breed tinued in his Government of Trance ten in the people of Italy, if not a love of Car- years, Cafar brought that mighty Nation, tothace, yet a contempt of Rome: as if this war gether with the Helvetians and many of the had not concerned the general fafety, but Germans, under the Reman yoke; into which only the preferving of her own neck from parts had there been every year a new Lieuthe voke of flavery, which her over-strong tenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have enemies would thrust upon her in revenge been subdued. For it is more than the best ofher oppressions. But an antient reputation wit in the World can do, to inform it self, within one years compais, of the nature of loft in one or two battles. Wherefore more a great Nation, of the Factions, of the Plais to be done, ere the Carthaginians can get ces, Rivers, and of all good helps, whereby to profecute a War to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in Ireland three years 5 whence by reason of the shortness of that their time, many of bal. He was fent from Ariminum by Servilius them have returned as wife as they went the other Consul, to increase the strength of outjothers have profited more, & ver when flaminins: but, coming too late, he increathey began but to know the first rudiments sed only the mitadventure. Maharbal was of War, and Government, fitting the Counemployed by Hannibal, to intercept this try, they have been called home, and new tompany; who finding them amazed with Apprentices sent in their places, to the great report which they had newly heard of the prejudice both of this and that Efface. But it great overthrow, charged them, and brake hathever been the old course of the World rathem: and killing almost half of them, drave ther to follow the errours, than to examine the rest unto a high piece of ground, them: and of Princes and Governours to where they came down, and fimply yielded uphold their flothful ignorance, by the old to mercy the next day. Servilius himself examples and policy of other ages and peowas in the mean time skirmishing with the ple; though neither likeness of time, of oc-Gauls; against whom he had wrought no casion, or of any other circumstance, have

## o. VI.

How Q. Fabius the Roman Diffutor, Sought to conjume the force of Hannibal, by lingring War. Minutius the Mafter of the Horfe, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and successful attempting ; adventures rashly upon Hannibal, and as like to periffs with his Army, and rescued by Fabius.

Reatly were the Romans amazed at Tthis their ill success, and at the danger by this subtile Carthaginian; yet suffered he apparent; which threatned them in more himself to be caught soon after in the same terrible manner, than ever did war since manner. He had also belike forgotten how Rome it self was taken. They were good Sempronius, fearing to be prevented by a Souldiers, and so little accustomed to renew Conful, and ambitious of the fole ho- ceive an overthrow, that when Parrhus had nour of beating Hannibalin battle, without beaten them, once and again, in open field, help of his companion scipio, had been re- all Haly was strangely affected with his sucwarded with shame and loss; else would be cess, and held him in admiration, as one that CHAP. III.

rel was not grounded upon hate: he only against Hannibal, word was brought that the fought honour, and fought (asit were, upon Carthaginian Fleet had intercepted all the a bravery; demeaning himfelf like a cour supply, that was going to Cn. Scipio in Spain. teous enemy. This Carthaginian detested the Against these Carthaginians, Fabius com. whole Roman name; against which he burn- manded servilius the Consul to put to Sea; ed with delire of revenge. Ticinum, Trebia, and taking up all the ships about Rome and and Thruffmene, witnessed his purpose, and oftia, to pursue them: whilst he, with the his ability; which to withstand, they fled Legions, attended upon Hannibal, Four Leunto a remedy that had long been out of gions he had levied in hafte: and from Ariuse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators minum he received the Army which servipower was greater than the Confuls, and lies the Conful had conducted thither. icarcely subject unto controll of the whole | With these forthwith he followed anace City. Wherefore this Officer was feldom after Hannibal; not to fight, but to affront chosen, but upon some extremity, and for no him. And knowing well, what advantage longer time than fix months. He was to be the Numidian horse had over the Romans, he named by one of the Confuls, at the ap-alwayes lodged himself on high grounds, pointment of the Senate: though it were lo, and of hard access. Hannibal in the mean that the Conful (if he stood upon his prero- while, pursuing his victory, had ranged gative ) might name whom he pleased. At over all the Country, and used all manner of this time the one Conful being dead, and cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially the other too far off, the people took upon to those of the Roman Nation, of whom he them, as having supream authority, to give did put to the sword all that were able to the Dignity by their election, to & Fabius bear arms. Passing by Spoletum and Ancona, Maximus; the best reputed man of war in he incamped upon the Adriatick shores; rethe City. Novum factum novum confilium ex- freshed his diseased, and over-travelled petit, contrary winds, contrary courses, Q. Fa- Companies, armed his Africans after the bius chose M. Minutius Rusus Master of the manner of the Romans, and made his difhorse: which Officer was customarily as patches from Carthage; presenting his friends, more upon him.

tion of somewhat amiss in matters of Religi- healed his horse heeles of the scratches, by on: a good beginning and commendable, washing their pasterns in old wine: he fol-Landbaza were true (as Livie reports it) that the wards Apulia a Northern Province of the

scould work wonders. But Pyrrhus his quar- when the Dictator was newly fet forth

the Dictators Lievtenant; though this Mi- which were in effect, all the Citizens with nutius grew afterwards famous, by taking part of the spoils that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his The first act of Fabius, was the reforma- wounded Souldiers, and (as Polybius hathit) had the Religion been also good. But if it lowed the coast of the Adrianick Sea to-Books of sphil were consulted, and gave di- Kingdom of Naples spoiling the Murrucini, rection in this business of devotion; then and all other Nations lying in his way. In must we believe that those books of sybil, all this ground that he over-ran, he had not preserved in Rome, were dictated by an evil taken any one City: onely he had assayed spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, spoletum a Collony of the Romans; and findmade in the beginning of this war to Mars, ling it well defended, presently gave it over. flould be made anew, and amplyfied, as hather the malice of a great Army is broken, and ving not been rightly made before: also the force of it spent in a great siege. This the that great Plays shouldbe vowed unto Ju- Protestant Army found true at Positiers, a piter, and a Temple to Venus; with such little before the battle of Moncountour; and other Trumpery. This vehemency of super-their victorious enemies, anon after at stition, proceeds always from vehemency of s. Jean d'Angely. But Hannibal was more fear. And surely this was a time, when Rome wife. He would not engage himself in any was exceedingly diftempered with passion; such enterprise, as should detain him, and whereof that memorable accident of two give the Romans leave to take breath. All his women that fuddenly died, when they faw care was to weaken them in force and reputheir Sons return alive from Thrasymene, may tation: knowing, that when once he was abserve to bear witness, though it be more profolute Master of the field, it would not be perly an example of motherly love. The longere the walled Cities would open their Walls and Towers of the City were now regates, without expecting any engine of batpaired and fortified; the Bridgesupon Ri- tery. To this end he presented Fabius with vers were broken down, and all care taken battle, as foon as he faw him; and provoked for desence of Rome itself. In this tumult, him with all manner of bravadoes. But values would not bite. He knew well the not eafily cleape. Now began the wildon inferences between fouldiers bred up, ever of Fabius to grow into credit; as if he ireance they were boyes, in war and in blood, taken the Carthaginians in a trap, and wen fit on his tail.

the Dictators camp, that hung over his horse. head upon the hills of collicula, and Casili- Minutius was glad of this good occasion num: for other way there was none, by to shew his own sufficiency. He was fully which he might iffue out of that goodly gar-perswaded, that his Romans, in plain field den-countrey, which he had already wast- would be too hard for the Africans and Spaed, into places more abundant of provision niards: by whom if they had been foiled for his wintering. It was by meer errour of already twice or thrice, it was not by open his guide, that he first entred within these force, but by subtilty and ambush, which he straights. For he would have been directed thought himself wife enough to prevent. unto Calfinum, whence he might both affay All the Army was of his opinion; and that the fair City of Capua, which had made him to earnestly, ashe was preferred, by judgefriendly promises under-hand, and hinder ment of the Souldiers, in worthiness to comthe Romans from coming near it to prevent mand, before the cold and wary Fabius. him. But his guide mis-understood the Car- In this jollity of conceit, he determined to thaginian pronunciation, and conducted him fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forawry another way, from Callinum to Calili- bidden so to do, by the Dictator; the breach

regard and hardened in Spain, made proud the victory without blows. But Hannibal and adventurous by many victories there, reformed this opinion, and freed himfelt, by and of late by some notable acts against the a sleight invention, yet serving the turn us Romans; and fuch, as had no oftner feen well as a better. In driving the countrey the enemy, than been vanquished by him. he had gotten about two thousand Kine Therefore he attended the Carthaginian fo whose hornes he drested with dry faggots ner, as he kept him from stragling too far s and setting the to them in the dark mght. and preserved the countrey from utter spoil. caused them to be driven up the hills. The He inured his men by little and little, and spectacle was strange, and therefore terrimade them acquainted with dangers by de ble; especially to those that knew it to be grees, and he brought them first to look on a work of a terrible enemy. What it should the Lyon afar off, that in the end he might mean, Fabius could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore Now Minutius had a contrary disposition, kept within his Trenches. They that kept the and was as fiery as Flaminius: taxing Fabius hill tops were horribly affraid, when some with cowardize and fear. But all stirred of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond not this well-advised Commander. For them ; and ran therefore halfily away, thinkwife men are no more moved with fuch ing the enemies were behind their backs; noise, than with wind bruised out of a blad- and fell among the light-armed Carthagimder. There is nothing of more indifcretion ans, that were no less afraid of them. So Hanand danger, than to purfue misfortune: it nibal, with his whole Army recovered fure wastethit self sooner by sufferance, than by ground without molestation: where he staid opposition. It is the invading Army that till the next morning, and then brought off defires battel : and this of Hannibal, was his light footmen, with some slaughter of the both the invading and victorious. Fabius Romans, that began to hold them in ikirtherefore suffered Hannibal to cross the Ap- mish. After this, Hannibal made semblance penines, and to fall upon the most rich and of taking his journey towards Rome: and pleasant Territory of Campania; neither the Dictator coasted him in the wonted could he by any arguments be perswaded, manner, keeping still on high grounds, betoadventure the Roman Army in battel : but tween him and the City, whileft the Carthabeing far too weak in horse, he alwayes kept ginian wasted all the Plains. The Carthagithe Hills and fast grounds. When Hannibal nian took Geryon, an old ruinous Town in faw he could by no means draw this wary Apulia, forfaken by the Inhabitants, which Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, he turned into Barns and Store-houses for and that the Towns stood firm for the Ro- winter, and incamped under the broken mans, whose Legions were in fight, though wall. Other matter of importance he did afar off; he resolved to rest his Army, that none: but the time passed idly, till the Diwas loaden with spoil, in some plentiful and ctator was called away to Rome, about some affured place, till the following spring. But business of Religion, and left the Army ere this can be done he must pass along by in charge with Minutias the Master of the

"um, whence Fabius hoped that he should of whose command was extream peril of

death, but the honour of the victory, which | he held undoubtedly his own; and the highly effected by the Army, and more leve of the Army, and the friends that he had highly by the people at Rome, to whom he at home bearing office in Figure, were enough fent the news, with somewhat greater boats to fave him from the Dictators rods and than truth. It feemed no small matter, that axes, took he the matter never to hainouf-the Roman Army had recovered spirit, fofar by. Harnikal on the other fide was no lefs forth that it dated to fet upon Hamibal in glad, that he should play with a more ad- his own Camp 5 and that in fo doing, it came venturous Gametter. Therefore he drew off with the better. Every man therefore near, and to provoke the Komans, fent forth praifed the Master of the Horse, that had a third part of his Army to waste the Coun-wrought this great alteration; and confetrev. This was boldly done, feeing that quently, they grew as far out of liking with Alinning incamped hard by him: but it Fabins and his timerous proceedings, thinkfreems, that he now despited those whom he ing that he had not done any thing wilely, had so often vanquished. There was a piece in all his Dictatorship: faving that he chose of high ground between the two Camps; such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed which because it would be commodious to in no other thing he had so greatly erred. him that could occupy it, the Carthaginians But the Dictator was not so joyful of a little feized upon by night with two thousand of good luck, as angry with the breach of discitheir light armed. But Minutius, by plain pline; and fearfull of greater danger, thereforce, wan it from them the next day; and on likely to enfue. He said that he know his

neerer neighbour. was, to provide abundantly, not only for he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking his men, but for his Horses, which he knew it openly, That good success issuing from bad counsel, was more to be seared, than cakeep them in good heart against the next lamity; for as much as the one bred a foolish Summer: if besides this he could give the considence, the other taught men to be wa-Komans another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his own men, terriout, especially Metellus, a Tribune of the reputation, incoming any of the series and give him leave to for-fie his enemies, and give him leave to for-rage the Countrey at will. Since therefore and do what he lift, without fear of the Di-himutius did not in many dayes if live forth of his Camp, the Carthaginian fent out (as our only Man, chosen to be General, and before) a great number of his men, to fetch Lord of the Town, in our greatest necessity, in harvest. This advantage Minutius wisely hath done no manner of good, but suffered espied, and took. For heled forth his Ar-my, and setting it in order, presented battel utter shame of our State; unless he also hinto Hannibal, that was not in case to accept der others, from doing better than himself it, even at his own Trenches. His horses, can, or dares? It were good to consider and all his light Armature, divided into what he means by this. Into the place of many companies, he sent abroad against the C. Flaminius he hath not chosen any new forragers; who being dispersed over all the Consul all this while; Servilius is sent away fields, and loaden with booty, could make to Sea, I know not why; Hannibal and he, no refistance. This angred Hannibal, that have as it were taken Truce; Hannibal was not able to help them; but worfe did sparing the Dicators grounds: (for Hanit arger him, when the Romans took heart mibal had indeed forborn to spoil some to afail his Trenches. They perceived that grounds of Fabius, that so he might bring it was meer weakness, which held him with- him into envy and suspicion) and the Dictain his Camp, and therefore were bold to tor giving him leave to spoil all others, withdespite his great name, that could not resist out impeachment. Surely his drift is even their present strength. But in the heat of the this: he would have the War to last bulinets, Afdrubal came from Geryon with long, that he himfelf might be long in offour shouland men, being informed of the fice, and have the fole Government both of danger, by those that had escaped the Ro- our City and Armies. But this must not be man horse. This imboldened Hannibal to so. It were better, that the Commonalty of iffice forth against the Romans; to whom Rome, which gave him this authority, should received.

For this piece of fervice Minutius was intrenching himself thereupon, became their own place, and what was to be done: that he would teach the Master of the Horse to do so The main business of Hannibal at this time likewise; and make him give account of what nevertheless he cid not much hurt, as he had again take it from him and conferr it upon one more worthy. But left, in moving the

people

neople hereto, I should seem to do him in-1 on of this Dictator, by the People.

worthy Master of the Horse ) that was bet- and assurance of their liberty. Proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed. Minutius and Hannibal equally defired, could

Before this buffe day of contention, Fabius iury; thus far forth I will regard his ho- had dispatched the election of new Connour: I will only propound, That the Malter full, which was M. Allins Regulus, in the of the Horse may be joined in equal authoroom of C. Flaminius: and, having finished rity with the Dictator; a thing not more all requifite bufiness, went out of Town new nor less necessary, than was the electi- perceiving well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude in hindering the Though all men, even the Senators, were decree. The news of Minutius his advanceill perswaded of the course which Fabius ment, was at the camp as soon as Fabius; had taken against Hannibal, as being neither to that his old Lieutenant, and new Colplaufible, nor feeming beneficial at the pre- league, began to treat with him as a Comfent; vet was there none so injurious, as to panion; asking him at the first, in what think that his general intent, and care of forthe thought it best to divide their authe Weal-publique, was less than very ho- thority: whether that one, one day; and nourable. Whereas therefore it was the the other, the next; or each of them fucmanner, in passing of any act, that some cessively, for some longer time, should comman of credit and authority, besides the mand in chief. Fabius briefly told him, That propounder, should stand up, and formally it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make deliver his approbation, not one of the the Master of the Horse equal to the Dictaprincipal Citizens was found so impudent, tor, but that he should never be his superias to offer that open disgrace, both unto or: He would therefore divide the Legions a worthy Personage, and (therewithal) with him by lot, according to the custom. unto that dignity, whose great power had Minutius was not herewith greatly pleased; freed the State at several times, from the for that with half of the Army he could not greatest dangers. Only C. Terentins Varro , work such wonders as otherwise he hoped who the year before had been Prætor, to accomplish. Nevertheless he meant to do was glad of such an opportunity, to win his best, and so taking his part of the Army, the favour of the Multitude. This fellow incamped about a mile and a half from the was the son of a Butcher, afterwards be-Dictator. Needful it was (though Livy seems came a Shop-keeper; and being of a con- to tax him for it) that he should so do. For tentious spirit, grew by often brabling, to where two several Commanders are not take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poor subordinate one unto another, nor joyned in mens causes. Thus by little and little he Commission, but have each intire and absogot into Office; and rose by degrees, lute charge of his own followers, there are being advanced by those, who in hatred of the forces (though belonging to one Prince the Nobility favoured his very baseness. And or State ) not one, but two distinct Arnow he thought the time was come, for him mies: in which regard, one Camp shall not to give a hard push at the Consulship; by hold them both without great inconvenidoing that, which none of the great men, ence. Polybius neither finds fault with this fearing or favouring one another, either distinction, nor yet reports, that Fabius was durst or would. So he made an hot inve-unwilling to command in chief successively dive, not only against Fabius, but against (as the two Consuls used) with Minutius, by all the Nobility; faying, That it grieved turns. He faith that Minutius was very rethem to see the people do well, and take fractory, and so proud of his advancement, upon them what belonged unto them, in that continually he opposed the Dictator: matter of Government; That they fought who thereupon referred it to his choice, eito humble the Commons by poverty, and ther to divide the forces between them, as is to impoverish them by War; especially by said before, or else to have command over War at their own doors, which would foon all by course. This is likely to be true. For confume every poor mans living, and find Natures impatient of subjection, when once him other work to think upon, than matter they have broken loofe from the rigour of of State. Therefore he bade them to be authority, love nothing more, than to conwife; and fince they had found one ( this test with it; as if herein confisted the proof

ter affected unto them and his Countrey, to It behoved the Master of the horse to reward him according to his good deferts; make good the opinion which had thus adand give him authority, according as was vanced him. Therefore he was no less carepropounded by the Tribune, that so he ful of getting occasion to fight, than was Famight be encouraged and enabled to bins of avoiding the necessity. That which

to hide two or three hundred men. In thefe

lurking places Hannibal bestowed five hun-

them fo close together, that they could not

be discovered. But left by any misadventure

they should be found out, and buried in their

holes; he made offer betimes in the morning,

to feize upon a piece of ground that lay on

the other hand : whereby he drew the eyes

and the thoughts of the Romans, from their

more needful care, to bufiness little concern-

ing them. Like unto this was the occasion,

which not long before had provoked Minu-

like fort as he got it; he fent first his light ar-

Conful, the war would never be brought to thers, against the vertue (as it was believed) an end; That fuch of the Plebeians as had of this mean, but worthy man, feemed fo long fince been advanced to honour by the manifest, that when the People had urged people, were grown as proud as the old the business to dispatch, only Terestiss was Nobility, and contemned the meaner fort, chosen Consul: in whose hand it was left, to

to Tens or Decuries; and governed fucceffive- These new Consuls, Varro and Paulus omit ly, by the space of five dayes, one Decurie ted no part of their diligence in preparing after another in order: yet so, that the Li- for the war; wherein though Varro made Hors, or Virgers, carrying the Fasces, or bun-the greater noise, by telling what wonders dles of rods and axes, waited only upon the he would work, and that he would ask no chief of them with those Ensigns of power. more, than once to have a fight of Hannibal. This custome was retained in times of the whom he promised to vanquish the very first Confuls; and put in use, when by death, or day; yet the providence and care of Pauany casualty, there wanted ordinary Magi- lus travelled more earnestly toward the acstrates of the old year, to substitute new for complishment of that, whereof his fellow the year following. The advantage of the vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Fathers herein was, that if the election were Confuls Servilius and Atilius, desiring them not like to go as they would have it, there to abstain from hazard of the main chances needed no more, than to flip five dayes, and but nevertheless, to ply the Carthaginians then was all to begin anew: by which in- with daily skirmish, and weaken them by terruption, the heat of the multitude was degrees: that when he and his Colleague commonly well affwaged. Upon such change should take the field, with the great Army on, it was also lawful unto new Petitioners, find the four old Legions well accustomed to fue for the Magistracies that lay void: to the enemy, and the enemy well weakned

ever fince themselves were freed from con- hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon tempt of the more mighty; That therefore all the former Petitioners gave over. For ir was needful to choose a Consul, who whereas men of ordinary mark had stood thould be altogether a Plebeian, a meer new for the place before, it was now thought man, one that could boast of nothing but meet, that, both, to supply the defect, and to the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hotto keep it, by well deferving of them heated man, one of great fufficiency and re-By fuch perswasions the Multitude was putation, should be joyned with him, as both won, to be wholly for Terentius: to the Companion and Oppolite. So L. A milius Paugreat vexation of the Nobles, who could lus, he who a few years fince had overcome not endure to fee a man railed for none the Illyrians, and chafed Demetrius Pharius out other vertue, than his detracting from their of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility honour; and therefore opposed him with to stand for the place; which he easily oball their might. To hinder the defire of the tained, having no Competitor. It was not the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, defire of this honourable man, to trouble that neither of the two present Consuls himself any more in such great business of could well be spared from attending upon the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding Hannibal, to hold the Election. Wherefore his late good service, He, and M. Livius that a Dictator was named for that purpose; and had been his companion in office, were afhe again deposed (either as was pretend-terwards injuriously vexed by the people, ed) for some religious impediment, or be- and called unto judgement : wherein Livius cause the Fathers defired an Inter-regnum, was condemned, and Amilius hardly escapwherein they might better hope to prevail ed. But of this injustice they shall put the in choice of the new Consuls. This Inter- Romans well in mind each of them in his sereerum took name and being in Rome, at the cond Consulship wherein they shall honoudeath of Romulus: and was in use at the rably approve their worth; the one of them death of other Kings. The order of it was nobly dying, in the most grievous loss; the this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the other bravely winning, in the most happy vifirst were an hundred, parted themselves in- ctory that ever befell that Common-wealth.

of those, that were Presidents of the electi- which they were now levying, they might which otherwise was not allowed; but a to their hands. He was also very strict in time limited, wherein they should publickly his Musters, wherein the whole Senate affist declare themselves to seek those offices. But him so carefully, as if in this Action they no device would ferve against the general meant to refute the slanders, with which favour born unto Terentius. One Inter-reg- Terentius and his adherents had burdened num passed over, and the malice of the Fa- them. What number of men they raised, it is

not long be wanting. The countrey lying be- (fore in all hafte, he returned home by sicil. tween them was open and bare, yet as fit for and (being fo required by the Dictators letambush, as could be wished: for that the ters) repaired to the camp, with his fellowfides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many Conful, where they took charge of the Army. and fracious caves; able fome one of them,

## ø. VII.

dred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting The Roman people, desirous to finish the man quickly, choose a rails and unworthy Conful Great forces levied against Hannibal. Hannibal taketh the Romans provisions in the Caftle of Canna. The new Confuls fet forth against Hannibal.

Ith little pleasure did they of the poorer fort in Rome hear the great commendations that were given to Fabine by the principal Citizens. He had indeed tius to adventure upon the Carthaginians. preserved them from receiving a great over-Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in throw; but had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tendmature, then his horse, and at length (seeing ing. Rather it might seem that the reputatithat Hannibal seconded his own troops with on of this his one worthy act, was likely to fresh companies) he followed in person with countenance the slow proceedings or perthe Legions. He was foon caught, and fo hot- haps the cowardize ( if it were no worfe) of ly charged on all fides, that he knew neither those that followed him, in protracting the how to make refistance, nor any safe retrait. work to a great length, Else, what meant the In this dangerous case, whilst the Romans Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contradefended themselves losing many, and those ry to all former custome; fince it was never of their best men: Fabius drew near in very heard before, that any Roman General had good order to relieve them. For this old willingly suffered the time of his command Captain, perceiving afar off, into what ex- to run away without any performace: as tremity his new Colleague had rashly lif it were honourable to do just nothing? thrown himself & his followers, did the office Thus they suspected they knew not what; of a good Citizen; and regarding more the and were ready every man to discharge the benefit of his Countrey, than the difgrace grief and anger of his own private loss, upon which he had wrongfully sustained, sought the ill administration of the publick.

rather to approve himself by hasting to do This affection of the people, was very good, than by suffering his enemy to feel helpful to C. Terentius Varro, in his suit for the the reward of doing ill. Upon Fabius his ap- Confulfhip. It behoved him to ftrike, whilf proach, Hannibal retired: fearing to be well the Iron was hot: his own worth being wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he little or none; and his credit over-weak, to termed the Dictator ) that had hung folong make way into that high Dignity. But the on the Hill-tops. Minutius forthwith sub- Commonalty were then in such a mood, as mitted himself to Fabine; by whose benefit abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein he confessed his life to have been faved. So to help, he had a kinsman, Bibius Herennifrom this time forwards the war proceeded us, then Tribune of the People; who spacoldly, as the Dictator would have it; both red not touse the liberty of his place, in faywhilest his Office lasted which was not long, ing what he listed, without all regard of and likewise afterwards, when he delivered truth, or modesty. This bold Orator stuck up his charge unto the Confuls, that follow- not to affirm, that Hannibal was drawn into Italy, and suffered therein to range at his Servilius the Conful had pursued in vain pleasure, by the Noblemen; That Minutius a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came never indeed with his two Legions, was likely to within kenning. He ran along all the coast of have been overthrown, and was rescued by Italy; took hostages of the Sardinians and Fabius with the other two: but, had all Corficans; passed over into Africk; and there been joyned together, what they might have negligently falling to spoil the countrey, was done, it was apparent, by the victory of Mishamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the nutius when he commanded over all as Maloss of 1000 men. Weighing anchor there- fter of the horse; That without a Plebeian

ed his instructions.

uncertain. Fourfeore thousand foot, at the had with him; wherein their fuccess, for leaft, and fix thousand horse, they were the most part, was rather good than great ftrong in the field, when the day came, Yet one mischance not only blemished the

ing upon Hansibal. relieved the Carthaginians, when they were that time, made his abode at Geryon; where diffredied by their own Mercenaries; fo did lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans he now fend help to Rome, a thousand Arto be near him, lodged about Cannussium: chers, and Slingers, with great quantity of and, that they might not be driven to turn Wheat, Barly, and other Provisions: fear afide for all necessaries, to the loss of good ing nothing more, than that one of these apportunities, they bestowed much offer two mighty Cities should deltroy the other, provisions in the Castle of Canna: for the whereby his own estate would fall to ruine, Town was razed the year before. This place that stood upright, by having them some-what evenly ballanced. He gave them also nished himself, but compelled his enemies counted, to fend forces into Africa: if (per- to want many needfull things, unless they haps) by that means they might divert the would be troubled with far carriage. Bewar from home. His gifts, and good advice fides this, and more to his advantage, he were lovingly accepted; and inftructions enabled himfelf to abide in that open Counwere given to Titus Odacilius the Prætor, try, fit for the service of his Horse, longer which was to go into Sicil, that he should than the Romans, having so many mouths accordingly pass over into Africk, if he to feed, could well endure to tarry; withfound it expedient.

at this time, do much more ferve to declare the Senate, letting them understand how their puissance, than any, though larger acthis Piece taken by Hannibal, would ferve compt by Poll, of such as were not easily him to command no small part of the Coundrawn into the field, and fitted for service. try adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a and that which went into Sicil, twenty five battel with the Cartbaginian, rather than thousand, with L. Posthumius Albinus, ano- suffer him thus to take root in the ground of ther of the Pixtors, went against the Gauls, Italy. Nevertheless answer was returned to reclaim that Province, which the passage unto Servilius, that he should have patience of Hannibal through it, had taken from yet awhile: for that the Confuls would fent itrength might well embolden them to do as need required. do as they did. They fent Embassadours to Thilip, the Son of Demetrius, King of Mace- and the season of the year commodious to don . requiring him to deliver into their take the field, the two Confuls, with their hands Demetrius Ibarius: who, having Army, set forth against Hannibal. This was been their subject, and rebell, was sied into alwayes done with great solemnity: especihis Kingdom. They also fent to the Illyrians, ally, when soever they went forth to war of payment was aiready past. What answer Sacrifices, and solemn Vows, were madeun-

necessity of a battel. Many skirmishes they Country remarkable service. Terentins his

which t arro had so greatly defired, of look-honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the misery Hiero the old King of syracuje, as he had following. Hannibal for the most part of out offering battel, which he most desired. The great Levies, which the Romans made Of this mishap when Servilius had informed them. The contemplation of this their pre- lihortly be there, with a Power sufficient to

When all things were ready in the City, to demand their tribute; whereof the day against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For they received, it is not known: only this is to Jupiter, and the rest of their gods, for known, that Demetrius Pharins was not fent good fuccefs and Victory: which being per-unto them; and that Philip henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their an honourable train of the principal mengood. As for the Illyrian money, by the (not only such as were of their kindred and make, it will appear, that the one half of it Voluntaries for love, but a great number of (how little focver) would have been wel- others that meant to abide at home,) were come to Rome, and accepted, without any accompanied on their way, and dismissed cavil about forfeiture for non-payment of the with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole While ft the City was busied in these cares, Nobility, waited upon Emilius Paulus, as the old Confuls lay as near unto Hannibal as the only Man, whom they thought either collibly they could without incurring the worthy of this honour, or likely to do his

Attendants

lice of his own Citizens.

## o. VIII.

latt years Confuls, requesting it because of vantage was theirs, why did he make them. his age and weakness: servilius they re- forbear to use it: Thus thought the comtained with them, as their affistant. The mon Souldier: and thus also thought the first thing that Amilius thought necessary, Consul Terentius; who was no less popular was, to hearten his Souldiers with good in the Camp, than he had been in the City. words; who out of their bad fuccels hi- Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never therto, had gathered more cause of fear, more, than when the Event is of most imthan of courage. He willed them to con-portance. All men longed, both at Rome, palt against the Carthaginians, and other doubtfull passions of Hope and Fear: there-Rome at the present was able to set forth. formance. He told them in what danger their Country | Thus while the Romans think themselves flood; how the state and safety thereof to have the better of their enemies, they fall refted upon their hands; using some such into an inconvenience, than which few are other common matter of perswasion. But more dangerous; Dissension of their chief the most effectual part of this Oration, was, Commanders. Varro would fight: Emilius That Hannibal with this his terrible Army, would fo too, but said that it was not yet had not yet obtained one victory by plain time; why? because the enemy must shortforce and valour: but that only by deceit ly dislodge, and remove hence, into places and ambush he had stoln the honour, which less fit for his horse. But shall the Romans he had gotten at Trebia and Thrasymene, wait, till Hannibal, having eaten up his last Herewithall he taxed the inconfiderate years provisions, return into Campania to talhnels of Sempronius and Flaminius; of gather a second Harvelt? This would (faid whom the one taw not his enemies, untill Varro) favour too much of 2. Fabius: And he was furrounded by them; the other your haste (faid Paulus) doth favour no scarce saw them, when they struck off his less of C. Flaminius. Their deeds were like head, by reason of the thick mist, through their words: for they commanded by the darkness whereof he went groping turns interchangeably every day. Emi-

Attendants were the whole multitude of the Finally declaring what advantages they roorer Citizens; a troop no less in great- had against the Lnemy; and how destitute res, than the other was in dignity. At the the Enemy was of those helps, by which he ners, commente strong, Fabius the late Dictator, is faid to had hitherto prevailed against them; he have exhorted the Conful Paulus, with ma- exhorted them to play the men, and do ny grave words, to shew his magnanimity, their best. They were easily perswaded: not only in dealing with the Carthaginians, for the contemplation of their own mulbut (which he thought harder) in bridling titude, and confidence of the Roman verthe outragious folly of his fellow-Conful. tue in matter of Arms, gave them cause to The answer of Paulus, was, That he meant think, that under a Captain so well expenot again to run into danger of condemna- rienced, and every way sufficient, as Amition by offending the multitude; that he lins was known to be, they should easily would do his best for his Country, but if he prevail against the Carthaginians, that faw his best were likely to be ill taken, he came short of them in all things else, save would think it less rashness to adventure up- craft; which would not alwayes thrive. on the Enemies fword, than upon the ma- But in one thing they mistook the meaning of their General. It was his defire that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient feason. But they, having pre-Diffension between the two Roman Confuls. conceived a victory, thought all delayes to Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon be impediments: and thereby fought to rob mans pressed him to fight. The great bat-dod conduct. They remembred what tail of Canna. themselves affected with the vulgar defire. Hese new Generals, arriving at the of ending the war quickly; wherein since These new Generals, arriving at the jot enough the war young of Camp, dismissed M. Atilius, one of the Emilius had acknowledged, that the additional beautiful beautiful was theirs, why did he make them, fider not only now, their victories in time and in the Army, to be freed from the more warlike Nations than were the Car- fore Terentius, who hastened their defire to thaginians, but even their own great num- effect, was likely to win more thanks, than bers: which were no less than all that should his Colleague, though greater in per-

(as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. lins lodged six miles from Hannibal, where

CHAP. III

uncertain. Fourfeore thousand foot, at the had with him; wherein their fuccess, for leaft, and fix thousand horse, they were the most part, was rather good than great. ftrong in the field, when the day came, Yet one mischance not only blemished the which t arm had to greatly defired, of look-honour of their other fervices, but was ining upon Hansibal.

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relieved the Carthaginians, when they were that time, made his abode at Goryon; where diffrested by their own Mercenaries; fo did lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans he now fend help to Rome, a thouland Art to be near him, lodged about Cannufium: chers, and Slingers, with great quantity of and, that they might not be driven to turn Wheat, Barly, and other Provisions: tear afide for all necessaries, to the loss of good ing nothing more, than that one of these opportunities, they bestowed much of their two mighty Cities thould deltroy the other, provisions in the Castle of Canne: for the whereby his own estate would fall to ruine, Town was razed the year before. This place that stood upright, by having them some- Hannibal wan, and thereby not only surwhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also nished himself, but compelled his enemies counted, to fend forces into Africa: if (per- to want many needfull things, unless they hars) by that means they might divert the would be troubled with far carriage. Bewar from home. His gifts, and good advice fides this, and more to his advantage, he were lovingly accepted; and instructions enabled himself to abide in that open Connwere given to Titus Odacilius the Prætor, try, fit for the service of his Horse, longer which was to go into Sicil, that he should than the Romans, having so many mouths accordingly pass over into Africk, if he to feed, could well endure to tarry; withfound it expedient.

at this time, do much more ferve to declare the Senate, letting them understand how their putifiance, than any, though larger ac- this Piece taken by Hannibal, would ferve compt by Poll, of such as were not easily him to command no small part of the Coundrawn into the field, and fitted for fervice. try adjacent; it then feemed needfull, even For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, unto the Fathers themselves, to adventure a and that which went into Sicil, twenty five battel with the Cartbaginian, rather than thousand, with L. Posthumius Albinus, ano- suffer him thus to take root in the ground of ther of the Pixtors, went against the Gauls, Italy. Nevertheless answer was returned to reclaim that Province, which the paffage unto Servilius, that he should have patience of Hannibal through it, had taken from yet awhile: for that the Confuls would them. The contemplation of this their pre- lihortly be there, with a Power sufficient to fent it ength might well embolden them to do as need required. do as they did. They fent Embassiadours to When all things were ready in the City, Thilip, the Son of Demetrius, King of Mace- and the feason of the year commodious to don . requiring him to deliver into their take the field, the two Confuls, with their hands Demetrius Ibarius: who, having Army, set forth against Hannibal. This was been their subject, and rebell, was sled into alwayes done with great solemnity: especihis Kingdom. They also fent to the Illyrians, ally, when soever they went forth to war to demand their tribute; whereof the day against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For of payment was aiready past. What answer Sacrifices, and solemn Vows, were made unthey received, it is not known: only this is to Jupiter, and the rest of their gods, for known, that Demetrius Tharins was not fent good fuccess and Victory: which being perunto them; and that Philip henceforth be- formed, the Generals in warlike attire, with good. As for the Illyrian money, by the (not only such as were of their kindred and (how little focyer) would have been wel- others that meant to abide at home,) were come to Rome, and accepted, without any accompanied on their way, and dismissed cavil about forfeiture for non-payment of the | with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. whole.

deed the occasion to draw on the misery there the old King of syranje, as he had following. Hannibal for the most part of out offering battel, which he most desired. The great Levies, which the Romans made Of this milhap when Servilius had informed

gan to have an eye upon them, little to their an honourable train of the principal men, inifis that they were driven foon after to alliance, or followed them to the war, as make, it will appear, that the one half of it Voluntaries for love, but a great number of At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole While It the City was busied in these cares, Nobility, waited upon Emilius Paulus, as the old Confuls lay as near unto Hannibal as the only Man, whom they thought either possibly they could without incurring the worthy of this honour, or likely to do his necessity of a battel. Many skirmishes they Country remarkable service. Terentins his

Attendants

Attendants were the whole multitude of the Finally declaring what advantages they lice of his own Citizens.

# ø. VIII.

Rome at the present was able to set forth. formance. He told them in what danger their Country | Thus while the Romans think themselves

rooter Citizens; a troop no less in great- had against the 1 nemy; and how destitute nels, than the other was in dignity. At the the Enemy was of those helps, by which he parting, Fabius the late Dictator, is faid to had hitherto prevailed against them; he have exhorted the Conful Paulus, with majexhorted them to play the men, and do ny grave words, to shew his magnanimity, their best. They were easily perswaded: not only in dealing with the Carthaginians, for the contemplation of their own mulbut (which he thought harder) in bridling titude, and confidence of the Roman verthe outragious folly of his fellow-Conful. tue in matter of Arms, gave them cause to The answer of Paulus, was, That he meant think, that under a Captain to well expenot again to run into danger of condemna- rienced, and every way fufficient, as Amition by offending the multitude; that he lins was known to be, they should easily would do his best for his Country, but if he prevail against the Carthaginians, that faw his best were likely to be ill taken, he came short of them in all things else, save would think it less rashness to adventure up- craft; which would not alwayes thrive. on the Enemies fword, than upon the ma- But in one thing they mistook the meaning of their General. It was his defire that they should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a convenient feason. But they, having pre-Diffention between the two Roman Confuls. conceived a victory, thought all delayes to Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon be impediments: and thereby fought to rob point of flying out of Italy, when the Ro- themselves of their best help; which was, mans preffed him to fight. The great bat-tail of Canna.

Good conduct. They remembred what tail of Canna. talk they had heard at Rome: and were themselves affected with the vulgar defire, Hele new Generals, arriving at the of ending the war quickly; wherein fince Camp, dismissed M. Atilius, one of the Emilius had acknowledged, that the ad-last years Consuls, requesting it because of vantage was theirs, why did he make them, his age and weakness: Servilius they re- forbear to use it: Thus thought the comtained with them, as their affiftant. The mon Souldier: and thus also thought the first thing that Emilius thought necessary, Consul Terentius; who was no less popular was, to hearten his Souldiers with good in the Camp, than he had been in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never therto, had gathered more cause of fear, more, than when the Event is of most imthan of courage. He willed them to con-portance. All men longed, both at Rome, fider not only now, their victories in time and in the Army, to be freed from the past against the Carthaginians, and other doubtfull passions of Hope and Fear: theremore warlike Nations than were the Car- fore Terentius, who hastened their desire to thaginians, but even their own great num- effect, was likely to win more thanks, than bers: which were no less than all that should his Colleague, though greater in per-

stood; how the state and safety thereof to have the better of their enemies, they fall refted upon their hands; using some such into an inconvenience, than which few are other common matter of perswasion. But more dangerous; Dissension of their chief the most effectual part of this Oration, was, Commanders. Varro would fight: Emilius That Hannibal with this his terrible Army, would so too, but said that it was not yet had not yet obtained one victory by plain time; why? because the enemy must shortforce and valour: but that only by deceit ly dislodge, and remove hence, into places and ambush he had stoln the honour, which less fit for his horse. But shall the Romans he had gotten at Trebia and Thrasymene. wait, till Hannibal, having eaten up his last Herewithall he taxed the inconfiderate years provisions, return into Campania to tallness of Sempronius and Flaminius; of gather a second Harvest? This would (hid whom the one saw not his enemies, untill Varro) savour too much of 2. Fabius: And he was furrounded by them; the other your haste (said Paulus) doth savour no scarce saw them, when they struck off his less of C. Flaminius. Their deeds were like head, by reason of the thick mist, through their words: for they commanded by the darkness whereof he went groping turns interchangeably every day. Emi-(as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. lins lodged six miles from Hannibal, where

the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither | end, that both his unfaithfull Souldiers the ground was some would take pains to might find the more difficulty in running come, he doubted not to fend them away from him; and that his hunger might be in fuch hafte, as they should not leave running till they were out o. Hasp. But they whilest he was about to put this device in excame not. Terentius therefore the next day ecution, the Romans prefiled him fo hard descended into the Plains; his Colleague that they even forced him to that, which he holding him, and befeeching him to Itay. most defired, even to fight a battel upon Neverthele's, he fate down close by Hamii open Champain ground: wherein he was balswho, as an unbidden guest, gave him but victorious. It was not uncommendable in a rude welcome and entertainment. The Livie, to speak the best of his own Citi-Carthaginian Horse, and light armature, fell zens; and, where they did ill, to say, That. upon the Reman Vant-courrers; and put without their own great folly, they had the whole Army in tumult, whilest it was done passing well. Further also he may be vet in march: but they were beaten off, not excused; as writing only by report. For without los, for that the Roman had among thus he laith, Hannibal de finga in Gallan their Velites, fome troops weightily armed, [dicitur] agitasse; Hannibal is said to have whereas the Carthaginians had none. The bethought himself of stying into Gaul: where day following, Amilius, who could not hand he makes it no more than a matter of hearfomely withdraw the Army out of that le-fomely withdraw the Army out of that le-vel ground, incamped upon the River Aufilation. As for the process it self, it is very dus; fending a third part of his forces over incredible. For if Hannibal, coming out of the water, to lie upon the Eastern bank, Gaul, thorow the Marishes and Bogs of Hetruwhere they entrenched themselves. He ne ria, could find victuals enough, and all things ver was more unwilling to fight than at this needfull unto his Army, the Summer forepresent; because the ground served wholly going: what should hinder him to do the for the advantage of his enemy; with whom like this year; especially since he had plaid he meant to deal, when occasion should the carefull Husband in making a great hardraw him to more equal terms. Therefore veft; fince he had long been Master of the he stirred not out of his Trenches, but for- open field; and besides, had gotten, by surtified himself, expecting when Hannibal prise, no small part of the Romans provishould dislodge, and remove towards Ge- sions? Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If ryon, Canne, or some other place, where his Hannibal had taken nothing but Corn and store lay, for want of necellaries: whereof Cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have an Army forraging the Countrey, was not fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought likely to carry about with it sufficient quan- gold with him into Italy: and had so well tity, for any long time.

The fifth Book of the first Part

filence, That Livie differeth much in his Re- Souldiers, all Roman-like, and loaded his lation from Polybim; telling many strange followers with spoil: having left where-tales, of the misery into which Hannibal with to redeem as many of his own, as were had been driven; and of base courses that taken by the enemy; when the Romans he devised to take, if the Romans could have were not willing, as finding it not easie to do retained their patience a little longer. He the like. In this point therefore, we are to had (faith Livie) but ten dayes provision of attend the general agreement of Historians; meat. He had not money to pay his fouldiers. who give it as a principal commendation They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out unto Hannibal, That he alwayes kept his of several Nations, so that he knew not how Army free from sedition, though it were to keep them in order; but that from mur- composed of sundry Nations, no less different muring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, in Manners, Religion, and almost in Naabout their Pay, and Provant, and after-ture, than they were in languages: and well wards for very tamine. Especially the spa- might he so do, having not only pronounmiards were ready to forfake him, and run ced, That which of his men foever fought over to the Romans fide. Yea Hannibal him | bravely with an enemy, was thereby a Carfelf was once upon the point, to have stoln thaginian; but solemnly protested and swore, away into Gaul with all his horse, and left his (besides other rewards) to make as many foot unto their miserable destinies. At length of them as should deserve and seek it, free Cifor lack of all other counsel, he resolved to tizens of Carthage. The running away into get him as far as he could from the Romans, Ganl, was a senseless device. Hannibal be-

increased his stock, since he came into that Here it would not be passed over with Country, that he had armed his African into the Southermost parts of Applia; to the ing there with his whole Army, took so

rage, as promised assured victory. When hold. ginian, to the intent, that either Hannibal rible many. As horrible a many as they are

little pleafure in the Country and People, might be compelled to leave behind him that he made all haste to get him out of it. some answerable number, for defence of his And what should he now do there with his Trenches ( which out of his paucity he was horle? or could be be trufted, either there, less able to space from the battel, than or ellewhere? yea, how could be defire to were the Romans ) or that these ten thoulive, having betrayed all his Army, and re- fand, falling upon the Carthaeinian Camp. linguished his miserable foot to the butche- when the fight began, and taking it with ry of their enemies? This tale therefore Plu- all the wealth therein, might thereby (as truck omitteth, who in writing the life of commonly do such accidents ) terrific and Hannibal, takes in a manner all his directions diffract the enemies in the heat of fight. This from Livie. But of this and the like it is done, the two Confuls went over the water enough to fay. That all Historians love to with their Army to theleffer Camp, whence extoll their own Country-men; and where a also they drew forth their men, and ranloss cannot be differabled, nor the honour of ged them in order of battel: the ground the victory taken from the enemy, and given on the East part of the River, seeming perunto blindFortune there to lay all the blame haps more fit for marshalling of their Army. on some strange mis-government of their Hannibal was glad of this, as he had great own forces: as if they might easily have cause, and without any delay, passed likewonall, but loft all through such folly, as wife over, fomewhat higher up the stream, no Enemy can hope to find in them another which ran from the South-leaving in his own Camp so many, as he thought would serve Now let us return back to the two Ar- to defend it, and no more. To encourage mies. where they lye incamped on the his men; he bade them look about them. River Aufidus. Varro was perswaded, that and view the ground well, upon which they it concerned him in honour to make good were to fight. They did fo. And could you his word unto the people of Rome: and (faid he) pray for any greater fortune, fince he had thus long waited in vain than to joyn battel with the Romans upon to get the confent of Paulso, now at length such a level ground, where the stronger in to use his own authority; and, without horse are sure to prevail? They all asany more disputing of the matter, to fight sented to him; and shewed by their countewhen his own day came. When therefore nances, that they were very glad of it. Well it was his turn to command; at the first then (said he further) yeare first of all to break of the day he began to pass the thank the gods, that have brought them River, without staying to bid his Col- hither; and then Us that have trained them league good morrow. But Paulus came to along, and drawn them into necessity of him, and fought, as in former times, to playing for their lives, where they are fure to have diffwaded him from putting the lose them. As for these Romans, I was fain estate of his Country to a needless hazard, to encourage you against them, when Against those words and substantial argu- ye met them first : but now ye may even ments, Terentius could alledge none other encourage your felves, by calling to mind than point of Honour. Hannibal had pre- that they are the men, whom ye have as fented them battel at their Trenches: should often beaten as seen. Of one thing only they endure this Brayado? He had fent I will put you in mind: That whereas hihis Numidians over the River but even the therto you fought for other respects, as to day before, who fell upon the Romans that drive them before you out of Gaul; and to were fetching water to the leffer Camp; win the open Country, and fields of Italy; and drave them shamefully to run within both of which we have obtained: now are their defences; which also they made offer ve to fight for the Towns themselves, and to affail: Must this also be suffered? He all the riches within them; which this viwould not endure it: for it could not but dory shall make yours. Therefore play the weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; Stout Souldiers: and ere many hours pass, which as yet was lively, and full of fuch cou- ye shall be Lords of all that the Romans

Emilius perceived that he could not hinder When he had faid this; his Brother Mago the obstinate resolution of his Companion, came to him, whom he had sent to view the he took all care, that what he faw must be countenance of the enemy. Hannibal asked done, might be done well. Ten thousand him, what news; and what work they were Roman foot he caused to be left behind, in likely to have with these Romans? Work the greater Camp opposite unto the Cartha- enough (answered Mago) for they are anhorthe ground was somewhat uneven. Thither | end , that both his unfaithfull Souldiers if the Carthaginians would take pains to might find the more difficulty in running come, he doubted not to fend them away from him; and that his hunger might be in such hafte, as they should not leave run-relieved with the more early harvest. But ning till they were out o. Haly. But they whilest he was about to put this device inexcame not. Terentins therefore the next day ecution, the Romans prefled him to hard. descended into the Plains; his Colleague that they even forced him to that, which he holding him, and befeeching him to stay, most defired, even to fight a battel upon Nevertheless, he sate down close by Hanni- open Champain ground: wherein he was balswho, as an unbidden guest, gave him but victorious. It was not uncommendablein a rude welcome and entertainment. The Livie, to speak the best of his own Citi-Carthaginian Horse, and light armature, fell zens 3 and, where they did ill, to say, That. noon the Roman Vant-courrers; and put without their own great folly, they had the whole Army in tumult, whileft it was done paffing well. Further also he may be vet in march: but they were beaten off, not excused; as writing only by report. For without los, for that the Romans had among thus he faith, Hannibal de fuga in Galliam their Velites, fome troops weightily armed, [dicitur] agitssses; Hannibal is said to have whereas the Carthaginians had none. The bethought himself of stying into Gaul: where day following. \*\*milius\*, who could not hand- he makes it no more than a matter of hearfomely withdraw the Army out of that le- fay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Revel ground, incamped upon the River Aufi- lation. As for the process it self, it is very dus; fending a third part of his forces over incredible. For if Hannibal, coming out of the water, to lie upon the Eastern bank, Gaul, thorow the Marishes and Bogs of Hetruwhere they entrenched themselves. He ne- ria, could find victuals enough, and all things ver was more unwilling to fight than at this needfull unto his Army, the Summer forepresent; because the ground served wholly going: what should hinder him to do the for the advantage of his enemy; with whom like this year; especially since he had plaid he meant to deal, when occasion should the carefull Husband in making a great hardraw him to more equal terms. Therefore vest; since he had long been Master of the he stirred not out of his Trenches, but for- open field; and besides, had gotten, by surtified himself, expecting when Hannibal prife, no small part of the Romans provishould dislodge, and remove towards Ge- sions? Sutable hereunto is all the rest. If ryon, Canna, or some other place, where his Hannibal had taken nothing but Corn and store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof Cattel, his Souldiers might perhaps have an Army forraging the Countrey, was not fallen into mutiny for pay. But he brought likely to carry about with it sufficient quan- gold with him into Italy: and had so well tity, for any long time.

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When he had faid this; his Brother Mago the obstinate resolution of his Companion, came to him, whom he had sent to view the he took all care, that what he faw must be countenance of the enemy. Hannibal asked done, might be done well. Ten thousand him, what news; and what work they were Roman foot he caused to be left behind, in likely to have with these Romans? Work the greater Camp opposite unto the Cartha- enough (answered Mago) for they are anhor-

CHAP. III.

(thus Hannibal replied) I tell thee, Brother, miards, armed each after their own Counthat among them all, fearch them never fo try manner; their shields alike; but the diligencity, thou shalt not find one man, Gauls using long broad swords, that were whose name is Mago. With that he fell a forcible in a down-right stroak; the spalaughing, and fo did all that flood about miards, flort and well pointed blades, either him; which gladded the fouldiers, who to strike or thrust; the Gauls, naked from thought their General would not be so mer- their navel upwards, as confident in their rv. without great assurance. Whether it own fierceneis: the Spaniards, wearing were fo, that Hannibal, in the pride of his white Cassocks embroidered with Purple, victories already gotten, valued one Mago This medley of two Nations, differing as above many thouland Romans; or whether well in habit and furniture, as in quality, he intimated, that the Romans were no less made a gallant shew, and terrible, because troubled with thinking upon Mago and his strange. The Gauls were strong of body and Companions, than was Mago with beholding furious in giving charge, but foon wearied. ther with a jest, and shew himself merry un- of them have inherited to this day. The Spato the Souldiers: this his answer was more niards were less eager, but more wary ; neimanly, than was the relation of his discove-ther ashamed to give ground, when they rer. But if Hannibal himself had been sent were over-pressed; nor afraid to return and forth by Mago, to view the Romans, he could renew the fight, upon any small encouragebut vain boafts.

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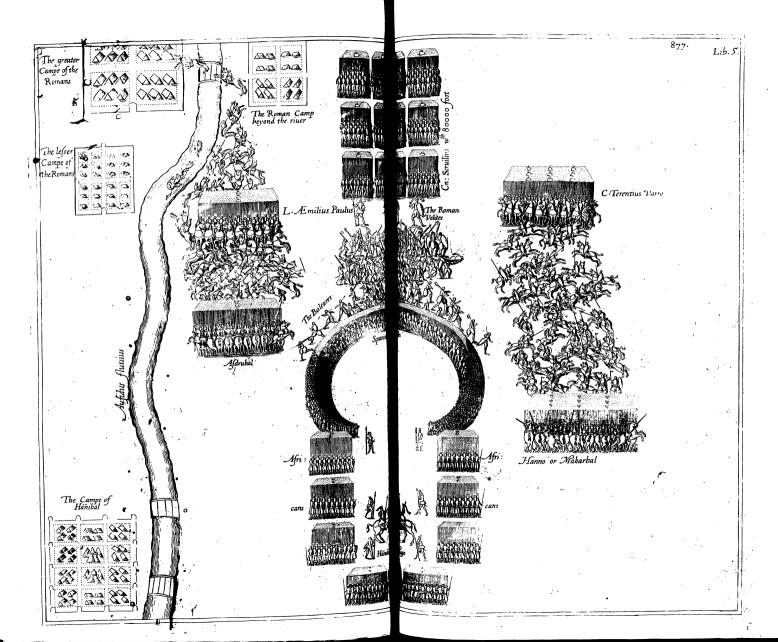
his military skill, than was greatness in his far upon them, without further ingaging spirit and undertakings. For to omit the himself than discretion would allow. Herehad long before conceived the means to which the Carthaginian had in horse; by draw his enemies to battel; he marshalled which he was able, if the worst had happed, hands were brought to fight, where every ries is many timesalike. Desperation begetone might do his best service. His Darters, teth courage; but no greater, nor so lively, where; and well trained in the use of those and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly back, when need should require; the fore those wherewith they had formerly served; made the two wings very deep in File. Between these he ranged his Gants and Spatickued against all impression. The circle

their huge multitude; or whether he meant as accustomed to spend their violence at the only to correct the sad mood of his Bro-first brunt, which disposition all that come not have returned with a more gallant rement. As the roughness of the one, and paport in his mouth, than that which Captain tience of the other, ferved mutually to re-Gum, before the battel of Agincourt, made duce each of them to a good and firm temunto our King Henry the fifth: faying, That per; so the place which they held in this of the Frenchmen, there were enow to be kil- battel, added confidence joyntly unto them led; enow tobe taken prisoners; and enow both. For they saw themselves well and to run away. Even such words as these, or strongly flanked with Carthaginians and fuch pleasant jests as this of Hannibal, are not other Africans; whose name was grown terwithout their moment; but ferve many rible in Spain, by their Conquests, and in times, when battel is in hand, to work up- Gaul, by this their present war. Since thereon such passions, as must govern more of the fore it could not be feared, that any great business: especially, where other needful calamity should fall upon them, whilst the care is not wanting; without which they are wings on either fide stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrink, or forbear to In this great day, the Carthaginian excel- imploy the uttermost of their hardines, as led himself, expressing no less perfection of knowing that the enemy could not press commodiousness of the place, into which he unto may be added that great advantage, his Army in such convenient order, that all to make a good retrait. The effect of contraand Slingers of the Balcares, he seut off be- as doth assured Confidence. Hannibal therefore him, to encounter with the Roman Ve- fore caused the Gauls and Spaniards to adliter. These were loose troops, answerable vance, leaving void the place wherein they in a manner to those, which we call now by had stood, and into which they might fall a French name, Enfans Perdues; but when back, when they should be over-hardly prefwe use our own terms, the forlorn-hope. The gross of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His Africant, armed after the Roman manner, with the spoils which they had gotten at Trebia, Thrasjmene, or else- from which he had drawn it, being narrow where; and well trained in the use of those and thin, as serving only to guide it orderly

hereof feemeth to have been fo great, that it their faces Northward, the Romans toward shadowed the Africans, who stood behind the South. it; though such figures, cut in brass, as I have After some light skirmish, between the

feen of this Battle, present it more narrow; Roman Velites, and Hannibal his Darters and with little reason, as shall anon appear: as Slingers of the Baleares; Astarubal brake upalso in the same figures it is omitted. That on the Consul Paulus, and was roughly enany Companies of Africans, or others, were countred: not after the manner of fervice left in the Rear, to second the Gauls and on horse-back, used in those times, wheeling Spaniards when they were driven to retrait; about Alman like; but each giving on in a though it be manifest, that Hannibal in per-right line. Pouldron to Pouldron, as having fon flood between the last ranks of his long the River on the one hand, and the shoulder Battalions, and in the head of his Rear, of the foot on the other hand; fo that there doubtless well accompanied with the choice was no way left but to pierce and break of his own Nation. Between the left Batta- thorow. Wherefore they not only used their lion and the River Aufidus, were the Gauls Lances and Swords; but rushing violently and Spanish horse, under the command of amongst the Enemies, grasped one another; Aldrubal: On the right wing, toward the and so their horses running from under them, wide Plains, was Hanno (Livie faith Mahar- fell many to the ground; where starting up bal) with the Numidian light-horse. Hanni- again, they began to deal blows like footbal himself, with his brother Mago, and the men. In conclusion, the Roman horse were leading of the Rear. The whole fumm of over-born, and driven by plain force to a Hannibals Army in the field this day, was staggering recoil. This the Consul Paulus ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, could not remedy. For Asdrubal, with his his enemies having two to one against him in boisterous Gauls and Spaniards, were not to foot; and He, five to three against them in be resisted by these Roman Gentlemen . unequal both in number, and in horfmanthip. The Roman Army was marshalled in the When the battels came to joyning, the Rousual form: but somewhat more narrow, man Legionaries found work enough, and and deep than was accustomed; perhaps, somewhat more than enough, to break that because this had been found convenient great Crescent, upon which they first fell: against the Carthaginians, in the former war. To strongly for the while, did the Gauls and It was indeed no bad way of refiftance spanish foot make refiftance. Wherefore against Elephants, to make the Ranks thick the two points of their battel drew towards and floors, but the Files long; as also to streng the midst; by whose aid, these opposites then well the Rear, that it might stand fast were forced to disband, and sly back to compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof their first place. This they did in great the disordered troops might re-ally them- haste and fear: and were with no less haste. felves. Thus much it feems, that Terentius and folly pursued. Upon the Africans that had learned of some old Souldiers; and stood behind them, they needed not to fall therefore he now ordered his Battels accor- foul; both for that there was void room dingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than enough; and forasmuch as the Rear, or was in his understanding. But the Carthagi- Horns of this Moon, pointed into the safe nians had here no Elephants with them in retrait, where Hannibal with his Carthagithe field: their advantage was in Horse; nians was ready to re-enforce them, when against which this manner of imbattailing time should require. In this hasty retrait, was very unprofitable, forasmuch as their or flight of the Gauls and Spaniards, it hapcharge is better sustained in front, than upon ned, as was necessary, that they who had a long flank. As for Emilius, it was not his stood in the limb or utter compass of the half day of command: He was but an Affistant; Moon, made the innermost or concave surand in such cases it happens often, that wise face thereof disordered and broken though men yield for very weariness unto the more it were ) when it was forced to turn the incontentious. Upon the right hand, and to- side outward: the horns or points thereof, ward the River, were the Roman horsemen, as yet, untouched, only turning round, and under the Conful Paulus: On the left wing, recoyling very little. So the Romans, in purwas C. Terentius Varro the other Conful, with fuing them, were inclosed in an half circle; the rest of the horse, which were of the La- which they should not have needed greatly tines, and other affociates: Cn. Servilius the to regard, ( for that the fides of it were former years Conful, had the leading of the exceeding thin and broken; and the bat-battel. The Sun was newly rifen, and offend-tom of it, none other than a throng of men ed neither part; the Carthaginians having routed, and feeming unable to make refifrance) had all the enemies foot been cast | company alighted, thinking that the Conful into this on great body, that was in a man- had given order fo to do : as in many barner dissolved. But whitest the Legions, fol- tels, the Roman men at arms had left their lowing their supposed victory, rushed on horses, to help their foot in distress. When upon those that stood before them, and Hannibal (for he was near at hand) perceivthereby unwittingly engaged themselves ed this, and understood that the Consulhad deeply within the principal itrength of the willed his horse-men to dismount; He was Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; very glad of it, and pleasantly said, I hadrathe two African Battalions on either fide ad ther he would have delivered them nuto me, vanced to far, that getting beyond the Rear bound hand and foot: meaning that he had of them, they enclosed them, in a manner, them now almost as safe, as if they were so behind : and forward they could not pass bound. All this while C. Terentius Varro, with far, without removing Hannibal and Mago; the horse of his associates, in the left wing, which made that way the least easie. Hereby was marvelously troubled by Hanno (or Mait is apparent. That the great Crescent, before harbal) and the Numidians: who beating spoken of, was of such extent, ascovered the up and down about that great sandy Plain, Africans, who lay behind it undiscerned, un- raised a foul dust; which a strong South till now. For it is agreed, that the Romans wind, blowing there accustomarily, drave were thus empaled manyares; and that they into the eyes and mouths of the Roman, behaved themselves, as men that thought These using their advantage both of number upon no other work, than what was found and of lightness, wearied the Consul and his them by the Gauls. Neither is it credible, followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor that they would have been fo mad, as to fulfaining any charge, but continually run head-long, with the whole bulk of their making offers, and wheeling about Yet at Army, into the throat of flaughter; had the first they seemed to promise him an hapthey feen those weapons bent against them py day of it. For when the battails were at the first, which when they did see, they even ready to joyn; five hundred of these had little hope to escape. Much might be Numidians came pricking away from their imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness fellows, with their shields cast behind their of inferiour Captains: but fince the Con- backs, (as was the manner of those which ful Paulus, a man so expert in war, being yielded) and throwing down their arms. vanquished in horse, had put himself among rendred themselves. This was good luck to the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that begin withall, if there had been good meanhe and they did wilfully thus engage them- ing. Varro had not leifure to examine them; felves. Afdrubal, having broken the but caused them, unweaponed as they were, troops of Roman horse, that were led by to get them behind the Army, where he the Conful Paulus, followed upon them bade them rest quietly till all was done. along the River fide, beating down and These crafty adventurers did as he bade killing, as many as he could, (which were them, for a while; till they found opporalmost all of them) without regard of take- tunity to put in execution the purpose, for ing prisoners. The Conful himself was ei- which they had thus yielded. Under their ther driven upon his own Legions, or wil- Jackets they had short swords and poniards; lingly did cast himself among them; as besides which, they found other scattered hoping by them to make good the day, not- weapons about the field of such as were slain,

withstanding the defeat of his horse. But he and therewithal flew upon the hindmost of failed of this his expectation. Nevertheless the Romans, whilest all eyes and thoughts he cheared up his men as well as he could, were bent another way : fo that they did both with comfortable words, and with great mischief, and raised yet a greater terthe example of his own frout behaviour: rour. Thus Hannibal, in a plain level ground, beating down and killing many of the found means to lay an ambush at the back of enemies with his own hand. The like did his enemies. The last blow, that ended all Hannibal among his Carthaginians, in the fight and refistance, was given by the same fame part of the battle; and with better fue- hand which gave the first. Afdrubal (having cess. For the Consul received a blow from | n short space broken the Roman troups of a fling, that did him great hurt: and though norse, and cut in pieces all, save the Coma troup of Roman Gentlemen, riding about pany of Emilius that rushed into the gross of him, did their best to save him from further his foot, and a very few besides, that recoverharm; yet was he so hardly laid at, that ed some narrow passage, between the River he was compelled, by wounds and weak- and their own Battalions) did not stay to ness, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell



back behind the Rear of his own, and that be lived and died mindful of his whole-

and another, to incounter him. But of this, by which he might have withdrawn him-or of ought elfe, excepting hasty flight, his felf; was now (had he never so well been troops, followed the light Numidians, appointed by Asarbal unto the pursuit, as fit-apace in that great Carnage. It suffices hundred unto the pursuit, as fittelf for that tervice. Afdrubal himfelf, with to his honour, That in the Battel he lought the Gauls and Spanish horse, compassing about, fell upon the backs of the Romans; both abstained himself, and distinguished his that were ere this hardly distressed, and in sellow-Consul, from fighting at all It, when a manner surrounded on all parts else : He theday was utterly lost, it had lien in his brake them eafily; who before made ill re- power to fave his own life unto the good of filtance, being inclosed, and laid at on every his Country, never more needing it; I should multitude thronging up and down, they weary of the World, and his unthankfull knew not whither or which way, whilest Citizens. But if such a resolution were every one fought to avoid those enemies, praise worthy in Amilius, as proceeding up to horse, and saved themselves: which Life, son to that famous Earl of Shrewsbury, though it is hardly understood how they was died in the Battel of Chaftilion, more could do; yet I will rather believe it, than highly to be honoured. For Amilia was suppose that Livie so reporteth, to grace old, grievously, if not mortally wounded, thereby his History with this following tale. and accomptable for the overthrow receiv-Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a ed: Talbot was in the flowre of his youth, place where he saw the Consul sitting all bloddi-unburt, easily able to have escaped, and not ed upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save answerable for that dayes misfortune, when himself; offering him his assistance and borse. he refused to forsake his Father; who rore-But Paulus refused it; willing Lentulus to seeing the loss of the battel, and not meaning bift for himself, and not to lose time : faying, to stain his actions past by flying in his old That it was not his purpose to be brought again age, exhorted this his noble son to be gone into judgement by the People, either as an ac- and leave him. the of his Colleague, or as guilty himself of In this terrible overthrow died all the Rothat dayer loss. Further, he willed Lentulus man foot, save two or three thousand, who to commend him to the Senate, and in particu- (as Livie faith) escaped into the letter Camp; lar to Fabius : willing them to fortifie Rome, whence the same night, about six hundred of fast as well they could; and telling Fabius, of them brake forth, and joyning with such

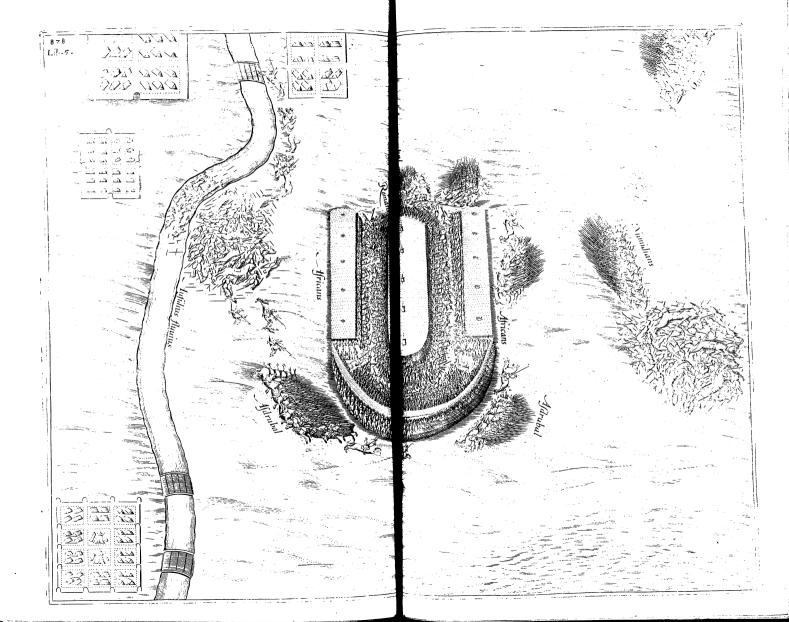
fetching about, came up to the Numidians: Some counsel. These words (peradventure) with whom he joyned, and gave upon Te- or some to like purpose, the Consuluttered to Lentulus, either when against his will he This fearful Cloud, as it shewed at the was drawn to that battel, or when he befirst appearance what weather it had lest held the first defeat of his horse; at what behind it, on the other fide: fo did it prog- time he put himself in the head of his Leginosticate a dismal storm unto those upon ons. For I doubt not, but Hannibal knew whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore what he faid a good while before this; Terentius his followers, having wearied when he thought the Conful and his troup, themselves much in doing little, and seeing in little better case than if they had been more work toward, than they could hope bound. The whole Gross of the Romans, was to fustain; thought it the best way, to avoid inclosed indeed as within a fack; whereof the danger by present slight. The Conful the African Battaltons made the sides; the was no less wife than they, in apprehending Spaniards, Gauls, and Hannibal with his Carthe greatness of his own peril; nor more thaginians, the bottom; and Asdrubal with desperate, in striving to work impossibili- his horse, closed up the mouth : in which ties: it being impolible, when to many part, they first of all were shuffled together. thrank from him, to sustain the impression and began the Rout, wherein all the rest alone, which he could not have indured collowed. Amilius therefore, who could with their affiftance. Now he found that not fit his horfe, whileft the battel yet lafted. it was one thing to talk of Hannibal at Rome; and whileft the spaces were somewhat open, present leifure would not serve him to con- mounted) unable to fly, having in his way fider. Close at the heels of him and his flying so close a throng of his own miterable folside, not knowing which way to turn. Here think, that he either too much disesteemed began a pittiful flaughter: the vanquished himself; or being too faintly minded, was whom he faw nearest. Some of the Roman out of Roman valour; then was the English Gentlemen that were about Amilius, got vertue of the Lord John Talbot, Viscount

of those in the greater Camp, as were willing | Consuls : among whom was Cn. Servilius. to try their fortune, conveyed themselves the last years Consul, and Minutius, late away ere morning, about four thousand foot, Master of the horse. The number of prisoand two hundred horse, partly in whole ners, taken in this battel, Livie makes no troops, partly dispersed into Cannusum: the greater than three thousand foot, and three next day the Koman Camps, both less and hundred horse: too few to have defended greater, were yielded unto Hannibal by those for the space of one half hour, both the Rathat remained in them. Polybius hath no man Camps, which yet the fame Livie faith, mention of this escape : only he reports, that to have been over-cowardly yielded up. We the ten thousand, whom Amilius had left on may therefore do better, to give credit unto the West side of Ausidus (as was shewed be- one of the prisoners, whom she same Histofore) to fet upon the Camp of Hannibal, did rian shortly after introduceth speaking in as they were appointed; but ere they could the Senate, and faying, That they were no effect their defire, which they had well near less than eight thousand. It may therefore be, done, the battel was loft : and Hamibal, that these three thousand were only such as coming over the water to them, drave them the Enemy spared, when the fury of Execuinto their own Camp; which they quickly tion was palt : but to these must be added vielded, having loft two thousand of their about five thousand more, who yielded in number. Like enough it is, that at the first the greater Camp, when their company were fight of Hannibal, coming upon them with either flain or fled. So the reckoning falls his victorious Army, a greater number of out right : which the Romans, especially the these did flye, and thereby escaped, whilest Consul Varro, had before cast up (as we say) their fellows, making defence in vain, re- without their Hoft; nothing to chargeable. tired into their Camp, and held the enemy as now they find it. On the fide of Hannibal butied. For about two Legions they were there died fome four thousand Gauls, fif-( perhaps not half full, but made up by ad- teen hundred spaniards and Africans, and dition of others, whose fault or fortune was two hundred Horte, or thereabouts : a like ) that having ferved at Canne, were af- lofs not fenfible, in the joy of fo great a viterwards extremely difgraced by the State Ctory; which is he had purfued, as Maharbal of Rome, for that they had abandoned their advised him, and forthwith marched away companions fighting. Of the Roman horse towards Rome : it is little doubted, but that what numbers escaped, it is uncertain: but the war had presently been at an end. But he very few they were that faved themselves in believed not so far in his own prosperity; the first charge, by getting behind the River; and was therefore told, That he knew how to and Terentius the Conful recovered Venufia, get, not how to use a victory. with threefcore and ten at the most in his company. That he was to ill attended, it is no marvel : for l'enusia lay many miles off to the Southward; fo that his nearest way thither, had been thorow the midst of Hannibals Army, if the pallage had been open. NOT without good cause doth Poly-Therefore it must needs be, that when once biss reprehend those two Historians, he got out of fight, he turned up fome by Fahius the Roman, and Philinus the Carthagiway; so disappointing the Numidians that nian; who, regarding more the pleasure hunted contre. Of fuch as could not hold of them unto whose honour they consepace with the Conful, but took other wayes, crated their travels, than the truth of and were scattered over the fields; two things, and information of posterity, magnithousand, or thereabout, were gathered up fied indifferently, whether good or bad, all by the Numidiuns, and made prisoners : the actions and proceedings, the one of his Carrest were slain, all save three hundred, who thaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites, dispersed themselves in slight, as chance led and Fathers conscript. No man of sound them, and got into fundry Towns. There judgement will condemn this liberty of cendied in this great Battel of Canna, besides fure, which Polybins hath wied For to recom-L. Emilius Paulus the Conful, two of the pence his juniority (fuch as it was) he pro-Roman Quæstors or Treasurers, and one and Juceth substantial arguments, to justifie his twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Soul- own Relation; and confuteth the vanity of diers, our core Senators, or fuch as had born whose former Authors, out of their own office, out or which they were to be chosen writings, by conference of places ill coherinto the Senare. Many of these were of spering: which pains is to be suspected, that he

#### ø. IX.

Of things following the Battel at Canna.

cial mark, as having been Ædiler, Pixtors or would not have taken, had he been born in



ed to have all men think better and more which the Romans themselves, who could not honourably than he deserved, of his own hinder him from spoiling the Country, espe-Countrey. The like disease it is to be feared, cially the poorer fort of them, did hardly inthat we shall hereafter find in others; and dure; but in a loving respect unto that great shall have some cause to wish, that either courtesse (as it seemed) which he used unto they were somewhat less Roman, or else, that such of them as became h s prisoners. For as fome works of their opposite Writers were at other times, so now after this great victoextant, that fo we might at least hear both ry at Canne, he had lovingly dismitted as fides speak : being henceforth destitute of many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, Polybins his help, that was a man indifferent. as fell into his hands; rebuiling them gently But fince this cannot be, we must be some- for being so obstinate against him that had times bold, to observe the coherence of lought to deliver them from bondage. Noithings; and believe fo much only to be true, ther spared he to win their love by gitts. as dependethupon good reason, or (at least) pretending to admire their valour; but ieckfair probability. This attentive circumfpe- ing indeed, by all wayes and means, tomake ction is needful at the present: such is the them his, whilest all other motives were conrepugnancy, or forgetfulness, which we current. At this time also he began to deal find in the best narration of things following kindly (though against his nature) with the the Battel of Canna. For it is faid, that four Roman prisoners; telling them that he bore thousand foot and horse gathered toge- no mortal hatred unto their Estate; but bether about the Conful Terentius at Venusia; ing provoked by injuries, sought to right that others to the number of ten thousand himself and his Country; and fought with got into Cannusium, chusing for their Cap- them, to try which of these two Cities, Rome tains, young P. Scipio, and Ap. Claudius; yet or Carthage should bear soveraign Rule, not that the Conful Terentius Varro, joyning his which of them should be dellarged. So he company unto those of Scipio at Cannussum, gave them leave to chuse ten of their numwrote unto the Senate, that he had now ber, that should be fent home to treat with well near tenthousand men about him; that the Fathers about their ran ome: and togethese letters of the Consul were brought to ther with these he sent Carthalo a Nobie-Rome, when the Senate was newly rifen, man of Carthage, and General of all Horie, to that had been taking order for pacifying feel the disposition of the Senate, who her it those tumults in the City, which grew upon were bowed as yet by so much advertity, the first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, and could stoop unto desire of peace. But that Embassadours from Capua (after some with the Romans these Arts prevailed not, consultation, whether it were meet to send as shall be shewed in due place. The people any, or without further circumstance, to fide of Italy, all, or most of them, save the Rowith Hannibal) were fent unto Terentius, man Colonies, or the Latines, were not only and found him at Venulia, a pretty while be- weary of their losses past, but entertained fore he wrote thoseletters, which overtook a deceivable hope, of changing their old (in a manner ) at Rome the first news of the Society for a better. Wherefore not only overthrow. Among such incoherences, I the Samnites, Lucans, Brutians, and Apulihold it the best way, to omit so much as ans, ancient enemies of Rome, and not unhath not some particular connexion with till the former Generation utterly subdued, matter ensuing: mutual dependency in began to re-assume their wonted pirits: but things of this nature, being no small argu- the Campans, a Nation of all in Italy most ment of truth.

Camp, and truffed up the spoils, forthwith he ly coajoyned, as were any fave the Latines, dis-lodged, and marched away into Samni- changed on a sudden their love into hatred, m; finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and without any other cause found, than change many other people thereabout, to forfake of fortune. the Roman party, and make alliance with Campania is the most goodly and fruit-cartiage. The first Town that opened the ful Province of Italy, if not (as some then gates unto him, was Cossa, where he laid up thought) of all the Earth: and the City of his baggage: and leaving his Brother Mago Capua, answerable unto the Country, whereto take in other places, he hafted into Camof it was Head; so great, fair, and wealthy,
pania. The general affection of the multithat it seemed no less convenient a seat of the tude, in all the Cities of Italy, was inclinable Empire, than was either Rome or Carrhage.

either of these two Cities, but have spared | unto him; not only in regard of their griefome part of his diligence, and been content- vous losses sustained abroad in the fields. bound unto the State of Rome, and by When Hannibal had facked the Roman many mutual affinities therewith as straight-

But of all qualities, Bravery is the least re- | Lady, and given his Daughter in marriage to quisite unto soveraign command. The Cam- a Roman: but, that the danger of forsaking pans were luxurious, idle, and proud: and of the Roman party was not now the greatvaluing themselves like Jayes by their fea- est: for that the people were violently bent thers, despised the unfortunate vertue of the to murder all the Senate, and after to joyn Romans their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet themselves with Hannibal, who should counwere there some of the principal among tenance the fact, and save them harmless. them, as in other Cities, that bore especial This he spake, as a man well known to be regard unto the Majesty of Rome, and could beloved himself by the people, and prive not indure to hear of Innovation. But the unto their deligns. Having throughly terri-Tlebeian faction had lately fo prevailed with- fied the Senate, by laying open the danger in Capua, that all was governed by the plea- hanging over them : He promifed neverthefure of the Multitude; which wholly fol- less to deliver them all, and to set things in lowed the direction of Pacuvius Calavius an quiet, if they would freely put themselves inambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, to his hands; offering his oath, or any other and was up held by furthering all popular affurance that they thould demand for his desires; whereof, the conjunction with Han- faithful meaning. They all agreed. Then nibal was not the leaft. Some of the Capuans shutting up the Court, and placing a guard had offered their City to the Carthaginians of his own followers about it, that none thortly after the battel of Thrasymene : might enter, nor issue forth, without his whereupon chiefly it was, that Hannibal leave; he called the people to affembly; made his journey into Campania: the Dicta- and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he tor Fabine waiting upon him. At that time, knew they would be glad to hear, he told either the nearness of the Roman Army, or them, that these wicked Governours were fome other fear of the Capuans, hindred furprifed by his policy, and all fast, ready to them from breaking into actual rebellion labide what fentence they would lay upon They had indeed no leifure to treat about them. Only thus much he advited them, as any article of new Confederacy: or, had a thing which necessity required, That they leifure served, yet were the multitude should chuse a new Senate, before they sa-(whose inconstant love Hannibal had won tissied their anger upon the old. So rehearsfrom the Romans, by gentle usage, and free ingunto them the names of one or two Sedismissing of some prisoners in good account nators; he asked what their judgement was among them) unable to hold any fuch nego- of those. All cryed out, That they were wortiation, without advice of the Senate, which thy of death. Chuse then (faid he) first of mainly impugned it. So they that had pro- all some new ones into their places. Hereat mited to yield up their Town to Hannibal, the multitude, unprovided for fuch an and meet him on the way, with some of their election, was filent, untill at last some one or Nobility that should assure him of all faith-other adventured to name whom he thought ful meaning, were driven to fit still in a great lit. The men so nominated, were utterly perplexity: as having failed to let in this difliked by the whole Affembly; either for their new friend, yet sufficiently discovered some known fault, baseness and insufficiency; themselves to draw upon them the hatred of or else even because they were unknown, the Romans. In this case were no small num- and therefore held unworthy. This difficulber of the Citizens; who thereupon grew ty in the new Election appearing more and the more incented against their Senate, on more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the whom they cast all the blame, easily pardon- fittest man to be substituted, having been ing their own cowardize. The people hold-named among the first, and not thought fit ing so tender a regard of liberty, that even enough) Pactivius intreated, and easily prethe lawful government of Magistrates griev- vailed with the people, that the present Seed them, with an imaginary oppression; had nate might for this time be spared, in hope now good cause to fear lest the Senators of amends hereafter; which (doubtless) would become the Lords indeed, and by they would make, having thus obtained help of the Romans bring them under a pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not more straight subjection, than ever they had only the people, as in former times, hoendured. This fear being ready to break in noured Pacuvius, and esteemed him their to some outrage, Pacuvius made use of, to Patron; but the Senators also were governferve his own ambition. He discoursed unto ed by him, to whom they acknowledged the Senate, as they fate in Counsel, about themselves indebted, for saving all their those motions troubling the City : and said, lives. Neither did the Senate fail after this by That he himself had both married a Roman all obsequiousness, to court the people, giving

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to Terentius the Consul, to fee his present forsaken. cafe, and what it could minister of Hope or Advertisement hereof was given to Hanwere in Sicil.

sions, to the wilful and head-strong Multi- dered all the Romans, upon whom at the

the reines unto their lawless Will, who else | tude; whom he put in mind of Pyrrhus and were likely to cast them down. All the City the Tarentines, wishing them not to change heing thus of one mind; only fear of the Ro- old friends for new acquaintance. This did mans kept them from opening their gates to he, when they were tending Embaffadours Humibal, But after the Battel at Canne, this unto Hannibal; and this also did he, when impediment was removed; and few there the new alliance was concluded; but most were that would open their mouths to speak earnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was against the rebellion. Yet for a smuch as three entring the Town: at which time he gave bundred principal Gentlemen of the Cam- advice, either to keep it out, or to fall upon pans, did then serve the Romans in the Isle of it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a rans, the Parents and Kinsmen of these pre- notable piece of service, they might make vailed to far that Embaffadors were fent un amends unto the Romans, whom they had

Fear. These, wheresoever they found him, nibal: who lying about Naples not far off, found him weakly attended, and as weak in fent for Magius to come speak with him in foirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him the Camp. This Magius refused : alledging, formally the service of their State; and de-that he was, by the late concluded Articles, fired to know what he would command free from subjection unto any Carthaginian; them. But he most basely lamented unto and therefore would not come. Hannibat them the greatness of the Roman misfortune: thereupon hasted himself towards Capua; faying, That all was loft; and that the Cam- forbearing to attempt any further upon pans must now not help the Romans, who had Naples, which he thought to have taken in his nothing left wherewith to help themselves, way by Scalado, but found the walls too high, but make war in their defence against the and was not well provided to lay siege unto Carthaginians; as the Romans had fome- it. At Capua he was entertained with great times done for the Campans against the Sam- solemnity and pomp: all the people issuing nites. Hereunto he is said to have added a forth of the Town, to behold the great toolish Invective against Hannibal and his Commander, which had won so many noble Carthaginians: telling, how he had taught victories. Having taken his pleasure in the them to make bridges of flaughtered fight of that goodly City, and passed over his carkaffes, and to feed upon mans flesh, with first entertainments, he came into their Sesuch other stuff, as only bewrayed his own nate, where he commended their resolution, fear. As for the Campans themselves, he put in shaking off the Roman yoke; promising, them in mind of their present strength: that ere long all Italy and Rome it felf, should they having thirty thousand foot, and four be driven to acknowledge Capua as chief, wifions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed Magins, who openly took part with the Rothem prouder than they came, and filled mans their enemies; he prayed them, that them with conceit of getting a great Lord- they would not use him as a Campan, but a hip; whereas before they were fome-what timorous in adventuring to feek their own liberty. Having reported this at 64pus; the same Embassadors were dif-delivered unto Haunibal; who unwilling to patched away to Hannibal, with whom they offend the Capuans, at his first coming, by easily made alliance, upon these conditiputting so great a man to death, yet fearing ons, that the Campans should be absolute- that they might sue for his liberty, it he kept ly free, and ruled by their own Laws; him alive, thought it best to fend him away That no Citizens of theirs should be subject to Carthage. Thus Hannibal settled his friendunto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in what ship with the Campanes: among whom, oncale soever, whether in War or Peace; and ly this Decius Magius had openly dared to that Hannibal should deliver unto the Cam-speak against him; being assisted by Perolla Pans three hundred Roman prisoners, such the Son of Passvins. This Perolla would as themselves would chuse, whom they have murdered Hannibal, whilest he was might exchange for their Gentlemen which at supper, the first night of his coming, had not his Fathers authority kept him from at-Against all this Negotiation, Decius Ma- tempting any such attempt. All the Town an honourable Citizen, opposed him (besides) were so earnest in the love of their felf earneftly; using, in vain, many perswa- new Society, that they are faid to have mur-

present

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present they could lay hand; or (which is vince, if the Prætor stirred aside to there all one ) to have smothered them to death scue of Hieron. in an hot Bath.

of Capua, ran fome other Towns thereabouts Conful, that he might name a Dictator, to which dependeth on this, as their Mother-take soverain charge of the Weal-publick City. Nola, Nuceria, Naples, Caliline, and Acer- with absolute power, as necessity required re, were the Cities next adjoyning, that It must needs feem strange, that all forts of flood out for the Romans. Against these people went forth to meet the Conful, and Hannibal went, thinking to find them weak- bid him welcome home, giving him thanks Iv manned; as they were indeed, though for that he had not despaired of the Weal-pubstoutly defended.

to rut Garrisons into all their walled less) provided wifely for upholding the ge-Towns; but were fain to leave all places, neral reputation. If this coming into the except a few of the most suspected, unto the City had renewed the lamentations and ourfaith and courage of the inhabitants. Rome cries of the people: what else would have it self was in extream fear of Hannibals followed, than a contempt of their wretchcoming, at the first report of the overthrow edness, among those that were subject unto at Canna: and the grief of that loss was so their Dominion? Now in finding this ocgeneral, and immoderate, that it much casion (though indeed he gave it not ) of disturbed the provision against apparent bestowing upon him their welcome, and danger. It was hard to judge, whether the thanks; they noised abroad a fame, which lossalready received, or the fear of destru- came perhaps unto the ears of Hannibal, of ction presently threatning, were the more their Magnanimity and Confidence: that terrible. All the Senators found work might feem grounded on their remaining enough, to stint the noise and lamentable strength. This therefore was wisely done. But Courrers were sent forth, to bring assured was done generously, and out of great spirits tidings how all went : whereof when Letters let me be pardoned, if I believe him not. It from the Consul Varro had throughly in- was done fearfully, and to cover their grief: formed them, they were so amazed, that had they dared to shew their indignation, they ran into barbarous superstition; and they would have struck off his head a sin taking direction (as was faid) from their fa- few years after, Cn. Fulvius had his life tal books, buried alive two men and women, brought into question, and was banished by the books of sibyl gave them fuch instructions; we may justly think that sibyl her self-senate, was nominated Dictator, and 7. Semwas instructed by the Devil. Yet it is not im- pronius, Master of the horse. These fell pre-

In the midst of these extremities, it was The same course of fortune, with those thought needful to call home Terentine the lick. But this was done (as may feem) by or-The Romans at this time were not in case, der from the Senate: which therein doubtbewailings, whereof the streets were full. whereas Livie would have us think, that it the street would have us think the street would have us think the street would have us think the street would have us think the street would have us think the street would have us the street would have Gaules and Greeks, in their Oxe-market. If them, being less blame-worthy, for a smaller than probable, that extremity of fear caufed liently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom them to hearken to wicked South-fayers; they raifed four new Legions, and one thou-whose detestable counsels they afterwards fand horse: though with much difficulty; for their own honour (as ashamed of such as being fain to take up some that were very Authors ) imputed to the books of sibyl. An boyes. These four Legions are elsewhere Embailador was fent to Delphi, to confult forgotten in account of the forces levied by with the oracle of Apollo; and enquire with this Dictator; and two Legions only fet what prayers and supplications they might down, that had been enrolled in the beginpacific the gods, and obtain an end of thefe ning of the year for the custody of the City. calamities. This is enough to discover the So it may be, that these two Legions being tivil greatness of their fear; though not serving drawn into the field; four new ones of to give remedy. At that time came Letters Pratextati, or striplings were left in their out of Sicil, from the Prætor of Octacilius; places. In such raw Souldiers, and so few, whom the Senate had appointed, if he found little considence was to be reposed; for it meet, to pass over into Africk. In these which reason they increased their number, were contained news of one Carthaginian by adding unto them eight thousand sturdy fleet that wasted the kingdome of Hieron slaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if their good friend and confederate; and of they should deserve it by manfull service. another fleet, riding among the liles Agateir, This not fufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, which was in readiness to set upon Lily- that whosoever ought mony and could not houm, and the rest of the Roman Pro- pay it, or had committed any capital

offence, should forthwith be discharged of third part of a common Souldiers ransome: his debt or punishment, if he would serve and likely it is, that he offered them at the Roman-like.

proceedings, as if they had been severe; fault. when as indeed they were suitable to the M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched present fortune, poor and somewhat beg. all needfull business within the City, took garly. Hereof it is no little proof, That the field with five and twenty thousand Hannibal valued those Roman saves, whom men. What he did with this Army, I cannot he had taken in the Camp among their find : nor more of him than this, That he

in the War. To arm these Companies, they price, whereat he thought them current. were fain to take down out of their Tem- But if we should suppose, that by trading ples and Porches, the spoils of their enemies with Hannibal, a better bargain for slaves that had been there fet up : among which, might have been made, than was by the were 6000. Armours of the Gaules, that State at home, in dealing with private men: had been carried in the Triumph of C. Fla- yet must we withall consider, that these minius, a little before the beginning of this private men did only lend these flaves for war. To such mockery had God brought la while unto the Common-wealth, and the pride of the Roman, as a due reward of were afterwards contented to forbear the their insolent oppressions, that they were price of them (when by order of the Senate fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the they were enfranchised until the war habit of strangers, when Hannibal was ready should be ended. If Hannibal would have to encounter them with his Africans, armed given such long day of payment, it is likely that the Romans would have been About the same time it was that Carthalo his Chapmen : but, seeing he dealt onwith the Agents of the prisoners taken at ly for ready money, they chose rather to Canne, came to Rome. Carthalo was not ad-mitted into the City, but commanded, whilft The like aufterity, upon the same reason, he was on the way, to be gone ere night out but contrary pretence, was used toward of the Roman Territory. To the mellengers the Souldiers that escaped from that great of the captives audience was given by the battel. These were charged for having Senate. They made earnest Petition to be fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, ranfomed at the publick charge; not only when they might have done so. True it is, the tears and lamentation of their poor kinfthat in such cases (if ever) that which they folk but the great need, wherein the City call Raggione del Stato, may serve for an exthen flood, of able Souldiers, commending cufe : when the Common-wealth, bear their fuit; which yet they obtained not. driven to a miferable exigent, is fain to Besides the general custom of the Romans help it self, by doing injuries to private (held by long Tradition, and strengthened men. And so dealt the Romans now : conby a notable Precedent, when Regular was demning all those that had served at Canna, overthrown, and taken prisoner in the for- to be transported into Sicil; and there to mer War) not to be too tender of such as serve, not as others did, untill they had had vielded to the enemy, much was alleadg- fulfilled twenty years in the Wars, or elfe ed against those who now craved ransome: were fifty years of age, but untill this War but the foecial point was, that they were should be ended, howlong soever it lasted, wilfully loft, fince they might have faved and that without reward. The fame thrifty themselves, as others did. It sufficed not censure was afterwards laid upon others, unto these poor men, to say, that their of- for their mis-behaviour : but never upon fence was no greater than the Confuls; they any man of quality, fave only (a good were told, that this was great presumption. while after this, at better leisure) upon The truth was, the State wanted money ; Cecilius Metellus, and a few other hareand therefore could not want excuses ; brain'd fools his companions; who, being whereby to avoid the disbursement : whe- frighted out of their wits, with the terrour ther it were fo, or not, that any fuch Plea of fo great a loss, were devising, after the was held about this matter of redemption, battel, which way to run out of Italy, when as we find recorded. Neither must we re- Hannibal as yet had scarce one Town withgard it, that the flaves which were armed in it. The inequality of this rigour grew for the war, are faid to have cost more, than shortly distasteful to the Commonalty: and the fumm did amount unto, that would have was openly blamed by a Tribune of the peoransomed these prisoners. For this is but a ple 3 nevertheless it was quietly digested, Lindblag tale, devised to countenance the Roman the excuse being no less apparent than the

Masters, at no more, than every one the spent the time about Campania; where (as Ttttt

may be prefumed ) he was not idle. To one that had fo well deferved of the Ro. him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, man State, had not repaired unto him any evil done to Hannibal, by the Romans, than fuch acquaintance. So with many in this their weak estate, only Marcellus commendations, gifts, and loving enterhad the honour. Marcellus, being then tainment, being himself also a man high-

that Hannibal did no greater evil : for of the Prætor, who desired nothing more one of the Pretors, lay at Oftia, with a ly reputed for his personal valour, he made Fleet ready to set sail for sicil, having this Bantius so far in love with him, that no one Legion aboord his ships; and sifteen thing could be attempted within Nola. hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: against the Romans, whereof he had not with which forces he was to defend that presently advertisement. At the coming of Illand, and do what harm he could in Marcellus, Hannibal removed from about Africk. But hearing of the overthrow at Nola; and affayed, as formerly he had Canne, he fent there of his new Levy to done, the Neapolitans : but they had late-Rome, for defence of the City; and march- ly taken in a Roman Garrison; upon coned hastily with his Legion toward Can- fidence whereof they gave him a peremnulum : delivering the Fleet, empty of ptory answer, to his discontent. Thence Souldiers to P. Furius his Colleague, went he to Nuceria, which he took by Thence was he called by the Magistrates, composition; and so returned back again and chief Citizens of Nola, to help them: to Nola. He was not ignorant, what good who were like to be forced by the multitude affection the common people of Nola bore (affected, as were the rest of the Cam- unto him : who although they durst not panes) to let in the Carthaginian; and stir in his quarrel, being over-awed by knew not how to avoid this otherwise, the Roman Garrison; yet if they saw than by feeming to deliberate about the Marcellus hardly bestead, and forced to articles of this new confederacy. Where-turn his care from watching them within. forc he made great journeys thitherward; to repelling the enemies affailing him and arrived even time enough to prevent without, like enough it feemed, that the Enemy. Many idle walks Hannibal they would not be wanting unto the acmade betwixt Nola and Naples : affaying complishment of their own defires. He by fair words and terrible threats the therefore brought his Army close to the one and the other City. Naples was ftrong, Town, and fkirmifhed often with Marcelles: and not infected with any the least touch not in hope thereby to do much good, of diflovalty: had also a fure Haven, but only to make shew of a meaning to whereby it stood in the less fear of sustain- force the Town; which he sought in the ing much inconvenience, by spoil of the mean while to take by intelligence. In the Lands and Villages abroad in the Coun-night time there passed messages between trey. But at Nola it was thought a va- him and the Citizens his partakers : whereluable confideration, That Hannibal was by it was concluded, That if once Mar-Master of the field: which if he laid waste, cellus, with all his forces, could be trainall the poor people were utterly undone, ed into the field, the multitude within So thought the Multitude : and fuch talk the Town should presently rise; and seizing used some, that had little fear of their upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. own private want or poverty, but a great Of this Negotiation Marcellus was adverdesire to gratifie the Carthaginian. Of tised : and fearing lest the Consoirators these, one L. Bantius was chief; a stout would shortly adventure, even to find him young Gentleman, and Souldier of especi- busied within the City, whilest the Carthaal mark, well beloved in the City, and ginians should scale the walls; he thought one that had done good service to the Ro- it the surest way, to cut off the Enemies mans; but was found by Hannibal half hope, and fend him away betimes. Wheredead at Canne; and after much gentle fore ordering his men in three companies, usage, good attendance, and cure of his within three several gates, looking towards wounds, friendly dismissed with liberal the enemy; he gave a straight command, gifts. He therefore thought, that it con-that all the Citizens should keep their cerned him in honour, to return the greatest houses. Thus he lay close a good part of thanks he could unto so courteous an enemy. the day, to the enemies great wonder, Marcellus perceiving this, wrought upon against whom he had customarily issued the same easie nature of the Gentleman: forth before more early, every day, to skirand taking notice of him, as if it had nish. But when it was further noted, that the been by chance, feemed to wonder, why walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought Hannibal, that furely red unto their pleafure, by his own Citizens;

all was discovered, and Marcellus now bu- could now please themselves, as with good fied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad news, to hear, That in a fkirmish nor far his men bring ladders, and make ready for from Rome, he appeared to be a man, and not the affault : which was done in all hafte. But refiftlefs. At Castlinum the Dictator was not : when the Carthaginians were at the very but many Companies of Italians, Confedewals, and thought nothing less, than that the rates of Rome, were gotten into the Town. Romans would meet them in the field: fud- and held it. Five hundred of the Pranestines denly the middle gate was opened, whereat there were, and about four hundred of Pe-Marcellus, with the best and oldest of his rusia, with some of the Latines. All these Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a had the good hap, to come too late to the great noise, to make his unexpected fally the battel at Canna, being sent by their several more terrible. Whilest the Carthaginians, States to the Camp: whither whilest they much out of order, were some of them fly- were marching, the tidings of that great ing before Marcellus, the rest making head misfortune encountred them, and sent them against him: the other two gates opened, back forrowfull; for they loved well their whereat in like fort iffued they of the new Lords the Romans, under whose government levied Companies, upon the enemies backs. they lived happily. So came they all, one The fudden terrour was more available unto after another to Cassline, where they met the Romans, than their force ; yet the Exe- and stayed. Neither had they stayed there cution was fo great, that this was accounted long, ere they heard news from Capua, How as a victory, and reputed one of the bravest that great City became the Ring-leader Acts performed in all that War, forasmuch of all the Campanes into rebelling. The as hereby it was first proved, that Hannibal people of Casiline were affected as they of might be overcome. After this, Marcellus Capua: and therefore fought how to rid being freed from his enemies that were their hands of those Franchines and their departed, took a strict account of the Citi- fellows; but the Souldiers were too hard zens of Nola; condemning above threescore for them, and after many trains laid one for and ten of high Treason, whose heads he another, at last they slew all the Townsmen struck off; and so leaving the Town in quiet in a night, and fortified the Western part obedience unto their Senate, went and in- of the Town (for it was divided by the Ricamped hard by about Suessula. Hannibal in ver Vulturnus) against the Enemy. If they the mean feason was gone to Acerra: where had run away with the goods, and pretendbeing excluded, he thought it no wildom ed, that thefe of Casiline were as the rest of to lose time in perswasions, but laid siege the Campanes, all Traitors; they themselve unto it, and began on all fides to close it might have been reputed, as no better up. This terrified the People, who knew than the Mamertines. But their confidence themselves unable to hold out. Therefore be- in defence of the place witnesseth, upon we are fore his Works were finished, and they quite honest reasons they surprised it. Hannion. furrounded; they stole out by night, and came thither, thinking to have encountry left him the Town empty: which he facked with greater forces: but thefe few found and burnt. Then hearing news of the Di- him more work than he expected. Divers ctator, that he was about Casiline, thither affaults he gave, but was still repelled with went Hannibal; as being unwilling that an loss: and many fallies they made, with vaenemy so near should disquiet him at Capua; riable event. The Enemy mined; and they where he meant to Winter. It feems, or ra- countermined: opposing so much industry ther indeed it is plain, that the late victory to his force, that he was driven to close of Marcellus had nothing abated the spirit them up, and seek to win them by famine. of the Carthaginian: who durst with a small T. Sempronius Gracchus, that was Master of part of his Army feek out the Dictator, that the Horse, lay with the Roman Army higher had with him the heart of the Roman up the River: who fain would have relieved strength. Wherefore the joy of his Ene-Casiline, but that the Dictator being gone mies, upon fo flight an occasion as the death to Rome about some matters of Religion, had of some two shouland of his men, at the given him an express charge not to fight till most, and those not slain in plain battel, his return. Marcellus from Suessula could not but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth come: his way being stopped by the overchiefly, in what great fear they stood of flowings of Vulturnus; the Nolans also be-Hannibal, and how Crest-fallen they were : seeching him not to leave them, who that having three years fince demanded at were in danger of the Campanes, if he de-Carthage the body of Hannibal, to be delive- parted. Thus it is reported: but if the water Ttttt 2

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stayed his journey, such intreaties were needless. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarried at Rome so long, as till extrem fa- of the great supply that was decreed at Carmine had confumed the Garrison in Cassline. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Town was loft, because the Romans durst not adventure to raife the fiege. Barrels of Corn were fent by night, floting down the River; and when some of these, being carried awry by an Eddie of water, stuck among the Willows on the bank, whereby this manner of relief was discovered and prevented; Gracebus cast a great quantity of Nuts into the stream, which taintly sustained the poor belieged men. At length when all food fuch Italians, as fell from the Romans after was frent, and whatfoever grew green un-ithe battel at Canna; his brother Hannibal der the Walls was gathered for Sallets, the font for him to Capua, and thence dispatch-Carthaginians ploughed up the ground sed him away to Carthage, with the joywhereon the believed prefently fowed Rape-full message of Victory. He told the Carthafeed. Hannibal feeing this, admired their ginian Senate with how many Roman Gepatience; and faid. That he meant not to nerals his brother had fought, what Conitay at Calline untill the Rapes were grown fulls he had chased, wounded or flain; how Wherefore though hitherto he had refused the stout Romans, that in the former war neto hearken unto any Composition, as in-ver shunned any occasion of fight, were tending to make them an example to all now grown localm that they thought their others, by punishing their obstinacy; yet Dictator Fabius the only good Captain, benow he was content, to grant them their cause he never durst adventure to come lives at an indifferent ransome; which when to battel; That not without reason their they had paid, he quietly dismissed them, ac- spirits were thus abated, since Hannibal had cording to his promife. Seven hundred car- flain of them above two hundred thouthaginians he placed in Casiline, as a Garrison fand, and taken above fifty thousand prisofor defence of the Campanes; unto whom he ners. He further told them of the Brutirestored it. To the Pranestine Souldiers ans, Apulians, Samnites, Lucans, and other great thanks were given, and loving re-people of Italy, that followed the fortune wards; among which they had offer, in re- of those great victories, had revolted unto gard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of the Carthaginians. Among the rest he mag-Rome. But their present condition pleased nified Capua, as a goodly City, and fit to be them fo well, that they chose rather to con- not only (as already it was ) Head of all tinue, as they were in Pranefte: which is no the Capuans, but the chief feat of their Doweak proof, of the good estate wherein the minion in Italy: and there he informed Cities flourished, that were subject to the them, how lovingly his brother had been Roman Government. This siege of Cassline entertained, where he meant to rest that was not a little beneficial to the Romans, as winter attending their supply. As for the having long detained Hannibal, and confu-war, He said it was even at an end, if they med much of his time, that might otherwise would now pursue it closely, and not give have been better spent. For winter overtook the Romans any breathing time, whereinto him long before he could dispatch the busi- re-collect themselves, and repair their broness: which how to quit with his honour he ken forces. He willed them to consider, that knew not, when he was once engaged, the war far from home, in the Enemies Coun-Therefore he wintered at Capua: where he trey: that so many battels had much dimi-

times, as shall appear hereafter.

6. X.

thage to be fent to Hannibal into Italy, Hom by the malice of Hanno, and floth or partimony of the Carthaginians, the Supply max too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grow faster, than of the Romans. Of Fabius and other old Romans Historians, how partial they were in their writines.

WHen Mago, the fon of Amilear had spent some time about the taking in refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as nished his brothers Army: that the Souldiers, all Historians report, and made it effeminate; who had so well deserved, ought to be conthough effeminate as it was, He therewithall sidered with liberal rewards; and that it did often beat the Romans in following was not good to burden their new Italianfriends, with exactions of money, corn, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from Carthage; which the victory would require with large amends. Finally, he caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were slain,

\*principal of that order, were accustomed to wear that ornament.

ones of private men was not altogether to great, as the Law would be penulted, though otherwife Tus Assails, The meaning of the Roys, as the great priviledge of the Romas Equities.

Who fo confiders the former Punich War. may eafily find, that the State of Carthage never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any fuch hopefull advertisements from their Captains abroad. Wherefore it is no any opinion of good advantage had called marvel, if the errand of Mago found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this fince after this war ended, and a new league joy, Himilco, a Senator adverse to the faction of Hanno, is faid to have demanded of that great perswader unto peace with Rome, Whether he were still of opinion, that Hannibal (hould be yielded up unto the Romans; or whether he would forbid them to give indeed very pestilent; and served only to thanks unto the gods, for this their good fuccess. Hereunto though it be not likely that on. For it was concluded by a main consent Hanno made the same formal answer, which of the Senate, that forty thousand Numidi-Livie puts into his mouth, calling the Cartha- ans, forty Elephants, and great abundance ginian Senators Patres Conferipti, by a term of filver, should be sent over to Hannibal: proper to the Romans; and putting them and that, belides these, twenty thousand in mind of his own shamefull overthrow re- foot, and four thousand horse, should be leceived at the Islands Agateis: yet the sum | vied in Spain; not only to supply, as need of his speech appears to have been no less should require, the Armies in their Promalicious than is fet down, forasmuch as vince, but to be transported into Italy. that a few \* filver stude in the bridles and trap- quired it; or the crasty malice of Hanno, and

to be poured out openly in the Court : ( Spain, in his journey towards Italy ) then which being measured, tilled (as some say) might such an objection more justly have three bushels; or (as others would rather been made unto his demand of a fupply. But have it) no more than one; adding, that by the most likely part of Hanno his Oration, this might appear the greatness of the Ro- and wherein he best might hope to prevail, man calamity, forasmuch as none but the contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to feek peace, whilest they had so much the better in war.

What would have been the issue of this counsel, if it had been followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing Italy from the danger of war ; yet it is not likely that the faith, fo often broken to the Carthaginians in former times, would have been kept entire, when for revenge of fo many thameful overthrows concluded, no fubmiffive behaviour could preserve Carthage from ruine, longer, than untill fuch time as Rome was at leifure from all other wars. This counsel therefore of Hanno, though it might feem temperate, was hinder the performance of a noble resoluti-

Hannibal himself, at his departure out of This great Aid, had it been as carefully Italy, exclaimed against the wickedness of fent, as it was readily decreed; the Roman this Hanno; faying, that his hatred against Historians would not have found cause, to the Barchines, had oppressed their Family, tax the retchless improvidence of Hannibal, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine in forbearing to march directly from Canno of Carthage. Therefore it may well be, that to Rome, or in refreshing his Army among hemade fuch a jest of these victories, as is re- the delights of Capua: the next years work ported; faying, it ill befeemed him, who would have finished the business, with less hadvanquished the Romans to call for more dangerous adventure; and the pleasures, help as if he had been beaten; or him, that which his men enjoyed among the Camhad taken their Camp, filled forfooth with panes, would have been commended, as respoil, to make request for meat and money. wards by him well thought upon, where-To these cavils, if answer were needfull, it with to animate both them and others, that might be faid, That other booty than of were to be imployed in the following War. horses and slaves, little was to be found in But either the too much carelesness of those, the Roman Camp: the best of the Souldiers that were loth to make haste in laying out carrying no other wealth into the field, than their money, before extreme necessity repings of their horses. If Hannibal had ta- his fellows, working upon the private huken any main convoy of money and provi- mours of men, that had more feeling of their fions, going to supply all wants of a great own commodity, than fense of the publick Army in some other Province, (as the two need; utterly perverted, and made unpro-Scipio's are afterwards faid to have done, fitable in the performance, the order that when they wan the Camp of Asarbal, that had been so well set down. The \* Elephants \* Zivilas. carryed along with him all the wealth of were fent: and some money peradventure,

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uncertain it is how long after. But those pons, and engines of War; the Romans told great forces of threescore thousand foot, and them plainly, That the City of Carthage, tour thousand horse, came not into Italy, till which was the body of the Citizens, should much was lost of that which already had be friendly dealt withall, but the Town been gotten, and a great part of the old Car- must needs be demolished, and removed inthurinian Army, was first consumed by time, to some other place, that should be twelve and fundry accidents of war. Only fome miles distant from the Sca. For (faid the fmall numbers, no way answering unto the Romans) This Trade of Merchandise, by proportion decreed, were fent into spain; which ye now live, is not fit for peaceable and the journey of Astrubal thence through men, such as ye promise to become hereaf-France into Italy much talked of, but he not ter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an enabled thereunto, till many years were wholesome kinde of life, and enduing men past, and the Romans had recovered their with many laudable qualities which enable

Carthaginians drew into their City, both the Romans, though fugred with glofing by the Tributes received from their subjects, words, plainly shews, what good observaand by their wealthy Trade of Merchan-tion the elder Cato had made of the hafty dize. For it is not long, fince the War of the growth of Carthage in riches. For, when he-Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of ing demanded his opinion in the Senate the Romans, extorting in time of greatest about any matter whatsoever it were he adnecessity twelve hundred talents; had ex- ded still this conclusion, Thus I think, and ceedingly impoverished Carthage: which that Carthage should be destroyed: He may was before brought into great want, even by feem, not only to have had regard unto that the expence of fo much money, as was to be present wealth, which at his being there he difbursed for redeeming of peace, after the had found in the City, but much more unto loss of Agateis. Yet we see, what great these times, and the great height whereunto Armies of Numidians, and Spaniards, be- it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many fides those already on foot, are appointed calamities, whilest the Romans thought, that to the service in Italy, and how little the it had not been in case to date so terrible Carthaginians fear the want of money in a War. these chargeable undertakings: whereas the But as the Carthaginians, in gathering Romans on the other fide, having three or wealth, were more industrious and skilfull four years together been forced to some ex- than the Romans; so came they far short of traordinary cost, are fain to go upon credit; them in the honourable care of the publick even for the price of those slaves, which good: having every one or most of them, a they bought of their own Citizens to arm more principal regard of his own private befor their defence. Such advantage in means nefit. This made them (besides the neglito enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy gence commonly found in victors) when the Merchants of Carthage trading in all parts of first heat of their affection ( wherein they the Mediterranean Sea, even from Tyrus their concluded to pursue the war strongly) was Mother-City in the bottom of the straights over-past, go more leisurely to work, than unto the great Ocean, above the Romans: had been requifite in the execution: It was who lived on the fruits of their ground, and eafie for Hanno to perswade covetous men, received their Tributes from people follow- that they should first of all defend their own ing the same course of life. When the time in Spain. This might be done with little chared; and having accordingly, when they were fo required, yielded up all their weadition, that their City might not be destroy- had given him to the conquest of Rome.

their bodies, and make them very apt for Here we may note, what great riches the conversation. This villanous dealing of

therefore was come, that the harred of ges. Afterwards, when that Province was fe-cita Rome found leifure to shew it self, in the destruction of Carthage; the impudence of Roman fallhood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of the Common-wealth to one hazard of the state of the Common-wealth to one hazard of the state of the Common-wealth to one hazard of the state of the Common-wealth to one hazard of the state of the Common-wealth to one hazard of the state of the Common-wealth to one hazard of the state of the common-wealth to one hazard of the state of the common-wealth to one hazard of the state of of Faith, discovered plainly whence the fortune, against the enemies, or (which perjealousie was bred, that this mighty City haps were worse) to the government of an in so would again rebell. For the Carthaginians, ambitious man, and his brethren; who having having given up hostages, even before the nonce (if they could so do) finished the wars with might easily make \* Hannibal a King, and looker should be enjoyned them, with confuded the contraction of the ingly well fortified: a great Spanish Town few handfuls into Spain. of the same name, lying without it, that was

ness, or niggardize, the Carthaginians were thought him fo, were well enough contentperswaded rather to make small disburs- ed to hearken unto his discourses, as long as ments in Spain, than to fet up all their rest at they were plausible, and tended to keep the once in Italy. Yet was it indeed impossible to purse full. In the mean while they suffered holda Countrey of fo large extent, and fo Hannibal, and all the noble house of Amilopen a coast as that of Spain, free from all car, to weary themselves in travel for the incursion of the Enemy : especially the affe- Common-wealth : which all Carthage in gedion of the Naturals being (as in a new con- neral highly commended, but weakly afquest) ill established. A better way therefore listed; as if the industry of these Barchines it had been, to make a running War, by had been somewhat more than needful. Surewhich the Romans might have been found by the Carthaginians, in general, were far lefs occupied, even with the ordinary Carthagi- honourable than the people of Rome: not nian Garrisons or some little addition there- only in government of their subject Provinunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer ces, but in administration of their own the profecution of their main intendment estate; few of them preferring the respect against Rome it felf, untill such time as every of the Weal-publick above their private inlittle thorn were pulled out of the fides of terest, But as they thrived little in the end. fogreat a Province, then must Emporia have by their parsimony used toward their own heen befieged and forced: which, by reason Mercenaries, when the former Roman war of alliance with the Mallilians, gave unto the was finished: so the conclusion of this war Romans, at all times when they pleafed, a prefent, will make them complain, with ready and secure Harbour. But the Town of feeling tighs, of their negligence in supplying Emboria, was too strong to be won in haste: Hannibal, after the victory at Canna; when it had long defended it felf against the Bar- gladly they would give all their Treasures. harians: having not above four hundred to redeem the opportunity, that now they paces of wall to the main Land, and exceed- let pass, as if it were cost enough to send a

That both the Spanish business, and the three miles in compass, very strong likewise, state of Africk it self, depended wholly, or and friend unto the Gracians, though not for the most part, upon success of things in over much trusted. Wherefore to force this Italy, the course of actions following will Town of Emporia, that was, besides the pro- make manifest. Particularly, how matters per strength, like to be so well assisted by the were ordered in Spain by the Carthaginian Mallilians, Romans, and some spaniards, Governours, it is very hard and almost imwould have been a work of little less diffi- possible to set down. For though we must culty, than was the Romans war (in appear not reprehend in that worthy Hiltorian Livy, ance ) after the battel at Canna: yea, it had the tender love of his own Country, which been in effect none other, than to alter the made him give credit unto Fabius and others; feat of the war; which Hannibal had already yet must we not, for his sake, believe those fixed, with better judgement, near unto the lyes, which the unpartial judgement of Polygates of Rome. The difficulty of this attempt, bim hath condemned, in the Writers that being fuch as caused it altogether to be for- gave them original. It were needless to reborn; great folly it was to be much trou- hearfe all that may be found in Polybius, con-Pol. iii. I. bled about expelling the Romans utterly out ceroing the untruth of that Roman Hillorian of Spain : whom they might more easily Fabius. One example may suffice. He saith of have diverted thence, and drawn home to Amilear and his men at Eryx, in the former their own doors, by making strong war up- war, That, having clean spent their strength, on their City. For even fo the Romans af- and being even broken with many miferies, terwards removed Hannibal into Africk, by they were glad to submit themselves unto fending an Army to Carthage; and by take- the Romans. Contrary hereunto we find in ing the like course, they now endeavoured the life of Amilcar, set down by Emilius Proto change the feat of the war transferring bus, That Eryx was in such fort held by the it out of Italy into Spain. But the private Carthaginians, that it seemed to be in as good affections of men, regarding the common condition, asif in those parts there had not good no otherwise, than as it is accessary to been any war. These words, being referred to their own purposes, did make them easily the brave resolution of the Carthaginian Soulwink at opportunities, and hope that some- diers, and the singular vertue of their Genewhat would fall out well of it felf, though ral, infusing such spirit into them, may be tathey fet not to their helping hands. Hanno ken as not over liberal. For in the treaty of was a malicious wretch : yet they that peace between Amilcar and Catulus, when

the Koman first of all required, that this Ganlinto Baly, to encounter with Hannibal Garrison of Eryx should lay down their arms at his descent from the Alps, sent before him and forfake Sicil, threatning, that other wife his Brother Cnews, with part of his Fleet and he would not talk of any composition : Amil- Army, into Spain. Two Roman Legions. car boldly bade him chuse, whether he with fourteen thousand foot of the Confewould talk of it or no; for that the Arms derates, and twelve hundred horse, had been which his Countrey had put into his hands to allotted unto the Conful, therewith to make use against her enemies, it was not his pur- war in Spain against Hannibal; who, since he pose to yield up unto them. Now fince the was marching into Italy with the strength of Romans. contrary to their custom upon like his Army, P. Scipio believed, that a good advantages, were content to let Amilear have part of these his own forces might well be his will, and not to stand with him upon point | spared from the Spanish Expedition; and of honour, whilest otherwise they might quitherefore made bold to carry some of the ctly rid their hands of him; plain enough number back with him, fending on his Broit is, that they were far from thinking him a ther with the rest, as his Lieutenant, Publica man confumed with miferies, as Fabius would himself remained in Italy all the time of his have him feem. Hereunto agrees the relation Confulfhip; which being expired, he was of Folybius: who flatly, and by name, charg- fent Proconful into spain by the Senate, eth Fabius with untruth; faying, That how- with an Army of eight thousand men, and a foever Amilear and his Souldiers had endu- Fleet of thirty Gallies. red all extremity, yet they behaved themfelves as men that had no fense thereof; and Province, were very great; and, as they are were as far from being either vanquished or reported, somewhat marvellous. For they tyred, as were their Enemies. Such being the continually prevailed in spain against the difference between Fabius (as also perhaps Carthaginians; whom they vanquished in between other old Writers of the Roman sto- fo many battels, and withdrew from their ry) and those that had more regard of truth, Alliance so many of the Spaniards their than of flattering the mighty City of Rome : | Confederates, that we have cause to wonwe must take it in good part, that howsoe- der how the enemy could so often find ver Livie introduceth Hanno, in one place, means to repair his forces, and return strong iovning very foolishly his own shameful into the field. But as the Romans, by preoverthrow at the Islands \* Agateis, with the tending to deliver the Countrey from the tygreat services of Amilear at Eryx, as if both ranny of Carthage, might easily win unto their Estimates of them had had a like event; yet † else- Consederacy, as many as were galled with popetis, where he forbeareth not to put a more like- the African yoke, and durst adventure to The last ly tale (though with as impudent a comme-break it: fo the ancient reputation of the 1 2h. 23. moration of his own unhappy conduct) into first Conquerors might serve to arm the Nathe same Hanno his mouth, making him say, turals against these Invaders, and to reclaim That the affairs of Carthage went never bet those that had revolted unto the Romans, ter, than a little before the loss of their Fleet were it only by the memory of fuch ill fucin that battel at Sea; wherein himself was cess, as the like rebellions in former times General. Now, concerning the doings of the had found. Hereto may be added the Car-Scipio's in Spain, there is cause to wish, that thaginian Treasure; which easily raised this Fabius, with Val. Antias, and others of the Souldiers, among those valiant (but in that like stamp, had either written (if they could Age) poor, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neinot write more temperately) nothing at all; ther was it of small importance, that so maor that the tender affection of Livie to his by of the Spaniards had their children, kinf-Kome, had not caused him to think too well of men, and friends, abroad with Hannibal in their relations; which are fuch as follow.

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followed thence his Brother Hannibal into pio, which neither Scipio, nor Livie for him,

We hath been shewed already, how P. Cor- strange it was, and as little to his honour, as nelius Scipio the Consul returning from it had been extreamly dangerous to Rome,

The Acts of these two Brethren in their his Italian Wars; or ferving the Carthaginians in Africk. And peradventure, if we durft be bold to fay it; the victories of the scipe's were neither fo many, nor fo great as they are set out by Livie. This we may be bold to strange reports of the Roman victories in fay, that the great Captain Fabius, or Livie Spain, before Aidrubal the Son of Amilcar in his person, maketh an objection unto Sci-

doth answer. That if Asdrubal were van-

quished, as Scipio would say by him in Spain:

that the Jame vanquished man should invade That they should gently or kindly) uphold the too much credit. in this regard, I will fum- their own , leaving them to be governed by marily run over the doings of the Scipio's in Hanno at his discretion. These therefore whereof there is no great certainty.

ing a meer stranger, and having no jurisdi-than regardful of the greater milchief, ction in the Country. Yet it is certain, that whereinto they ran by feeking to avoid it. could well infinuate himself in to the love of not suffer Hanno to temporize. Tenthousand inpractice had the better success, for that unto him : besides which, it is like, that some he feemed to have none other errand than forces he was able to raise out of his Prosetting them at liberty. This pretext avail- vince. Therefore he adventured a battel ed with some: others were to be hired with scipio, wherein he was overthrown with mony: and some he compelled to yield and taken. Following this victory, Scipio by force or fear; especially when he had befieged stiffum, a Town hard by, and won won a battel against Hanno. Into all Trea it. But Afdrubal having passed Therus, and ties of Accord, made with these people, coming too late to the relief of Hanno, likely it is, that he remembred to insert this with eight thousand foot, and a thousand Article, which the Romans in their Alliances horse, fell upon the Roman Sea-forces, that never forgat, unless in long times past, and lay not far from Tarracon, whom he found when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or careless, as after a victory, roaving abroad in their Superiours; Majestatem Pop. Rom. comi- the Country; and with great slaughter the trenfervent, which is, as Tully interprets it, drave them aboard their ships. This done, he

stal). And it is indeed an incredible narra Majesty of the people of Rome. This was in tion, That Afdrubal, being enclosed on all appearance nothing troubletome; yet inides, and not knowing how to escape out of plied it indeed an obscure covenant of subbattel, fave only by the steep descent of jection. And in this respect it may be true, Rocks, over a great River that lay at his That the spaniards became ditionis Roma- in these, back, ran away with all his mony, Ele- na, of the Koman jurisdiction; though hereohants and broken troops, over Tagus, direct- after they will fay, they had no tuch meanly towards the Pyrenees, and fo toward Italing. That part of the Country wherein Scih: upon which he fell with more than three- pio landed, was newly subdued by Hannibal score thousand armed Souldiers Neither do in his passage toward Italy; and therefore lice, how it hangs well together. That he the more easily shaken out of obedience. chose a piece of ground very defensible, but particularly in the Barentians: 11a.nib.d had most incommodious for his retrait, if he found at his coming among them such an should happen to be vanquilhed; and yet, apprehension of the Roman greatness, as that he fent all his mony and Elephants made him suspect, that any light occasion away beforehim, as not intending to abide would make them start from the Carthagithe enemy: Or how it could be true, that nians. Wherefore he not only appointed these his Elephants being so sent before, Hanno Governour over them, as over the Pol. alic. could hinder the Romans ( for so have they rest of the Province between Iberus and the faid to have done in the last battel between Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that him and Scipio ) from breaking into his is, (as I conceive it; for I do not think he Camp. Wherefore we can no more than be gave the Principality of their Country unforry, that all Carthaginian records of this to Hanno and his Heirs) he made him not War, and Spanish, (if there were any) being only Lieutenant-general over them, in matutterly loft, we can know no more thereof, ters of War, and things concerning the than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell holding them in obedience to Carthage; but us; unto whom it wereno wisdom to give took from them all inferiour Officers of Spain, not greatly infilting on particulars, had good cause to rejoyce at the coming of Scipio; with whom, others also (no doubt) Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Haven found reasons to joyn, it being the custom Town, not far within the Pyrenees, retain-of all conquered Nations in hatred of their ing still the same name with little inflexion. present Lords, to throw themselves indif-That by the flame of his clemency he allu-creetly into the protection of others, that red many Nations to become subject unto many times prove worse than the former. So Rome, as the story begins of him, I could were the Neapolitans, and Milanois, in the eafily believe, if I understood by what occa- age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turns of fion they had need to ule his clemency, or the 'paniards and French; as more fentible heto give such famous example thereof, be- still of the present evil which they felt, he was a man very courteous, and one that This bad affection of this Province, would the Barbarians, among whom, his dexterity toot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had left

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ran up into the Country, where he with- the comfortable promifes of those that had drew the Ilerectes from the Roman party, ruled them before. For that it was their inthough they had given Hostages to scipio, tent to live under their own Country Laws. scipio in the mean feason was gone to visit and not under Governours fent from and aid his Fleet; where having fet things Rome or Carthage, their demeanour in all in order, he returned back, and made to- Ages following may testifie: even from ward Aldrubal; who durst not abide his henceforth unto the dayes of Augustus Cafar, coming, but withdrew himielt again over till when they were never thorowly contherus. So the Ilergetes were compelled by quered. force having loft Athanagia their chief The year following this, Cn. Scipio had City, to pay a fine to the Romans, and in- a victory against the Carthaginians in fight create the number of their Hostages. The An- at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked fetanilikewife, Confederates of the Cartha- for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their ginians, were belieged in their chief Town 5 men being on thore. All their thips that ran which they defended thirry dayes; hoping, not too far on ground, he took; and therein vain, that the sharp Winter, and great by grew Master of the whole coast; landabundance of Snow that fell, would have ing at pleafure, and doing great hurt in all made the Romans to dislodge. But they were places that were not well defenced. After fain at length to yield; and for this their this victory, above one hundred and twenty obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents Nations, or petty estates in spain, are said of filver. During the fiege, the Lacetani to have submitted themselves unto the Rocame to help their diffressed neighbours; mans, or given Hostages; whereby Asarabal and were beaten home by scipio, leaving was compelled to flye into the uttermost twelve thousand of their Company dead be- corners of the Land, and hide himself in Luhind them. I cannot but wonder how these litania. Yet it followes, that the Ileretes Lacetani, that are faid to be the first which did again rebel; that Asdrubal hereupon embraced the friendship of scipio, should, came over Iberus; and that Scipio (though without any cause remembred, become Car- having easily vanquished the Hergetes) thaginian on the sudden, in the next news went not forth to meet him, but stirred up that we hear of them. As also it is strange, against him the Celliberians, that lately that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, were become his subjects, and had given having lately become voluntarily ditionis him Hostages. These took from the Cartha-Romane, subject unto Rome, should, in continu- ginians three Towns, and vanquished him ance of the Story, after a few lines, hold war in two battels; wherein they flew fifteen against Scipio, without any relistance of the thousand of his men, and took four thou-Carthaginians. Neither can I believe, that fand prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio, with Aldrubal, as it were by a charm, stirred up the supply before mentioned: and hencethe Hergetes, making them lay slide all care forward the two Brethren joyntly adminiof their Hostages, and take Arms in his quar- stred the business in Spain. rel; whilst himself had not the daring to The Carthaginians being occupied in the stand against scipio, but ran away, and sa- Celtiberian War; the two Scipio's did hand ved himself beyond therus. Philinas per-cunstanter, without both fear or doubt, pals haps, or some Carthaginian Writer, would over therus, and besieged Saguntum. Little have told it thus: That scipio adventuring cause of doubt had they, if Cn. had already too far into the Country, was beaten by Subdued many Nations beyond it; and, As drubal back to his ships, whence he durst among many other, the same Celtiberians, not stir until Winter came on: at what that with their proper forces were able to

time the Carthaginian returned into the vanquish Asdrubal. Bostar, the Governor of heart of his Province, leaving some few Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himself to Garrisons to desend those places, that after be perswaded by one Acedux a Spaniard, scipio won, by returning upon them, un that the only way to get the favour and looked for through a deep Snow. As for the hearty good will of the Country, was by Lacetani, Ilergetes, and the rest, we may freely restoring unto them their Hostages; reasonably think, that they sought their own as resting without any pledge, assured of benefit; helping themselves one while by their faith. But the crafty Spaniard, being the Romans against the Carthaginians; and trusted with this message and restitution of contrariwife, upon sense of injuries received, the Hostages, carried them all to the Roman or apprehension of more grievous tyranoy, General; perswaded them, as he had done under which they seared to be brought by Bostar, to make the Liberality their own. these new Masters , hearkning again unto Hereby the Romans purchased much love, if

if the tale were true; and if it were not ra- | and Sea, is sent to take the charge of Spain.

bren chidden the last year for their neg-Aldrubal is fain to make a journey to them. Himilco, with such forces as are thought ed his own safety? They find him, and Mago expedient for that service, both by Land and Amilear the Son of Bomilear, with an

ther true, as afterward, and ere this we find | Wherefore Asdrubal hath now no more to that all the spanish Hostages were left in do, than to furnish himself with store of monew Carthage. I am weary of rehearing to ny, that he might have wherewithal to win many particularities, whereof I can believe fo the friendship of the Gauls; through whose few. But fince we find no better certain- Countries he must pass, as Hannibal had ties, we must content our selves with these. done before him. The Carthaginians were The year following was like unto this: greatly to blame, for not remembring to eafe Afdrebal must be beaten again. The two him of his care. But fince it can be no bet-Scipio's divide their forces: Cn. makes war ter, he layes great Impositions upon all the by Land, P. by Sea. Afdrubal, with much Spaniards his Subjects : and having gotten labour and entreaty, hath gotten four thou- together as much treasure as he could, onfand foot, and five hundred horse out of ward he marcheth toward therms. The sci-Africk: He repairs his Fleet, and provides pio's hearing these news, are careful how to every way to make refistance. But all his arrest him on the way. They besiege Ibera chief Sea-men, and Masters of his Ships, re- (so called of the Rivers name running by it) volt unto the Romans; because they had the richest Town in all those quarters, that was confederate with Aldrubal; who thereligence, which had betrayed the Navy, The upon steps aside to relieve it. The Romans revolt of these ship-masters animates to re- meet him, and fight a battel with him; bellion the Carpetians, or Carpetani, an In- which they win the more easily, for that the land people about Toledo, in the very Center | Spaniards, his followers had rather be vanof spain. These do much mischief, so that quished at home , than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into Ita y. Great num-His sudden coming cuts off some of them, bers are slain; and few should have escaped. that were found scattered abroad in the but that the Spaniards ran away ere the fields. But they, making a head, so valiantly battels were fully joyned. Their Camp the affail him, that they drive him for very fear, Romans take and spoil; whereby (questionto encamp himselfstrongly on an high piece | less ) they are marvellously enriched; all the of ground; whence he dares not come forth | mony that could be raked together in Spain to give them battel. So they take a Town being carried along in this Italian Expediby force, wherein he had laid up all his pro- tion. This dayes event joyns all spain to visions; and shortly make themselves Ma- the Romans, if any part of the Country fters of the Country round about. This good stood in doubt before; and puts Astrubal so fince(s) breeds negligence; for which they far from all thought of travelling into tral), dearly pay. Afarabal comes upon them, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himtakes them unprepared, beats them, kills (elf safe in spain. Of these exploits advertisethe most of them, and disperseth the rest; so ment is sent to Rome, and Letters to the Sethat the whole Nation yieldeth to him the nate, from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the Liv. Hib. 22. next day. Then come directions from Car- Contents are, That they have neither mony, thage, that Asarbal should lead his Army apparel, nor bread, wherewith to sustain forth into Italy; which we may wonder why their Army and Fleet; that all is wanting: the Carthaginians would appoint him to do, fo as unless they may be supplied from Rome. if they had been informed by his letters in they can neither hold their forces together. what hard case he was; and had so weakly nor tarry any longer in the Province. These supplyed him, as is shewed before. But thus Letters come to Rome in an evil season; the we find it reported; and that upon the ve- State being scarcely able, after the loss at ry rumour of this his journey, almost all canna, to help it self at home. Yet relief is Spain was ready to fall to the Romans. Af- fent; how hardly, and how much to the drubal therefore presently sends word to Car- commendations of that love and care, which thage, That this must not be so: or, if they the private Citizens of Rome bare unto the will needs have it fo, that then they must Common-wealth, shall be inserted elsewhere send him a successor, and well attended with into the relation of things, whereof the truth a strong Army, which to employ they should is less questionable. At the coming of this find work more than enough; such notable supply, the two Scipio's pursue Afdrubal, men were the Roman Generals. But the Se- and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What nate of Carthage is not much moved with else can we think, that remember the last this excuse; As drubal must needs be gone: news of him, and how fearfully he mistrust-

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Allitures: ( which the learned Ortelius, and place with victuals, being ftrong and defenothers probably conjecture to have stood, fible; as intending to make it his seat for a where Carinnena is now in the Kingdom of while. But the Country round about it is too Aragon; for there was Illiturgis, afterwards full of Enemies: the Carthaginian horse have called Forum Julii, quite another way) a charged the Romans in their march, and are Town of the Illergetes their nearest Neigh- gone off clear; falling also upon some stragbours, for having revolted unto the Ro-lers, or fuch as lagged behind their fellows fed; but most of all, for want of victu- of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful. als. The Romans therefore break through to retire unto some place more affured. So between the Enemies Camps, with terrible Publius withdraws himself unto Mons visioflaughter of all that resisted them: and have-ria: that rising somewhat Eastward from ing victualled the place, incourage Towns- Incibili, overlooketh the Southern Out-let men to defend their walls as floutly, as they of Iberus. Thither the Carthaginians purfue should anon behold them fighting manfully him: His brother Gn. repairs unto himsand with the besiegers, in their behalf. So they Assignabel the son of Gasco, with a full Army. iffue forth, about fixteen thouland against arrives to help his Companions. As they lie threescore thousand: and killing more of thus near incamped together, P. Scipio with the enemies, than themselves were in num-some light-armed, going closely to view the Li: Si 22. ber, drave all the three Carthaginian Com- places thereabouts, is discovered by the ene-

booty, fifty and eight Enfigns.

ten from Illiturgi, fall upon Incibili, that know not why) Castulo, a great City of Spain, ftood a little Southward from the mouth of whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joyn-Iberus. The Spaniards are blamed, as too eth with the Romans; though being far greedy of earning money by war, for thus distant from them, and seated on the head of re-inforcing the broken Carthaginians. But the River Beis Nevertheless the Carthait may be wondred, whence the Carthagini- ginians pass over Iberus, to befiege Illiturgi ans had money to pay them: fince Afarthal again, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrifon; was lately driven to poll the Country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten ly wonder, what should move them to negin his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages left the rebellion of Castulo, yea and the Rowhen his Camp was taken after the battel man Army lying fo close by them, and to feek by Iberus. Howfoever it happens, the Car-thaginians (according to their cuftom) are wherein they had been fo grievously beaten beaten again at Incibili : where there were the year before. Butthither they go: and of them above thirteen thousand slain, and thither follows them Cn. Scipio with one ter this, (in a manner) all the people of spain in two battels kills above twelve thousand, fell from them unto the Romans. Thus and takes more than a thousand of them priwere not aware.

Army of threefcore thou fand men, befieging Publius Scipio incampeth: and ftores the The Town is greatly diffref- in march, they have cut off two thousand manders, every one out of his quarter; and mies: who are like to take him, butthat took that day, besides prisoners and other he withdraws himself to an high piece of ground; where they befiege him, until his The Carthaginian Army, being thus bea- brother Cn. fercht him off. After this (but] above three thousand taken; besides two Legion: who enters the Town by sorce, and forty Ensigns, and nine Elephants. Af- breaks out upon them the next day, and could Fabins, Valerius, Antius, or fome foners, with fix and thirty Enfigns. This viother Historian, to whom Livy gave credit, Ctory (doubtless ) is remarkable : consiconquer all spain twice in one year, by dering that the greatest Roman Legion at winning famous victories; whereof these this time, consisted of no more than five good Captains, P. and Cn. Scipio, perhaps thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigarra: but that siege is also The Romans notwithstanding this large raised by Cn. Scipio. Thence the Carthaginiaccess of Dominion, winter on their own ans remove to Manda; where the Romans fide of Iberus. In the beginning of the are soon at their heels. There is a greatbatnext year, great Armies of the Spaniards tel fought, that lasted four hours, wherein rise against Asdrubal; and are overthrown the Romans get a notable victory: and a by him. P. Scipio, to help these his friends, is more notable would have gotten, had not forced to make great haste over the River. Cn. Scipio been wounded. Thirty nine Ele-At Castrum Allum, a place in the mid-way phants are killed, and twelve thousand mens between new Carthage and Saguntum, fa-three thousand prisoners taken, and seven mous by the death of the great Amilear, and fifty Enfigns. The Carthaginians flie to

up the broken troops of Afdrubal, who havtheir honour; and wherein we may be af- follows, to call every messenger, or stragdisturbed them if they had been able.

But overlooking now this long continu-

Auringes; and the Romans pursuethem. Cn. stook Sagantum (if they took it not by fur-Scipio in a Litter is carried into the field, and prize; which is to be suspected, fince in this vanquished the Carthaginians again; but Action we find no particulars remembred. kils not half so many of them, as before; as when the same place was taken by Hangood cause why, for there are fewer of them nibal) they had gotten the better of their left to fight. Notwithstanding all these over- Enemies in some notable fight. In like fort throws, the Spaniards, a people framed even also must we think, that all those battels by nature to fet war on foot, quickly fill lately remembred, after every one of which Asdrubal sate down before some place, that ing also hired some of the Gauls, adventures had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were once more to try his fortune with the Ro- prosperous unto the Carthaginians. For it mans. But he is beaten again: and loseth is not the custome of Armies vanquished to eight thousand of his men besides Prisoners, carry to war from Town to Town, and Flephants, Enfigns, and other appurte beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to nances. After fo many victories, the Romans fortifie themselves within their own places are even ashamed to leave Saguntum en- of strength, and therein to attend the levy thralled unto the Carthaginians; fince, in and arrival of new supplies. And surely, behalf of that City, they had at first entred if the Romans had been absolute Masters into this war. And well may we think it of the field, when they won Saguntum. strange, that they had not recovered it long they would not have consumed a whole before, fince we may remember, that long year following, in practifing only with the before this they had won all the Country | Celtiberians the next adjoyning people. Yet once and again. But it must not be forgot- made they this, little less than two years ten, that they had ere now befieged Sagun- business. Of these Celtiberians we hear betum; and were fain (as appears) togo their fore, That they had yielded up themselves way without it: To as they need not to blush, lunto the Romans; for security of their faith, for having to long forborn to do that which given Hostages to Scipio; and, at his appointere now they had attempted, but were un-ment, made war against the Carthaginians, able to perform. At the present they won with their proper forces. Wherefore it is Saguntum: and restored the possession strange, that they are now thus hardly thereof unto such of the poor dispersed wrought; and not without express condi-Citizens as they can find out. They also tion of a great summ, hired to serve in the waste and destroy the Country of the Tur- Roman Camp. How this may hold together I detani. that had ministred unto Hannibal cannot perceive sunless perhaps in those days matter of quarrel against the Saguntines. it were the Roman custome, or rather the This last action (questionless) was much to custome of some bad Author whom Livy fured , that the Carthaginians would have ler, that entred that camp, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The Celtiberians at length, hired with ance of great victories, which the Romans great rewards, fend an Army of thirty thouhave gotten in Spain, other print or token fand to help the Romans: out of which, of all their brave exploits, we can perceive 3000. of the fittest men are chosen, and none, than this recovery of Saguntum: ex- carried into Italy, there to deal with their cepting the stopping of Astrabals journey; Country-men that follow Hannibal in his which was indeed of greatest importance, wars. But if any of these three hundred but appertaining to their own defence. For return back into Spain, it is to be feared, they have landed at Emporie, an Haven that he brings with him fuch news of the Town, built and peopled by a Colony of riches and wellfare of Hannibals men, that all the Phoceans, kin to the Massilians, friends his fellows at home are the less unwilling to the Romans; They have easily won to to follow Asdrubal, when he shall next have their party, lost, recovered, and lost again, a defire to lead them into Italy. Hereof we some petty bordering Nations of the spa- find more than probability, when these niards, that are carried one while by per- mercenary Celtiberians meet the Carthaginiswasion,other-whiles by force, and sometimes an Army in the field. The two Scipio's preby their own unfetled passions; and now suming on this access of strength, divide finally they have won a Town, whereof the their forces, and feek out the Enemies, who Carthaginians held entire possession, who lie not far off with three Armies. Astrubal had rooted out the old inhabitants. Where- the fon of Amilear, is nearest at hand; fore we may eafily believe, that when they even among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis.

CHAP. III.

With him Cn. scipio doubts not to take | should have had for hazarding their lives. good order: but the fear is, that this one C. scipio therefore being unable to stay them. part of the Carthaginian forces being de- and no less unable, without their help eiitroved; Mago the Son of Gefco, hearing the ther to refift the enemy, or to joyn with his news, will make use of their distance, which Brother, maketh a very violent retrair: is five dayes march, and by running into herein only differing from plain flight, that the furthest part of the Country save them- he keeps his men together. Asdrubal presfelves from being overtaken. Publius there- feth hard upon him: and Mage, with Afdrafore must make the more halte, and take bal the Son of Gesco, having made an end with him the better Souldiers, that is, two of Publim, haften to dispatcht his Brother afparts of the old Roman Army, leaving the ter him. Scipio steals from them all by night, third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his but is overtaken the next day by their horse. Brother. He that hath the longer journey to and arrested, in an open place of hard stomake, comes somewhat the sooner to his ny ground, where grows not so much as a lives end. Mago and Afdrubal, the Son of thrub, unfit for defence of his Legions Gesco, are not studying how to run away: against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he they find no such necessity. They joyn their finds of easie ascent on every side; which forces together, meet with Publius Scipio, and he takes for want of a more commodious lay at him so hardly, that he is driven to place, and fortifies with pack-faddles, and keep himself close within his Trenches; other luggage, for default of a better Palwherein be thinks himself not will assured. lisado. These weak defences the Carthagi-Especially he is vexed by Majanisla, Prince vians soon tear in sunder; and, breaking in of the Majfafjli, Numidian, bordering up- on all hands, leave very few of themalive; on Mauritania, in the Region called now that faving themselves, I know not how, Tremizen: to whom the chief honour of within some woods adjoyning, escape unto this service is ascribed, for that he becomes T. Fonteins, whom Publius had left in his afterward Confederate with the Romans. In Camp, as is before faid. It is a terrible overthis dangerous case, P. Scipio gets intellithrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. with Indibil's upon the way, leaving T. Fonwhich way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is like end hath Cn. Scipio within nine and

gence, that Indibilis a Spanish Prince, is com- Yet, how they who were thus hemmed in on ing with seven thousand and five hundred every side, in so bare a ground as afforded of the Sueffetani, to joyn with his Enemies. not a shrub to cover them, could break out, Fearing therefore to be strait shut up, and and shrowd themselves within woods adbelieged, he issues forth by night, to meet joyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine teius his Lieutenant, with a small company attention. T. Fonteius is in P. Scipio's Camp,on to defend the Camp. He meets with Indibi- the North fide of Iberus, fearful (as may be lis; but is not able, according to his hope, to supposed) of his own life; since his General, defeat him at the first incounter. The fight with two parts of the Roman Army, had continues fo long, that the Numidian horse little hope to remain long safe within it. Thiappear (whom he thought to have been ig- ther comes L. Martins, a young Roman norant of his departure) and fall upon the Gentleman of a noble Spirit; who having Romans on all fides: neither are the Car- gathered together the scattered Souldiers, thaginians far behind; but come so fast up and drawn some Companies out of their Garon him in a Rear, that P. Scipio, uncertain rifons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chuse a General by most voices, preterr this L. Martius before Fonteim struck thorow with a lance, and slain : very the Lieutenant, as well they may. For few of his Army escaping the same destiny, Astrubal the Son of Gesco, coming upon through benefit of the dark night. The them; this L. Martins fo encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them twenty dayes after. At his meeting with 4j- forth, upon remembrance of their more hodrubal, the Celtiberian Mercenaries all for- nourable Generals lately flain ) and admofake him, pretending that they had war in nisheth them of their present necessity, that their own Country. If Anitorgis, where Af- he beats the Carthaginians into their drubal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he Bucterus takes it, a Celtiberian Town; this might have gotten but that he wisely founds was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. the retrait; referving the fury of his Soul-But we may justly believe, that they were diers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginiwon by Afdrubal, and eafily perswaded to ans are at first amazed, and wonder whence take as much mony for not fighting, as they this new boldness grows, in enemies lately

vanquished, and now again little betterthan rately concludeth, That this Captain Martaken : but when they fee, that the Roman tins got a great name, which he might lares not follow his advantage, they return well do, it with fo fmall forces, and in fuch their former security; and, utterly de- distress, he could clearly get off from the pling him, fet neither Corps de garde nor Enemies, and give them any parting blow. Sentinel, but rest secure, as if no enemy were though it were far less than that which is Martius therefore animates his Soul- here fet down. Of these occurrents L. Martius sent word diers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more fafe, than to Rome, not forgetting his own good ferthat which is furthest from suspicion of being undertaken. They are soon perswaded such wife, as the Senate might judge him to follow him, in any desperate piece of ser- worthy to hold the place of their Vice-So he leads him forth by night, and gerent in Spain : which the better to inti-

vice, whatfoever it was, but fetting it out in fteals upon the Camp of Afdrubal; where, mate unto them, he stilled himself Propretor. finding no guard, but the enemies fait The Fathers were no less moved with the tvafleep, or very drowsie, he enters without dings than the case required; and therefore refistance, fires their Cabbins, and gives took such careful order, for supplying their a terrible alarm; fo that all affrighted the forces in Spain, that although Hannibal came Carthaginians run head-long one upon ano- to the gates of Rome, ere the Companies ther, they know not which way. All paf- levied to ferve that Province, could be fages out of their Camp, Martius hath pre- fent away; yet could they not stay a tyde polleslied, so that there is no way to escape, for defence of the City it self, but shipped lave by leaping down the Rampart; which them in all hafte for Spain. As for the title of as many do, as can think upon it, and run Propretor, which Martins had affumed they away toward the Camp of Afdrabal the Son thought it too great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it: of Amilear, that lay fix miles off. But Martins hath way-laid them. In a Valley be- foreseeing well, that it was matter of ill tween their two Camps he hath bestowed a consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad Roman cohort, and I know not what num- make choice among themselves, of those that ber of Horse; so that into this Ambush they should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore Claudius Nero was dispatched fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But, left perchance any should have escaped, and away with all convenient haste, into Spain: give the alarm before his coming; Martins canzying with him about fix thousand of hastensto be there as soon as they. By which the Roman foot, and as many of the Latiner, diligent speed, he comes early in the with three hundred Roman horse, and of the Latines eight hundred.

morning upon this further Camp; which It happened well that about these times, with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the the affairs of Rome began to prosper in Italy, Enemies conceived, when they beheld the and offered means of fending abroad such Roman shields, foul, and bloodied with a strong supply: otherwise the victories of their former execution, he drives headlong into flight, all that can fave themselves footing in Spain, or to stop the Carthaginifrom the fury of the sword. Thirty seven an Armies from marching towards the Alps. thousand of the enemies perish in this nights For when Claudius, landing with his new work; besides a thousand eight hundred forces, took charge of that remainder of and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto Vale- the Army, which was under Martius and ring Antino adds , that the Camp of Mago Fonteins ; he found furer tokens of the overwas also taken, and seven thousand slain; throws received, than of those miraculous and that in another battel with Afdrubal, victories, whereof Martins had made his there were flain ten thousand more; besides vaunts unto the Senate. The Roman party four thousand three hundred and thirty ta- was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends; ken prisoners. Such is the power of some whom how to reclaim, it could not easily Historians. Livie therefore hath elsewhere be devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly well observed, That there is none so intem towards Asdrubal the Brother of Hannibal; Perate, as Valerius Antius, in multiplying whom he found among the Aufetani, near the numbers that have fallen in battels, enough at hand, incamped in a place called That, whilft Martins was making an Oration Lapides atri; out of which there was no iffue, to his Souldiers, a stame of fire shone about but only through a strait, whereon the Rohis head, Livie reports as a common tale, man seized at the first coming. What should not giving thereto any credit: and tempe- have tempted any man of understanding

to incamp in fuch a place, I do not find : and | much of the great Alexanders vanity; how as little reason can I find in that which fol- he used to walk alone in the Capitol, as one lowed. For it is faid, that Afdrubal feeing that had some secret conference with Jupihimself thus lockt up, made offer to depart ver; how a Dragon (which must have been forthwith out of all Spain, and quit the Pro-one of the gods; and, in likelihood, Jupiter vince to the Romans, upon condition that That he spent many dayes, in entertaining and anothing away at the commerce of any parley with Claudius about his business; and bow of these matters he nourse. That night by night he conveyed his tootmen (a few at a time) through very diffi-them no better than fables, devided by Hicult passages, out of the danger; and that storians, who thought thereby to add unto finally taking advantage of a mifty day, he the glory of Rome: that this Noble City ftole away with all his Horse and Elephants, might seem not only to have surpassed other leaving his Camp empty. If we confider, that Nations in vertue of the generality, but also there were at the lame time, besides this of in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is lest out, that might serve Spain; we shall find no less cause to wonder to adorn this Roman Champion. For it is at the simplicity of Claudius, who hoped to considently written, as matter of unqueconclude a bargain for fo great a Country, stionable truth, That when a Proconful was with one of these three Chieftains, than at to be chosen for Spain, there durst not any the strange nature of those passages, through Captain of the principal Citizens offer himwhich the footmen could hardly creep out felf as Petitioner for that honourable, but by night; the Horse and Elephants easily dangerous charge; That the people of Rome following them in a dark milty day. Where- were much altonished thereat; That when fore in giving belief to such a tale, it is need- the day of Election came, all the Princes of ful that we suppose, both the danger where- the City stood looking one another in the in the Carthaginians were, and the condiface, not one of them having the heart to tions offered for their safe departure, to adventure himself in such a desperate serhave been of far less vallue. Howfoever it vice; and finally, that this P. Cornelius Sciwas; neither this, nor ought else that the pio, being then about four and twenty years Romans could do, served to purchase any of age, getting up on a high place where new friends in spain, or to recover the old he might be feen of all the multitude, rewhich they had loft. Like enough it is, that quested and obtained, that the office might the old Souldiers, which had chosen Mar- be conferred upon him. If this were true, tim their Propretor, took it not well, that then were all the victories of L. Martin no the Senate, regardless of their good deserts, better than dreams: and either very unrea had repealed their election, and fent a Pro- tonable was the fear of all the Roman Cappretor whom they fancied not so well. Some tains, who durst not follow Claudius Nero, fuch occasion may have moved them to de that not long before was gone into Spain fire a Proconful, and (perhaps) young Scipio Propretor; or very bad intelligence they by name: as if a title of greater dignity were had out of the Province, which Afdrubal needful to work regard in the Barbarians; the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, and the beloved memory of Cn. and Publim. was ready to abandon. But upon these incolikely to do good, were it revived in one herences, which I find in the two partial Roof the same family. Whether upon these or upon other reasons; C. Claudius was recalled out of the Province; and Publius the Son of P. Scipio fent proconful into Spain.

This is that Scipio, who afterward tranfferred the war into Africk: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit lies, with these they landed at Emporia; and of his Country. He was a man of goodly marched from thence to Tarracon alongst presence, and singularly well conditioned; the Sea-coast. At the same of Scipio's arrival, especially he excelled in Temperance, Contilit is said, that Embassages came to him apace nency, Bounty, and other vertues that pur- from all quarters of the Province; which chate love; of which qualities what great use he entertained with such a Majesty, as bred he made, shall appear in the tenour of his a wonderful opinion of him. As for the actions following. As for those things that enemies, they were greatly afraid of him;

man Historians, I do not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was fent Proconful into Spain; and with him was joyned M. Junius Syllanus, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty Quinquereme-Galare reported of him, savouring a little too and so much the greater was their fear, by

how much the less they could give any real to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of Come think, all the next Year ) he did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, intreating with the Spaniards. His first enterprise was against new Carthage: upon which he came unexpected. with five and twenty thousand foot, and and gave free entrance to the Roman Army. mood, and bring him to a more convenient What booty was found within the Town, temper. Livie himself cannot certainly affirm; but is

fon of it. If we must believe this, then must the Celtiberians, and two petty Kings of the we needs believe, that their fear was even as Ilergetes and Lucetani, nearest Neighbours great as could be: for very little cause there to Turracon, and dwelling on the North-side was, to be terrified with the fame of fo of therm, fortook the Carthaginian party, voung a man, which had as yet performed and joyned with the Romans. The speech nothing. All the Winter following (or, as of Indibilis, King of the Ilergetes, is much commended; for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly Fugitives use, of the pleasure, which he did unto the Romans, in revolting from their enemies ; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the Carthaginians. two thousand five hundred horse; his Sea- and invited by the honourable dealing of forces coasting him, and moderating their scipio. This temperate estimation of his new course in such wife, that they arrived there professed friendship, was indeed no unsure together with him He affailed the Town by token, that it should be long-lasting. But if Land and Sea; and won it by affault the the Ilergetes had long ere this (as we have first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their heard before) for saken the Carthaginian partoo much confidence upon the strength of ty, and stoutly held themselves as friends to it: which caused them to man it more slen- Cn. Scipio: then could nothing have been dederly, than was requisite. Yet it might have vised more valu, than this Oration of Indibibeen well enough defended, if some Fisher / is their King, excusing, as new, his taking men of Tarracon had not discovered unto part with the same, when he should have rascipio, a fecret passage unto the walls; where- ther craved pardon for his breach of alliofthe Townsmen themselves were either ig- ance, formerly contracted with the Father norant, or thought (at least ) that their ene- and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, mies could have no notice. This City of new that how foever the two elder Scipio's had Carthage, resembled the old and great Car- gotten some few places among these their thage in fituation; standing upon a demy Neighbours, and held them by strength; yet Island, between an Haven and a great Lake were the Romans never masters of the All the Western side of the walls, and some - Country, till this worthy Commander, by what of the North, was fenced with this recovering their Hostages from the Cartha-Lake: which the Fisher-men of Tarracon had ginians, and by his great munificence in founded; and finding some part thereof a sending them home, won unto himself the shelf, whereon at low-water men might pass affured love and affistance of these Princes. knee-deep,or (at most ) wading up to the The Carthaginian Generals, when they Navil, Scipio thrust thereinto some compa- heard of this loss, were very forry : yet nenies of his men; who recovered the top of vertheless they set agood face on the matthe walls without refistance: the place be- ter; saying, that a young man, having stoln ing left without guard; as able to defend it a Town by surprise, was too far transported, felf by the natural strength. These falling and over-joyed, but that shortly they would suddenly upon the backs of the Carthagini- meet with him, and put him in mind of his ans within the City, easily forced a gate, Father and Uncle; which would alter his

Now if I should here interpose mine own fain to say, that some Roman Historians told conjecture; I should be bold to say, that the lies without measure, in way of amplificati- | Carthaginians were at this time busie, in set-By that small proportion of riches, ling forth towards Italy; and that Scipio, to which was afterward carried by Seipio into divert them, undertook new Carthage, as his the Roman Treasury, we may easily perceive Father and Uncle, upon the like occasion, how great a vanity it was to fay, that all fate down before Ibera. And in this respect the wealth of Africk and Spain was heaped I would suppose, that it had not been much up in that one Town. But therein were be- amissif the passage over the Lake had been flowed all the Spanish Hostages (or at least undiscovered, and the Town held out some of the adjoyning Provinces ) whom scipie longer while. For howfoever that partiintreated with fingular courtefie: reftoring cular Action was the more fortunate, in them unto their kindred and friends, in such coming to such good issue upon the sirst gracious manner, as doubled the thanks due day: yet in the generality of the business,

between

purpose, and to do what else was needful,

be wished, that Asarubal should be stayed finally to have concluded, that go he needs from going into Italy, than that half of spain must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards should be taken from him. Whereas there- as far as might be, from the name of Scipio. fore he had nothing left to do, that should How likely this was to have been true, it hinder his journey; Mago, and Asdrubal shall appear at his coming into Italy; whence the fon of Gelco, were thought sufficient to these incoherent relations of the Spanish hold scipio work, in that lingring War of affairs have too long detained us. taking and retaking Towns, whilst the main of the Carthaginian forces, under Asdrubal the fon of Amilear, went to a greater enterprife : even to fight in tryal of the Empire. But the Roman Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That Asdrubal was bearen into Italy : whither he ran for fear, as thinking himfelf ill affured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but hear the name of Scipio. Scipio, lay they, coming upon Asdrubal; his Vant-currers charged so luftily the Carthaginian horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small piece of fervice, how full of fpirit the Romans Army was, and how dejected the Enemy. Asdrubal therefore by night retired out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to three sides with the River, very steep of hear the good news from Carthage of such ascent, and not easie of access on the foreside; mighty aid, as was decreed to be sent thence by which himself got up, and was to be fol- unto him. In former times he had found lowed by the Romans. On the top of it there work enough, to carry the Romans corn inwasa Plain, whereon he strongly encamped to his own barns, and to drive away their himself: and in the mid-way, between the Cattle to Gerjon: his victories affording him top and root of the Hill, was also another little other profit than sustenance for his Ar-Plain; into which he descended, more up- my; by making him master of the open field. on bravery, that he might not feem to He might perhaps have forced some walled hide himself within the Trenches, than Towns in like fort as he did Gerjon, and the for that he durst adventure his Army to Castle of Canna: but had he spent much the hazzard of a battail, for which this time, about the getting of any one placewell vered even footing with him; drove him out grievously punished him for such imploy-Hill top: whither although the afcent were the reason, why he forbore to adventure up-

between Rome and Carthage, it was more to consulted with him about this War; and

## ø. XII.

The oreat troubles that Hannibal raised in all quarters, to the City of Rome. Posthumius the Roman General, with his whole Army, is flain by the Gauls. Philip King of Macedon enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Ætolians, make war upon Philip in Greece : and afterwards conclude a peace with him. the better to intend their busines against the Carthaginians.

WE left Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates was no equal ground. But such advantage of defended; the hunger, that his Army must place could not fave him from the Romans. have endured the Winter and Spring fol-They climed up the Hill to him; they reco- lowing, untill corn were ripe, would have of this lower Plain, up into his Camp on the ment of the Summer. This may have been very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed on Rome, after his victory at Canna. For had in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking ty) to carry the City at his first coming; paffage where it was hardest to be found; want of victuals would have compelled him but much more strongly breaking their to quit the enterprise. Yea many of the way, where the Carthaginians had got up people that opened fo halfily their gates before them, they drave both men and Ele- unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glophants head-long, I know not whither: for it rious fuccess, would have taken time of deis faid, that there was no way to flye. Out of liberation, and waited perhaps the event fuch a battel, wherein he had lost eight thou- of another battel; if being, either for want fand men, Afdrubal is said to have escaped; of means to force the City, or of necessaand gathering together his dispersed troops, ries to continue a siege before it, repelled to have marched toward the Pyrenees, hav- (as might feem) from the walls of Rome, he ing sent away his Elephants ere the fight be- had presented himself unto them with a gan. Nevertheless, Mago, and Asarubal the lessened reputation, somewhat later in the fon of Gefco, are reported after this to have year; when time to force their obedience

was wanting unless they would freely yield for Petilia, by force; after it had held out it. But this great part of the care and trave fome moneths. He won likewife Confentia, was past, when so many States of Italy were and Croton, that was torfaken by the Inhabecome his: the year following, the Sam pitants. Also the City of Locri, which was nites, and other old enemies of Rome, were of great importance, yielded unto him: like to receive a notable pleasure of their as did all other places thereabout; except new alliance with Carthage, by helping to only the Town of Rhegium, over against lay fiege unto that proud City, which fo sicil. long had held them in subjection. Thus the The great faith of the Petilians is worthy winter was passed over joy fully, saving that

to be recorded, as a notable testimony of there came not any tidings of the prepara- the good government, under which the Rotions to fecond the welcome report of those man subjects lived. As for the samnites, Cammighty forces, that were decreed and ex- panes, and others, whose earnestness in repetted. The Spring grew on : and of the bellion may feem to prove the contrary; we promised supply there arrived no more, are to consider, That they had lately conthan only the Elephants. How late it was tended with Rome for Soveraignty, and were ere these came, I find not: only we find, now transported with ambition: which that after this he had above thirty of them; reason can hardly moderate, or benefits alwhereas all, fave one, that he brought over lay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of the Alps, had been lost in his journy through their danger, did send to Rome for help: the Marishes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse where their messengers received answer of this exceeding negligence, they that from the Senate, That the publick misforbrought the Elephants could make unto tunes had not left means, to relieve their Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told Aflociates that were fo far diftant. The Petihim truly what mischiefs the perswasion of lian Messengers (Embassadours they are Hanno wrought among the too niggardly termed; as were all others, publickly fent Carthaginians. Otherwife, they might per- from Cities of the Roman Subjection, that haps inform him, that it was thought a had a private jurifdiction within themfafer, though a farther way about, to pass selves) fell down to the ground, and humbly along through spain and Gaul, as he him befought the Fathers, not to give them felf had done; and increase the Army, by away; promising to do and suffer whatsoehyring the Barbarians in the journey; than ver was possible, in defence of their Town. to commit the main strength of their City, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Seto the hazzard of the Seas: especially want- nate fell to consultation again: and having ing a commodious Haven, to receive the throughly confidered all their forces re-Fleet that should carry such a number of maining plainly confessed, that it was not in Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all need-their power to give any relief. Wherefore ful provisions. With these allegations Hanni- these Embassadours were willed to return balmust rest content; and seek, as well as home, and to bid their Citizens provide hecan, to fatisfie his Italian Confederates hereafter for their own fafety, as having al-Therefore when time of the year ferved he ready discharged their saith to the utmost. took the field: and having finished what All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as rested to be done at Casilinum, sought to was said ) held out some moneths; and having make himself Master of some good Haven- striven in vain to defend themselves, when town thereabout; that might ferve to enter- there was no apparent possibility gave to the tain the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Carthaginians a bloody victory over them; Enemies at home all excuse, which they being vanquished as much by famine, as by might precend by want thereof. To the same any violence of the Assailants.

The Romans at this time were indeed in he fent Himileo unto the Locrians, and Han- fuch ill case, that Hannibal with a little help no to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to from Carthage, might have reduced them affay all quarters of staly, yea, the Isles of si- unto terms of great extremity. For whereas cil and Sardinia, fince the fiege of Rome must in a great bravery, before their loss at Canneeds be deferred unto another year. Hanno | ne, they had shewed their high minds, by made an ill journey of it, being met, or over- entertaining the care of things far off, nottaken, by T. Sempronius Longus : who flew withstanding the great war that lay upon above two thouland of his men; with the them so near at hand: it now fell out miferloss of fewer than three hundred Romans. ably all at once, that their fortune abroad But Himilco sped far better. By help of the was no whit better than at home. L. Posthu-Erntians, his good friends, he won Petellia, mins Albinus their Prætor they had tent,

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into Gaul: to the Illyrian King Piness they enjoying leifure to look into the doings had fent for their tribute due, whereof the abroad, he sent Embassadours to Hannibal; pay-day was past; willing him, if he defired with whom he made a league, upon these forbearance, to deliver Holtages for his conditions; That the King in person should performance of what was due; and to Philip come into Italy, and with all his forces, by King of Mucedon they had fent, to require, Land and Sea, affift the Carthaginians in the that he should deliver up unto them Deme- Roman war, until it were finished; That trius Pharius their Subject and Rebel, whom Rome, and all Italy, together with all the he had received. But now from all quar-spoil therein to be gotten, should be left inters they hear tydings, little suitable to tire unto the State of Carthage; and that aftheir former glorious conceits. Posthumius terwards Hannibal, with his Army, should with all his Army was cut in pieces by the pass into Greece, and there affist Philip, until Gauls, in such fort, that scarce ten men esca he had subdued all his enemies ( which ped. The manner of his overthrow was very were the Etolians, Thracians, King Antiostrange. There was a great Wood, called by chus and others) leaving semblably unto the Gauls, Litana; thorow which he was to him the full possession of that Country, and país. Against his coming, the Enemies had the Isles adjoyning. But such predisposition fawed the trees so far, that a little force of Kingdoms and Provinces, is lightly would serve to cast them down. When there- controlled by the divine providence, which fore Posthumius, with his whole Army, was therein shews it felf; not (as Herodotus falfentred into this dangerous passage, the ly terms it, and like an Atheist) enviousor Gauls that lay about the Wood, began to malicious, but very just and Majestical in cast down the trees; which falling one upholding that unspeakable greatness of against another, bore all downso fast, that Soveraignty, by which It rules the whole the Romans were overwhelmed, Men and World, and all that therein is. Horses; in such wife, that no more escaped, than is faid before. How this tedious work fell into the Romans hands, in their journey of fawing so many trees, could take defired towards Hannibal: and being examined effect, and neither be perceived, nor made what they were, adventured upon a bold frustrate, either by some wind that might have blown all down before the Romans King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a entred, or by some other of those many ac- League with the Senate and people, and ofcidents, whereto the device was subject; I do fer his help in this time of great necessity. not well conceive. Yet some such thing may These news were so welcome, that the joy have been done, and what failed in the thereof took away all care of making better stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. inquiry. So they were lovingly feasted, and It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as freely dismissed with guides that should a monument of the favage condition, where-lead them the way, and shew them how to with Lombardie, a Country now so civil, avoid the Carthaginians. But they being thus was infected in elder times, that of Posthu- instructed concerning their journey, fell mius his skull, being cleansed and trimmed wilfully into the Camp of Hannibal; who up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and entertained them after a better fashion, and consecrated in their principal Temple, as an concluded the business about which they holy veffel for the use of the Priest in their came, upon the points before remembered folemnities. Of this great overthrow, when In their return homeward, they happened word was brought to Rome, the amazement again unluckily to be deferred by the Rowas no less than the calamity. But forrow man Fleet; which mistrusting them to be of

with an Army of five and twenty thousand, | For having affured his affairs in Greece, and

The first Embassadours that Philip sent, could give no remedy to the mischief: and the Carthaginian party, gave them chace. anger was vain, where there wanted forces They did their best to have escaped: but to revenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there being overtaken, they suffered the Romans came none; neither do I find that any was to come aboord; and trusting to the lye that a second time demanded; this we find, that once had served them, said it again, That have with Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus, Illyrian ing been sent from King Philip to make a Kings as also with Gentius, who raigned league with the people of Rome, they were within a few years following, the Romans not able by reason of the Carthaginians lydealt upon even terms; entreating their af- ing between, to get any further than to fiftance against Philip and Perseus; not com- M. Valerius the Prætor, unto whom they had manding their duty, as Vassals. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. Master. The tale was now less credible than before: and which marred all ) Gesco, Bostar, with so great slaughter, that they forced only with fome loss of time.

and Mago, with their followers, Carthagi- him to fortake his Camp, and raise the fiege. nians that were fent with them from Hanni- The King purposed (as it is said) to have debalto ratifie the agreement, being prefently parted thence by Sea: but Valerius, coming detected, made the matter apparent. Where- with his Fleet from Oricum, stopped up the fore a little inquisition served to find all mouth of the River, so that he was fain to out: fo that at length Hannibals own let- burn his ships (which belike were no betters to King Philip were delivered up, and the ter than long boats) and depart ill furnished whole business confected. The Embassadours of carriages by Land. After this Valerius and their followers were fent close prisoners dealt with the Etolians, a Nation alwaies to Rome; where the chief of them were cast enemy to the Crown of Macedon; and easily into prison, and the rest sold for bond-perswaded them (being so affected, as hath flaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, else-where been shewed ) to make strong carried word into Macedon of all that had war on Philip; wherein he promifed them happened. Whereupon new Embassage was great affistance from the Romans. That fent, that went aud returned with better which most moved the troublesome spirits of freed; concluding, as was agreed before, the Ætolians, was the hope of getting Acarnania; after which they had gaped long, and The Romans were exceedingly perplexed; whereof the Roman was as liberal in making thinking with what heavy weight this Mace- promise, as if already it had been his own. donian war, in an evil hour, was likely to So a league was made between them; and fall upon them, when their shoulders were afterward solemnly published at Olympia, over-burdened with the load of the Cartha- by the Etolians, and by the Romans in their vinian. Yet they took a noble resolution, Capital. The conditions were, that from and suitable unto that, whereby they kept | Etolia to Corcyra, in which space Acarnania off the storm, that else would have beaten was contained, all the Country should be upon them from Spain. They judged it more subdued, and left unto the Liolians, the easie with small force to detain Philip in pillage only to be given to the Romans. And Greece, than with all their strength to refist that if the Ætolians made peace with Phihimin Italy. And herein they were in the lip, it should be with Provision, to hold no right For that the very reputation of a King longer than whilft he abstained from doing of Macedon, joyning with Hannibal in fuch injury to the Romans, or their Affociates. a time, would have sufficed to shake the al- This was indeed the only point whereat Valegiance, not only of the Latines, and other, lerius aimed, who promised as much on the their most faithful Subjects, but even of the Romans behalf, That they should not make Roman Colonies, that held all priviledges peace with the Macedonian, unlessit were of the City, it will appear by the following with like condition of including the Etosuccess of things. M. Valerius the Prætor, lians. Into this league was place reserved for with twenty Quinquereme Gallies, was ap- the Lacedemonians and Eleans, as to those pointed to attend upon the Macedonian, and that had made or favoured the fide of Cleoto fet on foot some commotion in Greece; or menes against the Macedonian, to enter at to nourish the troubles already therein be-their pleasure. The like regard was had of gun. Philip was busie about the Sea Towns, Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus: the first that looked towards Italy, fetting upon of which reigned at Pergamus in Alia the Apollonia; and thence falling upon Oricum, less, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken which he won, and so returned to Apollo- of; the other two held some part of Illyria, nia again. The Epirots craved help of M. Va- about which the Romans were so far from lerius; or rather excepted his kind offers; contending with them, that gladly they who had none other business to do. The sought to get their friendly acquaintance. Garrison that Philip had left in Oricum, was But the names of these Associates are thrust ftrong enough to hold the Towns-men in into the Treaty, rather to give it countegood order, but not to keep out the Romans; nance, than for any readiness which they disof whose daring to attempt any thing close to enter thereinto. The Etolians against him, on that side the Sea, Philip as alone, and chiefly Scopas their Prætor, with then had no suspition. Valerius therefore ea- Dorymachus and others, are vet a while the fily regained the Town, and sent thence a only men, of whom the Roman Generals thousand men, under Navius Crifpus, an un- must make much; as the late French King, dertaking and expert Captain, which got Henry the fourth, when he had only the by night into Apollonia. These made a no-title of Navarre, was said to court the Majors table fally, and brake into Philip's Trenches of Rochel. Philip was not idle, when he heard

whereunto

whereunto the Ætolian tended. Herepair-Hereupon, these his troublesome neighboure ed his Army, made a countenance of war defired peace of him, and used their helf upon the Illyrians, and other his borderers, means to get it. And when the day appointhat were wont in times of danger to infelt ed for the conclusion therefore, was come. the Kingdom of Macedon; wasted the Countheir Embassadours, in stead of making try about Oricum and Apollonia, and over-sunning the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and rable conditions, as ill besemed vanquished others, whom he held suspected, came down men to offer; and might therefore well teinto Theffaly, whence he made shew as if he stifie, that their minds were altered. It was would invade Ætolia. By the fame of this not any love of peace, but fear of being be-Expedition, he thought to stir up all the fieged in their own Towns, that had made Greeks adjoyning, against the Ætolians; them desirous of composition. This fear bewhom they generally detelted as a neft of ing taken away, by the incouragements of Robbers, troublesome to all the Country. Attalus and the Romans, they were as fierce To which purpose, and to hinder the Ato- as ever; and thrust a Garrison of their own. lians from breaking into Greece, he left Per- and some Roman friends into Elis; which few, his Son and Heir, with four thousand threatned Achaia, wherein Fhilip then lav. men . upon their borders : with the rest of The Romans, making a cut over the straight his Army, before greater buliness should from Naupadus, wasted the Country in a overtake and intangle him, he made a long terrible bravery; wherein Philip required journey into Thrace, against a people called him, coming upon them in great haste from the Medes, that were wont to fall upon Ma- the Nemaan Games ( which he was then cecedon, when foever the King was absent. The lebrating ) and sending them faster away. Etolians hearing of his departure, armed but nothing richer than they came. as many as they could against the Acarna- In the heat of this contention, Prusing King nians; in hope to subdue those their daily of Eithynia, fearing the growth of Attalus. enemies, and win their little Country, ere no less than Attalus held suspected the power he should be able to return. Hereto it much of Philip, sent a Navy into Greece, to affist availed, that the Romans had already taken the Mucedonian party. The like did the Oeniade and Naxes, Acarnanian Towns, con- Carthaginians; and upon greater reason, as veniently situated to let in an Army; and being more interessed in the success of his configned them unto the Apolians, accord- affairs. Philip was too weak by Sea : and ing to the tenour of the contract lately made though he could man some two hundred with them. But the stout resolution of the ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not Acarnanians to die (as we say) every Mo- hold out against the Romans Quinqueremes. thers Son of them, in defence of their Coun- Wherefore it behoved him to use the help try; together with the great haste of the of his good friends the Carthaginians. But Macedonian ( who laid afide all other busi- their aid came somewhat too late; which ness) to succour these his friends; caused the might better at first have kept those Ene-Etolians to forfake their enterprise. When mies from fastening upon any part of Greece, this Expedition was given over the Romans than afterward it could ferve to drive them and Atolians fell upon Ancyre, which they out, when they had pierced into the bowels took: the Romans affailed by Sea, the Eto- of that Country. Ere Philip could attempt lians by Land. The Atolians had the Town, any thing by Sea, it was needful that he and the Komans the (poil.

chosen Consul at Rome; and P. Sulpitius sent But in affailing their Town, he was encounin his stead, to keep the war on foot in tred by the Atolian and Roman Garrison, Greece. But besides the Roman help, Attalus which drave him back with some loss. In out of Asia came over to assist the Atolians. such cases, especially where God intendeth He was chiefly moved by his own jealousie a great conversion of Empire, Fame is very of Fhilips greatness; though somewhat also powerful in working. The King had receitickled with the vanity of being chosen by ved no great detriment in his retrait from the Etolians their principal Magistrate; Elis: rather he had given testimony of his which honour, though no better than ti- personal valour, in fighting well on foot, tulary, he took in very loving part. Against when his horse was slain under him. He had the forces which Attalus and the Romans also soon after taken a great multitude of had fent, being joyned with the main power the Eleans, to the number of four thousand, of Etolia, Philip tried the fortune of two with some twenty thousand head of Cattel

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should correct the Eleans, bad neighbours For the e good services M. Valerius was to the Achaians his principal Confederates. battels; and was victorious in : ach of them. which they had brought together in a place of fafety, as they thought, when their Coun-Hereupon the King returned home, leaving more hereafter. not three thousand men to affist his friends

The Lacedemonians, hearing certain rerry was invaded. But it had hapned, that port of Cleomenes his death in Egypt, went in his pursuit of the Romans forragers about about to chuse two new Kings, and to consicion, his horse running hastily under a formthemselves to their old manner of golow tree, had torn off one of the horns, vernment. But their estate was so far out which (after the fashion of those times) the of tune, that their hope of redressing things King wore in his Crest. This was gathered within the City, proved no less unfortunate, up by an Atolian, who carried it home, and than had been their attempts of recoverthewed it as a token of Philip's death. The ing a large dominion abroad. Lycurgus a horn was well known, and the tale believed. Tyrant role up among them: upon whom All Macedon therefore was in an uproar; succeeded this Machanidas, and shortly afand not only the borderers, ready to fall up- ter came Nabis, that was worse than both on the Country, but some Captains of Philip of them. They held on the Etolian and Roeasily corrupted; who thinking to make man side, for fear of the Acheans, that were themselves a fortune in that change of the chief Confederates of Philip, and hated things, ran into such treason, as they might extremely the name both of Tyrant and better hope to make good, than to excuse. Lacedamonian. But of these we shall speak

Philip entring into Achaia, and seeing his the Acheans. He also took order, to have bea- presence had brought the contentment of cons erected, that might give him notice of affurance to that Country; spake brave the enemies doings, upon whom he meant words to the Assembly of their States, sayshortly to return. The affairs of Macedon, ing, That he had to do with an Enemy his presence quikly established. But in that was very nimble, and made War by Greece all went ill-favouredly ; especially in running away. He told how he had folthe lile of Eubers, where one Plater betrayed lowed them to Chalcis, to Orecum, to Opus, to Attalus and the Romans, the Town of and now into Achaia; but could no where Oreum, ere Philip could arrive to help it: find them, such hast they made, for fear of where also the strong City of Chalcis was being overtaken. But flight, he said, was not likely to have been loft, if he had not come alwaies prosperous: he should one day the sooner. He made such hasty marches, light upon them; as ere this he sundry that he had almost taken Attalus in the City times had done, and still to their loss. The of Opus: this City, lying over against Eu- Achaians were glad to hear these words; bea, Attalus had won more through the and much the more glad, in regard of his cowardize of the people, than any great good deeds accompanying them. For he reforce that he had used now because the Ro-stored unto their Nation some Towns that man Souldiers had defrauded him in the were in his hand, belonging to them of old. fack of Oreum, and taken all to themselves; it Likewise to the Megalopolitans their confewas agreed, that Attalus should make his best derates, he rendred Aliphera. The Dyprofit of the Opuntians, without admitting means, that had been taken by the Rothe Romans to be his sharers. But whilst he mans, and sold for slaves, he sought out, was busie, in drawing as much mony as he ransomed, and put in quiet possession of could out of the Citizens: the suddentyd-their own City. Further, passing over the ings of Philip's arrival, made him leave all Corinthian Gulf, he fell upon the Etolians; behind him, and run away to the Sea-side, whom he drave into the mountains and where he got aboord his ships, finding the woods, or other their strongest holds, and Romans gone before, upon the like fear. wasted their Country. This done, he took Either the indignity of this misadventure, leave of the Acheans, and returned home or tydings of Prufice to Bithywian his inva- by Sea, visited the people that were his subfion upon the Kingdom of Pergamus; made jects, or dependants; and animated them fo Andsir return home, without staying to well, that they rested searless of any threattake leave of his friends. So Philip reco- ning danger. Then had he leifure to make vered Opus, won Torone, Tritonos, Drymus war upon the Dardanians, ill neighbours to and many small Towns in those parts; per-Macedon: with whom nevertheless he was forming likewise some actions, of more bra- not so far occupied, but that he could go in very than importance, against the Ætolians. hand with preparing a Fleet of an hundred In the mean season, Machanidas, the Tyrant Gallies, whereby to make himself Master of Lacedamon, had been busie in Peloporine- of the Sea; the Romans (fince the deparso, but hearing of Philip's arrival, was re-ture of Attalus ) having not dared to meet or purfue him, when he lately ran along the

coast of Greece, fast by them where they world at pleasure. Therefore he had rea-

on to the Macedonian, and emboldened him courfe : which was, not to admit into the felto make strong war upon the Etolians, at lowship of their Italian wars so mighty a their own doors. As for the Komans either Prince; whom change of affection might fome displeasure, conceived against their make dangerous to their Empire; or his Confederates, or some sear of danger at much affection unto Hannibal, more dangehome, when afdrubal was ready to fall upon rous to their liberty. Rather they should Italy; caused them to give over the care of do well to save charges, and feed the Macethings in Greece, and leave their friends donian with hopes; by making many prothere to their own fortunes. The Ætolians miles of fending a fleet and some other suctherefore being driven to great extremity, cours. This would cost nothing, yet would were fain to fue for peace unto Philip; and it ferve to terrifie the Romans, and compell accept it, upon what ever conditions it best them to fend part of their forces from home, plealed him. The agreement was no fooner that might find this Enemy work abroad, made, than P. Sempronius with ten thousand So should the Roman Armies be lessened in foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gal- Italy; and Philip, when once he was ingaged lies, came over in great haste (though some- in the war, beurged unto the prosecution, what too late ) to troubleit. Hearing how by his own necessity: putting the Carthathings went in Ætolia, he turned aside to ginians tolittle or no charges : yea,scarceto Dyrrhacchium and Apolonia, making a great the labour of giving him thanks. Now ifit noise, as it with these his own forces he might come to pass, as Hannibal every day would work wonders. But it was notlongere did promife, that Rome, and all Italy should Philip came to visit him, and found him tame within a while be at the devotion of Carenough. The King presented him battel, but thage : better it were, that the City should he refused it : and suffering the Macedoni- be free, so as the troublesome Greeks might ans to waste the Country round about, be- address their complaints unto the Carthagifore his eyes, kept himself close within the nians, as competent Judges between them wals of Apollonia, making some overtures of and the Macedonian, than that Hannibal, peace: which caused Philip to return home with the power of Africk, should wait upquietly. The Romans had not fogreat cause on Philip, as his Executioner, to fulfill his to be displeased with the Etolians, as had will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as Philip to take in evil part the demeanor of would both make the name of a Carthaginithe Carthaginians. For notwithstanding the an hateful in Greece, and oblige Philip to be royal offer that he made them, to serve their no less impudent, in fulfilling all requests of turn in Italy, and affist them, in getting their Hannibal. Whether the councel of Hanno hearts desire, before he would expect any and his fellows were such as this, or wherequital : they had not sent any fleet, as in ther the Carthaginians, of their own disposireason they ought, and as (considering his tion, without his advice, were too sparing, want of sufficient ability by Sea ) it is likely and careless, the matter (as far as concerned they were bound either to secure the tran- | Philip) came to one reckoning. For they did sportation of his Army, or to free his coast him no manner of good, but rather dodged from the Roman and Ætolian Piracies. Only with him, even in their little courtefie which once they came to his help, which was at his they most pretended. And this perhaps was

fon, fuch as envy could fugge ft, to perfwade This good success added much reputation the Carthaginians unto a safe and thrifty last journey into Achais. But they were gone part of the reason, why he began the again before his arrival: having done no building of an hundred Gallies, as if he thing, and pretending fear of being taken by the Romans, even at such time as Philip with his proper strength would have reached, had his own Navy, durst boldly pass by Sea, he not vainly given credit to faithless proand found none that durst oppose him. This mifes. When therefore the Etolians had wretchless dealing of the Carthaginians, may submitted themselves already: and when the therefore seem to have been one of Hanno Romans desired his friendship, as might be his tricks, whereof Hannibal so bitterly com thought, for very fear of him, with repuplained. For it could not but grieve this ma- tation enough, and not as a for faken Client licious man exceedingly to hear that so of the Carthaginians, but a Prince able to great a King made offer to ferve in person have succoured them in their necessity, he under Hamibal, and required the affiftance of the same Hamibal, as of a man likely to prehension, leave them to themselves. For make Monarchs, and alter the affairs of the fakes but they despised him, as if the quarrel were meerly his own, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appear unto them, when they should see. that with his proper strength he had finished the War, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the year following it fomewhat to their loss.

omitted, belike, as having agreed for them- from all parts, administred matter unto Hanleague with Philip) were also inserted by the Italy; yet could not that prohibition hold, Romans; that were never flow in offering when fo many new occurrences brought their friendship to small and feeble Nati- each along with thim their new care; and ons. As for the Athenians; they stood required their several Armies. This had not much upon their old honour; and loved to been a very bad excuse, if any one of the mabear a part, though they did nothing, in all ny occasions offered had been throughly great actions. Yet the fetting down of profecuted : though it flood with best reatheir names in this Treaty, served the Ro- fon, that the foundation of all other hopes mans to good purpose: for a such as they and comforts, which was the prosperity of were a busie people, and ministred occasion Hannibal in his Italian war, should have been to renew the War, when means did better strengthned; what soever had become of ferve to follow it.

o. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their firength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieving the publick Necel-Sties of their Common-well

TT was a great fault in the Carthaginians, was agreed, by the mediation of the Epirots, I that embracing fo many enterprifes at Acarnanians, and others, That the Romans once, they followed all by the halves; and thould retain three or four Towns of Illy- wasted more men and mony to no purpose, riv. which they had recovered by this War, than would have ferved (if good order had being part of their old Illyrian Conquest : been taken ) to finish the whole War, in Places no way belonging to the Macedini- far shorter space; and make themselves an; and therefore perhaps inserted into the Lords of all that the Romans held. This error Covenants, that somewhat might seem to had become the less harmful, if their care have been gotten. On the other fide, the of Italy had been fought as it ought. But they Atintanes were appointed to return under suffered Hannibal to weary himself with exthe obedience of Philip: who, if they were pectation of their promised supplies; which (as Ortelius problably conjectures) the peo- being still preferred from year to year, cauple of the Country about Apollonia, then fed as great opportunities to be loft, as a Condid the Romans abandon part of their get- querour could have defired. The death of tings; whereby it appears, that they did Posthumius, and destruction of this whole Arnot give peace, as they would feem to have my in Gaul; the begun rebellion of the Sardone, but accepted it, upon conditions dinians; the death of Hiero their friend in Syracufe; with great alterations much to their The Confederates and Dependants of the prejudice, in the whole life of sicil; as al-Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, fo that War, of which we last spake threatwere Prulias King of Bithynia, the Acheans, ned from Macedon, happening all at one time; Betians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirots. and that so nearly after their terrible over-On the Roman fide were named, first, the throw at Canna, among so many revolts of people of Ilium, as an honourable remem- their Italian Confederates; would utterly brance of the Romans descent from Troy; have funk the Roman State; had the Carthathen. Attalus King of Pergamus; Plueratus ginians, if not the first year, yet at least the an Illyrian Prince; and Nabis the Tyrant of second, sent over to Hannibal the forces that Latedamon; together with the Eleans, Mef- was decreed. It is not to be doubted, that senians and Athenians. The Ætolians were even this diversity of great hopes, appearing selves before. But the Eleans and Meffeni- no, or such as Hanno was, whereupon to ans, followers of the Etolians, (and by work. Forthough it were in the power of them, as is most likely, comprised in their Carthage, to perform all that was decreed for the rest. But the slender Troops, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the War in Spain; the lingring aid which they fent to uphold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was alreadv well-near beaten down; their trifling with Philip; and (amongst all these their attempts)their hasty catching at Sicil:little delferved to be thought good reasons of negle-

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tting the main point, whereto all the rest | Marcellus therefore gave over the place; and had reference. Rather every one of these Q. Fabius Maximus, the late famous Dica-Actions, considered a part by it self, was no tor, was substituted in his room. But Fabius otherwise to be allowed, as discreetly un- was detained in the City, about matters of dertaken, or substantially followed; than by religion or superstition: wherewith Rome making supposition. That the care of Italy was commonly, especially in times of danger. made the Carthaginians more negligent in very much troubled. So Gracchus alone. all things elfe. Yet if these allegations would with a Consular Army, waited upon Hanninot serve to content Hannibal, then must be bal among the Campans: not able to meet patiently endure to know, that his own Ci- the enemy in field; yet intentive to all ocrizens were jealous of his Greatness, and casions, that should be presented. The 10-

The fifth Book of the first Part

Whatseever he heard or thought, Hannihal was glad to apply himself to Necessity; to Army skilful in the exercises of war, than to feed his Italian triends with hopes; and to keep it from quarrels that might arise by trifle away the time about Nola, Naples, Cume, upbraiding one another with their base couand other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard nege, that was to be referved for a work of more importance. Many offers he made upon Nola, but alwayes with bad success. Once Marcellus fought a battel with him there, yet under the very walls of flesh his men, and make them confident the Town; having the affistance of the Citizens, that were grown better affected to had bad experience. Gracchus therefore out the Roman fide, fince the Heads that incli- himself into Cume: whence he issued at ned them to rebellion, were cut off. About such time, as the Magistrates of that City a thousand men Hannibal in that fight lost : were expected by the Campans. The Sacrifice which was no great marvel; his forces be- was to be performed by night, at aplace caling then divided, and imployed in fundry | led Hame: three miles from Cuma. There parts of Italy at once. Naples was even in lay Marins Alfins the chief Magistrate of Cathose dayes, a strong City; and required a pua, with fourteen thousand men; not years work to have takenit by force. Wher- wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, orto fore the earnest desire of Hannibal to get it, any danger that might interrupt it; but rawas alwayes frustrate. Upon the Town of ther devising how to surprize others, than Cume they of Capua had their plot, and were fearing himself to be affailed. The Conful in hope to take it by cunning. They fent to therefore, fuffering none to go forth of cume, the chief Magestrates of the Cumans, desiring that might bear word of him to the enemies, them (as being also Campans) to be present issued out of the Town when it grew darks at a folemn facrifice of the Nation, where his men being well refreshed with meat they would consult about their general and sleep, the day before, that they might good : promising to bring thither a suffici- hold out the better in this nights service. So ent guard to affure the whole Affembly from he came upon the Capuans unawares, and any danger that might come by the Romans. flew more than two thousand of them, toge-This motion the Commans made shew to enther with their Commander, losing not tertain; but privily sent word of all to above a hundred of his own men. Their

and happily chosen Consul in so dangerous off. By this his providence, he escapeda a time. His Colleague should have been greater loss, than he had brought upon the Posthumus Albinus, that was lately flain by Enemies. For when Hannibal was informthe Gauls: after whole death Marcellus was ed how things went at Hame, forthwith he chosen, as being judged the fittest man to en- marched thither, hoping to find those counter with Hannibal. But the Roman Au- young fouldiers, and flaves, bufied in making gures either found some religious impedi- spoil, and loading themselves with the booty, or at least they fained so to have done, be- which partly for anger, partly for defire of cause this was the first time, that ever two gaining it, and partly at the urgent en-

durst not trust him with so much power, as lones, or Slaves, that lately had been armed. should enable him to wrong the state at were no small part of his followers. These. and the rest of his men, he continually trained; and had not a greater care to make his dictions.

Whilst the Consul was thus busied at Linternum, the Senators of Cume fent him word of all that had paffed between them and the Capuans. It was a good occasion to against the Enemy; of whom hitherto they T. Sempronius Gracebus, the Roman Conful. Camp he took; but tarried not long to rifle Gracehus was a very good man of war, it, for fear of Hannibal, who lay not far ment that nullified the election of Marcellus'; But they were all gotten fafe within Cume; Plebeian Consuls were chosen together. treaty of the Capuans, Hannibal affailed the

the next day. Much labour, and with ill fuc- The people of Rome were very intentive cels, the Carthaginians and their fellows as necessity constrained them, to the work front about this town. They raifed a wooden that they had in hand. They continued Fa-Tower against it; which they brought bins in his Consulship; and joyned with him close unto the walls; thinking thereby to Marcus Claudius Marcellus; whom they had force an Entry. But the Defendants, on the appointed unto that honour the year beinfide of the wall, raifed against this an high fore. Of these two, Fabius was called the Tower; whence they made refistance, and Shield: and Marcellus, the Roman Sword. In found means at length to confume with fire Fabius it was highly, and upon just reason. the work of their Enemies. While the Car- commended, That being himfelf Conful and thavinians were busie in quenching the fire, holding the Election, he did not stand upon the Romans, fallying out of the Town at nice points of formality, or regard what two gates, charged them valiantly, and men might think of his ambition, but caused drave them to their Trenches , with the himself to be chosen with Marcellus ; knowflaughter of about fourteen hundred. The ing in what need the City stood of able Conful wifely lounded the Retreat, ere his Commanders. The great name of these men were too far engaged, and Hannibal in Confuls, and the great preparations which a readiness to requite their service. Neither the Romans made, served to put the Campans would he in the pride of his good success, in fear, that Capua it selfshould be besieged. adventure forth against the Enemy; who To prevent this, Hannibal, at their earnest presented him battle the day following, near entreaty, came from Arpi (where he lay, unto the wals. Hannibal therefore seeing no hearkening after news from Tarentum) and likelihood to prevail in that which he had having with his presence comforted these taken in hand, brake up the siege, and re- his friends, fell on the sudden upon Putco'i, turned to his old camp at Tifata. About a Sea-town of Campania; about which he these times, and shortly after, when Fabius spent three dayes in vain, hoping to have the other Conful had taken the field; fome won it. The garrison in Putcoli was fix thoufmall Towns were recovered by the Ro- land strong: and did their duty so well, mans, and the people severely punished for that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of their revolt.

venge of their defection.

good fuccess, could only shew his anger up-The Carthaginian Army was too small, to on the fields there and about Naples ; which fill with garrifons all places that had yield- having done, and once more (with as ill ed; and withall to abide (as it must do) success as before) assailed Nola, he bent his strong in the field. Wherefore Hannibal course to Tarentum: wherein he had very attending the supply from home, that should great intelligence. Whilest he was in his enable him to strike at Rome it self, was progress thither; Hanno made a journey driven in the mean time to alter his course against Beneventum : and T. Graccus, the last of war: and instead of making (as former- years Consul, hasting from Nuceria, met ly he had done ) a general invalion upon him there; and fought with him a battel. the whole Countrey, to pass from place to Hanno had with him about seventeen thouplace; and wait upon occasions, that grew land foot, Brutians and Lucans for the most daily more commodious to the enemy, than part; befides twelve hundred horse; very few tohim. The Countrey of the Hirpines and of which were Italians, all the rest Numidi-Samnites was grievously wasted by Marcel- ans and Moors. He held the Romans work lus, in the absence of Hannibal; as also was four hours, ere it could be perceived to Campania, by Fabius the Conful; when which fide the victory would incline. But Hannibal having followed Marcellus to Nola, Gracebus his fouldiers, which were all (in a and received there the loss before mention- manner ) the late-armed flaves, had receiveed, was gone to winter in Apulia. These peo- ed from their General a peremptory denunple shewed not the like spirit in defending ciation, That this day or never they must their lands, and fighting for the Carthagini- purchase their liberty, bringing every man an Empire, as in former times they had done, for price thereof, an enemies head. The when they contended with the Romans, in [weet reward of liberty was fo greatly detheir own behalf, to get the Soveraignty. fired, that none of them feared any danger They held it reason, that they should be in earning it: howbeit that vain labour improtected b, such as thought to have domi- posed by their General, of cutting off the nion over them: whereby at once they over- Ilain enemies heads, troubled them exceedburdened their new Lords; and gave unto lingly; and hindred the fervice by imploytheir old, the more easie means to take re- ment of so many hands in a work so little concerning the victory. Gracchus there-

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ed it: proclaiming aloud, That they should same trade, and subject to the same inconvecast away the heads, and spare the trouble niencies, which enteeble Rome it self. Sicil of cutting off any more; for that all should and Sardinia, that were wont to yield great have liberty immediately after the battel, if profit, hardly now maintaining the Roman they won the day. This encouragement Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold made them run head-long upon the Enemy; them fafe, and in good order. As for the Ciwhom their desperate sury had soon over- tizens of Rome, every one of them suffered thrown, if the Roman-horse could have his part of the detriment, which the Commade their part good against the Numidi- mon-wealth sustained, and could now do an. But though Hanno did what he could, least for his Country, when most need was: and pressed so hard upon the Romans bat- as also the number of them was much detel, that four thousand of the slaves, ( for creased; so as if money should be raised fear either of them, or of the punishment upon them by the Poll, yet must it be far less which Gracehos had threatned before the than in former times. The Senate therefore battel unto those that should not valiantly diligently considering the greatness of the behave themselves) retired unto a ground war within the bowels of Itary, that could of ftrength; yet was he glad at length to not be thence expelled, without the exceedfavehimfelf by flight, when the Gross of his ing charge of many good Armies; the peril, Army was broken; being unable to remedy wherein Sicil and Sardinia stood, bothof covered ( as was the cultom of flaves manu- fublifted. mised) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterwards hung up in a Table open the publick wants; and plainly faid, by Gracehus, in the Temple of Liberty; which his Father had built and dedicated. of mony for victuals, weapons, apparel, or fmall importance.

fore finding his own error, wifely correct- worse do than before; as living upon the the loss. Leaving the field, he was accom- the Carthaginians, and of many among the panied by no more than two thousand, most Naturals, declining from the friendship or of which were horse; all the rest were either subjection of Rome; the threats of the Maceflain or taken. The Roman General gave donian, ready to land in the Eastern parts of unto all his fouldiers that reward of liberty Italy, if they were not at the cost to find him which he had promifed : but unto those work at home; the greater threats of Afarnfour thousand, which had recoyled unto bal, to follow his Brother over the Alps, as the Hill, he added this light punishment; soon as he could rid himself of the scipio's That as long as they served in the wars, they in Spain; and the poverty of the Commonshould neither eat nor drink otherwise than wealth, which had not mony for any one of standing, unless sickness forced them to these mortal dangers; were driven almost break his order. So the victorious Army even to extream want of counsel. But being returned to Beneventum: where the newly urged by the violence of fwift necessity, sigenfranchised Souldiers were feasted in pub- nified in the letters of the two Scipie's from lick by the Townsmen; some sitting some spain; they resolved upon the only course, standing, and all of them having their heads without the which the City could not have

They called the people to affembly Wherein Quintus Fulvius the Prætor laid That in this exigent, there must be no taking This was indeed the first battel, worthy of the like things needful to the Souldiers; great note, which the Carthaginians had lost but that fuch as had stuff, or were Artificers; fince the coming of Hannibal into Italy: the must trust the Common-wealth with the victories of Marcellus at Nola, and of this Loan of their commodities and labors, until Gracchus before at Hame, being things of the war were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publi-Thus the Romans, through industry, by cans or Customers, and those which in forlittle and little, repaired the great Breach in mer times had lived upon their dealing in their Estate, which Hannibal had made at the common Revenues, that the charge was Canna. But all this while, and long after undertaken by private men; and the Army this, their Treasury was so poor, that no in- in Spain, as well supplied, as if the Treasury dustry nor art could serve to help it. The had been full. Shortly after this, Marcus fruits of their grounds did only ( and per- Attilius Regulus , and Publius Furius Philus , hapshardly ) ferve to feed their Towns and the Roman Cenfors; taking in hand the re-Armies, without any surplusage, that might dress of disorders within the City, were be exchanged for other needful commodi- chiefly intentive to the correction of those, ties. Few they were in Italy that continued that had mil-behaved themselves in this preto pay them tribute: which also they could fent war. They began with L. Cecilius Metellus ;

tended no further, than to putting men out of rank; or making them change their The twelve hundred Talents wrongfully

attellus; who after the battel at Canne . finall help to conferve the dignity of the had held discourse with some of his Compa- Senate: the commonalty being chnoxious nions, about flying beyond the Seas; as it unto the Cenfors; which were alwayes of Rome, and all Italy, had been no better than that Order, and careful to uphold the reloft. After him they took in hand those, putation thereof. But the Common-weal that having brought to Rome the meffage of being now impover shed by War, and having their fellows made prisoners at Canna, re- small store of Lands to lett, or of Customs turned not back to Hannibal, as they were that were worth the farming; Reculus and bound by oath; but thought themselves Philus troubled not themselves much with thereof fufficiently discharged, in that they perusing the Temples, or other decayed plahad stepped once back into his Camp, with ces, that needed reparations : or, if they took pretence of taking better notice of the aview of what was requilite to be done in Captives names. All these were now pro- this kind; yet forbore they to set any thing nounced infamous by the Cenfors: as also in hand, because they had not wherewith were a great many more; even whofoever to pay. Herein again appeared a notable had not ferved in the wars, after the term generofity of the Romans. They that had which the Laws appointed: Neither was been accustomed in more happy times, to the note of the Cenfors at this time (as other- undertake fuch pieces of work, offered now wise it had used to be) hurtful only in re- themselves as willingly as the Censors, as if outation : but greater weight was added there had been no fuch want : promiting lithereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, fol- berally their cost and travel; without exlowing; That all Such as were noted with in- pectation of any payment, before the end of famy by these Cenfors, should be transported in- the War. In like fort, the Masters of those to Sicil, there to serve until the end of the War, slaves, that lately had been infranchised by under the same hard conditions, that were Gracchus, were very well contented to forimposed upon the Remainder of the Army bea- bear the price of them, until the City were ten at Cannæ. The office of the Cenfors was, in better case to pay. In this general inclito take the Lift and account of the Citizens; nation of the Multitude, to relieve, as far to chuse or displace the Senators; and to forth as every one was able, the common fet notes of disgrace (without further pu- necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of nishment) upon those whose unhonestor Widows living under Patronate, were unseemly behaviour fell not within the brought into the Treasury; and there the compass of the Law. They took also an account of the Roman Gentlemen: amongst for the suffernance of these Widows and Orwhom they distributed the publick Horses phans: whilst the whole stock was used by of fervice, unto fuch as they thought meet; the City. This good example of those which or took them away for their mif-behaviour. remained in the Town, prevailed with the Generally, they had the overfight of mens | Souldiers abroad: fo that (the poorer fort lives and manners: and their censure was excepted) they refused to take pay; and much reverenced and teared; though it ex- called those Mercenaries, that did accept it.

Tribe; or (which was the most that they extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any could do) caufing them to pay some Duties injuries following, done by the Romans in to the Treasury, from which others were the height of their pride, vielded half so exempted. But, besides the care of this ge- much commodity, as might be laid in balneral Tax, and matters of Morality, they lance against these miseries, whereinto their had the charge of all publick Works; as Estate was now reduced. Nevertheles if mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Wa- we confider things aright, the calamities of ter-courses; the reparations of Temples, this War did rather inable Rome to deal Porches, and fuch other buildings. If any with those Enemies, whom the forthwith man incroached upon the Streets, High- undertook, than abate or flacked the growth wayes, or other places that ought to be com- of that large Dominion, whereto the atmon; the Ceniors compelled him to make tained, ere the youngest of those men was amends. They had also the letting out of dead, whose names we have already men-Lands, Customs, and other publick Reve-tioned. For by this hammering, the Roman nues to farm : fo that most of the Citizens metal grew more hard and folid: and by of Rome were beholding unto this office; as paring the branches of private fortunes, the maintaining themselves by some of the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was Trades thereto belonging. And this was no corroborated. So grew the City of Athens,

when Xerxes had burnt the Town to athes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all nope of other felicity, than that which The Romans win fome Towns back from Hanrefted in the common happiness of the univerfality. Certain it is, (as Sir Francis Bacon hath judiciously observed) That a State, whose dimension or stem is small, may aptly ferve to be foundation of a great Monarchy, which chiefly comes to pais, where all regard of domestical prosperity is laid aside ; and every mans care addressed to the bene- the War: so their Generals abroad omitted fit of his Country. Hereof I might say that no part of industry, in seeking to recover our Age hath been a great example, in the what had been loft. The Town of Calline. united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose Fabius besieged. It was well defended by present riches and strength grew chiefly the Carthaginian Garrison; and likely to from that ill affurance, which each of their have been relieved by those of capua, if ved it felf to hold, whill the generality was affiftance of his Colleague. Nevertheless. oppressed by the Duke of Alvas, were it so, the place held out so obstinately, that Falike, as, by extreme industry, and straining that the enterprise was not great; yet as dif-

ø. XIV.

nibal. Hannibal wins Tarentum. The flege of Capua. Two Victories of Hannibal. The Journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

A S the people of Rome strained themfelvesto the utmost, for maintaining Towns, or almost of their Families, percei- Marcellus from Nola, had not come to the that the people had thereby grown as war- bins was purposed to give it over: faying, themselves to fill their publick Treasury, they ficult, as a thing of more importance. But are all grown wealthy, strong at Sea, and able Marcellus was of a contrary opinion. He to wage great Armies for their fervices by faid, that many fuch things, as were not at Land. Wherefore if we value at such a first to have been undertaken by great Comrate as we ought, the patient resolution, con- manders, ought yet, when once they were taformity to good Order, obedience to Magi- ken in hand, to be profecuted unto the best strates, with many other Vertues, and above effect. So the fiege held on: and the Town all other, the great love of the Common- was pressed so hard, that the Campans dwelweal, which was found in Rome in these dan- ling therein, grew fearful, and craved pargerous times: we may truly say, That ley; offering to give it up, so as all might the City was never in greater likelihood to have leave to depart in fafety, whither they prosper. Neither can it be deemed other- pleased. Whilst they were thus treating of wife, than that if the same affections of conditions : or whilst they were issuthe people had lasted, when their Em- ing forth, according to the composition alpire, being grown more large and beau-ready made; (for it is diverfly reported) tiful, should in all reason have been more Marcellus seizing upon a Gate, entred with dear unto them; if the riches and delicacies his Army, and put all to fword that came in of Alia had not infected them with fenfuali- their way. Fifty of those that were first gotty, and carryed their appetites mainly ten out, ran to Fabine the Conful, who faved to those pleasures, wherein they thought them, and sent them to Capua in safety; all their well-being to confift; if all the Ci- the rest were either slain, or made prisotizens and subjects of Rome could have be- ners. If Fabius deserved Commendations, lieved their own interest to be as great, in by holding his word good unto these fifty; I those wars which these latter Emperours know not how the slaughter of the rest, or made for their defence, as in these which imprisonment afterward of such as escaped were managed by the Confuls: the Em- the heat of execution, could be excused by pire, founded upon so great vertue, could Marcellus. It may be that he helped himnot have been thrown down by the hands felf after the Roman fashion, with some aquiof rude Barbarians, were they never fo vocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In many. But unto all Dominions God hath like fort was Mount Marfam in Gafcoin tafet their periods: Who, though he hath ken by the Marshall Monluc, when I was a given unto Man the knowledge of those young man in France. For whilft he enterwayes, by which Kingdoms rife and fall; rained parley about composition; the beyet hath left him subject unto the affections, sieged ran all from their several guards, which draw on these satal changes, in their upon hasty defire of being acquainted with times appointed. The Marshall therefore discovering a part of the Walls unguarded, entred by Scalado, and put all (ave the Governour unto the fword. Herein

the Governour of Mount Marjam commit- Carried an Axe with a bundle of Rods before fick at Nola.

down the Country.

ship, we will speak hereafter.

him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which had been betrayed by their Princes; and

ted two gross errors; the one, in that he the Contul, fuffered him, in regard of due gave no order for the Captains and Com- reverence, to pass by them on horse-back. panies, to hold themselves in their places; which was against the custom. But the Son the other, in that he was content to parlet perceiving this, commanded the last of his without Pledges for assurance given and re- Lictors to note it : who thereupon bade the ceived. Some fuch overfight the Governour old Fabine alight, and come to the Conful of Calline seemeth to have committed; yet on his feet. The Father chearfully did so; neither the advantage taken by Marcellus, laying, It was my mind, Son, to make tryal. or by Monluc, was very honourable. When whether thou didit underfiand thy felf to be this Work was ended, many small Towns of Conful. Cassius Altimus a wealthy Citizen the Samnites, and some of the Lucans and of Arpi, who after the battel at Canna, had Applians, were recovered: wherein were holpen the Carthaginian into that Town. taken or flain, about five and twenty thou- beeing now the fortune of the Romans to fand of the Enemies; and the Country grie- amend, came privily to this Conful Fabius, yoully wasted by Fabius, Marcellus lying and offered to render it back unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Hannibal in the mean while was about Conful purposed to follow old examples: Tarentum, waiting to hear from those, that and to make this Altinim a pattern to all had promifed to give up the Town. But Traitors 5 uting him as Camillus and Fabricius M. Valerius the Roman Propretor had thrust had done those that offered their faithful lo many men into it, that the Traitors durst fervice against the Falifei, and King Pyrrhus. not ftir. Wherefore the Carthaginian was But Q. Fabius the Father, was of another fain to depart, having wearied himself in opinion: and said, it was a matter of danvain with expectation. Yet he wasted not gerous consequence, That it should be the Country, but contented himself with thought more tase to revolt from the Rohope, that they would please him better in mans, than to turn unto them. Wherefore time following. So he departed thence to-ward Salapia, which he chose for his win-the Town of Cales, and there kept as prisotring-place; and began to victual it when ner; until they could better resolve, what Summer was but half past. It is said, that he to do with him, or what use to make of was in love with a young Wench in that him. Hannibal understanding that Altinius Town, in which regard if he began his Win- was gone, and among the Romans, took it ter more timely than other wise he required, not forrowfully; but thought this a good oche did not like the Romans; whom necessi- casion to seize upon all the mans riches, ty inforced, to make their Summer last as which were great. Yet that he might feem long as they were able to travel up and rather fevere, than covetous, he fent for the wife and children of Allinius into his Camp: About this time began great troubles in where having examined them by torment, sicil, whither Marcellus the Conful was partly concerning the departure and intenfent, to take fuch order for the Province, as tions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictneed should require. Of the doings there, ly, about his riches, what they were, and which wore out more time than the Conful- where they lay, he condemned them as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive ; and The new Confuls chosen at Rome, were took all their goods unto himself. Fabius 2 Fabius the Son of the present Consul, the Consul shortly after came to Arpi: which and T. Sempronius Gracebus the second time. he won by Scalado, in a stormy and rainy The Romans found it needful for the pub- night. Five thousand of Hannibal's Soullick service, to imploy oftentimes their best diers lay in the Town; and of the Arpines able men: and therefore made it lawful, themselves, there were about three thouduring the war to recontinue their Officers, fand. Thefe were thrust formost by the Carand chuse such as had lately held their pla- thaginian Garrison; when it was understood, ces before; without regarding any distance that the Romans had gotten over the Wall, of time, which was otherwise required. The and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers old Fabius became Lieutenant unto his held the Towns-men suspected; and there-Son: which was perhaps the respect, that fore thought it no wisdom to trust them at most commended his Son unto the place. It their backs. But after some little resistance, is noted, That when the old man came into the Arpines gave over fight, and entertained the Camp, and his Son rode forth to meet parley with the Romans: protesting, they

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against their wills. In process of this dis- reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people course, the Arpine Prætor went unto the of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans more Roman Conful: and receiving his faith for generally and earnestly than before. As for fecurity of the Town, prefently made head the Conspirators, they followed their business against the Garrison. This notwithstanding, the more diligently, as knowing what relike it is that Hannibals men continued to ward they were to expect, if their intention make good refistance. For when almost a should happen to be discovered. Wherefore thousand of them that were Spaniards, of they sent again to Hannibal; and acquaintfered to leave their companions, and ferve ing him with the manner of their plot. on the Romans fide, it was yet covenanted, made the same composition with him for that the Carthaginians should be suffered to the Tarentines, which they of Capua had pass forth quietly, and return to Hannibal. made before. Nico, and Fhilomenes, two of This was performed: and so Arpi became the chief among them, used much togo forth Roman again, with little other lois, than of of the Town on hunting by night; as if they him that had betrayed it. About the same durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear time Cliternum was taken by Sempronius Tu- of the Carthaginians. Seldom or never they ditanus one of the Prators: and unto Cneus milled of their game : for the Carthaginians Fulvius, another of the Prætors, an hundred prepared it ready for their hands, that they and twelve Gentlemen of Capua offered their might not feem to have been abroad upon fervice; upon no other condition, than to other occasion: From the Camp of Hannibal have their goods restored unto them, when it was about three dayes journey to Tarentheir City thould be recovered by the Ro- tum, if he should have marched thither with mans. This was a thing of small importance: his whole Army. This caused his long abode but considering the general hatred of the in one place the less to be suspected; as also, Campani towards Rome, it ferved to disco- to make his enemies the more secure, he ver the inclination of the Italians in those caused it to be given out, that he was sick. times; and how their affections recoyled But when the Romans within Tarentam, from Hannibal, when there was no appear- were grown careless of such his neighbourance of those mighty succours, that had hood, and the Conspirators had set their bubeen promised from Carthage. The Confen- fines in order; he took with him ten thoutines also, and the Thurines, people of the sand the most expedite of his horse and soot; all his care bent upon Tarentum; which if he he heard tell in the evening, that some Nu-

were become subject to the Carthaginians of where they suffered death as Traytors. But Brutians, which had yielded themselves to and long before break of day, made all speed Hannibal, returned again to their old alle-thitherward. Fourscore light horse of the giance. Others would have followed their Numideans ran a great way before him, example, but that one L. Pomponius, who of beating all the wayes, and killing any that a Publican had made himself a Captain, and they met, for fear left he, and histroopfolgotten reputation by some petty exploits in lowing him, should be discovered. It had gotter reputation by one petty expires in lowing time, mount be discovered. It are forraging the Country, was flain by Hanno; been often the manner of fome few Numi-with a great multitude of those that followed him. Hannibal in the mean while had Wherefore the Roman Governour, when could take, it seemed that it would stand midians were abroad in the fields, took it himingood stead, for drawing over that for a fign, that Hannibal was not as yet difhelp out of Macedon, which his Carthigini-lodged; and gave order, that some compaans failed to fend. Long he waited ere he nies should be fent out the next morning, to could bring his desire to pass: and being strip them of their booty, and send them loth to hazard his forces, where he hoped to gone. But when it grew dark night; Hanniprevail by intelligence; he contented himbal, guided by Philomenes, came close to the felf with taking in some poor Towns of the Town: where, according to the tokens Salentines. At length, his Agents within agreed upon, making a light to shew his ar-Tarentum, found means to accomplish their rival; Nico, that was within the Town, anpurpose, and his wish. One Phileas, that was swered him with another light, in sign that of their conspiracy, who lay at Rome as Em he was ready. Presently Nico began to set baffadour, practifing with the Hostages of upon one of the Gates, and to kill the the Tarentines, and fuch as had the keeping watch-men. Philomenes went toward anoof them, conveyed them by night out of the ther gate: and whiftling (as was his man-City. But he and his company the next day ner) called up the Porter; bidding him make were so closely pursued, that all of them haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, o were taken, and brought back to Rome, heavy, that scarce two men could stand

were commanded to kill all the Komans, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, Hannibal willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appearthem; inveighed bitterly against the Romans, as tyrannous oppreffours; and spake wise busined, than his affairs required.

Thus with mutual loss on both sides. done, and having gotten such spoil as was time passed: and the Roman forces, growto be had of the Souldiers goods in the ing daily stronger, @ Fulvius Flaccus, with Town, he addressed himself against the Citadel; hoping that if the Garri on would fally out, he might give them such a blow as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expediation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the Romans in a bravery fallying reduced them. But to fill up these Legions. forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell back of purpose according to direction, till they had drawn on as many as they could and so far from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave Hannibal a fign to his Carthaginians, who lay prepared ready Wars; making yet a Law, that their years for the purpole: and fiercely fetting upon the of fervice, whereinto they were bound by Enemy, dravehim back with great flaugh-order of the City, should be reckoned, for ter, as fast as he could run; so that after-their benefit, from this their beginning so wards he durst not iffue forth. The Citadel stood upon a Demi-Island, that was plain Before the Roman Army drew near, the ground; and fortified only with a Ditch | Campans felt great want of victual, as if they

under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: | balintended to fortific in like fort against the and forthwith entred two young men, loa- Citadel; to the end that the Tarentines might den with the Bore; which Hannibal had pre- be able, without his help, to keep thempared large enough, to be worthy the look- felves from all danger theace. His work in ing on. While the Porter stood wondring at few dayes went so well forward, without the largeness of the beast, Philomenes ran him impediment from the belieged, that he conthrough with his Bore-spear: and letting in ceived hope of winning the piece it self, by fome thirty armed men, fell upon all the taking a little more pains. Wherefore he watch; whom when he had flain, he entred made ready all forts of engines, to force the the great gate. So the Army of Hannibal en- place. But whilft he was bufied in his works. tring Tarentum at two Gates, went directly there came by Sea a ftrong supply from Metoward the Market place, where both parts tapontum: which took away all hope of premet. Thence they were distributed by their vailing; and made him return to his former General, and fent into all quarters of the Ci- counsel. Now for a fauch as the Tarentine fleet ty, with Tarentines to be their guides. They lay within the haven, and could not pals forth, whilest the Romans held the Citadel: it feemed likely that the Town would fuffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea: whilest the Roman ed in fight, they should bid him be quiet, garrison by help of their shipping, might eaand of good chear. All the Town was in filly be relieved, and enabled to hold out. anuproar: but few could tell what the mat- Against this inconvenience, it was rather ter meant. A Roman trumpet was unskilfully wished by the Togentines, then any way founded by a Greek in the Theater: which hoped, that their fleet could get out of the helped the suspition, both of the Tarentines, haven to guard the mouth of it, and cut of all that the Romans were about to spoil the supply from the Enemy, Hannibal told them. Town: and of the Romans, that the Citi- that this might well be done: for that their zens were in commotion. The Governour Town standing in plain ground, and their fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into streets being fair and broad, it would be no the Citadel, that flood in the mouth of the hard matter to draw the Gallies over land. Haven; whence he might easily perceive and lanch them into the Sea without. This the next morning, how all had passed. Han- he undertook, and effected: whereby the nibal assembling the Tarentines, gave them Roman garrison was reduced into great ne-to understand, what good affection he bore cessity; though with much patience it held out, and found Hannibal oftentimes other-

Thus with mutual loss on both fides, the Appius Chindius, lately chosen Confuls, prepared to beliege the great City of Capua. Three and twenty Legions the Romans had now armed. This was a great and hafty growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the loss at Canna had they were fain to take up young Boyes that were under seventeen years of age: and to fendCommissioners above fifty miles round, for the feeking out of fuch Lads as might appear serviceable, and pressing them to the young, as if they had been of lawful age. and Wall against the Town, whereunto it had already been besieged. This happened was joyned by a cawfey. This cawfey Hanni- partly by floth of the Nation, partly by the

had in foregoing years made upon their mies Rampart. There was great booty; or grounds. They fent therefore Embassadors (which was all one to the Souldiers) an onito Hannibal; desiring him to succour them nion of much that might be gotten in that ere they were closed up, as they feared to Camp. Wherefore some Ensign-bearers be shortly. He gave them comfortable threw their Ensignes over the Rampart. words, and fent Hanno with an Army to sup- willing their men to fetch them out, unless ply their wants. Hanno appointed them a they would endure the shame and dishoday; against which they thould be ready nour following such a loss. Fear of such ignowith all manner of carriages, to store them miny (than which nothing could be greater) felves with victuals, that he would provide. made the Souldiers adventure fo desperate-Neither did he promise more than he per-ly, that Fulvius, perceiving the heat of his formed. For he caused great quantity of men, changed his purpose, and encouraged grain, that had been laid up in Cities round those that were somewhat backward, to about, to be brought into his Camp, three follow the example of them that had alreamiles from Beneventum. Thither at the time dy gotten over the Trenches. Thus the appointed, came no more than forty Carts Camp was won: in which were flain above or Wagons, with a few pack-horfes, as if fix thousand; and taken above seven thouthis had been enough to victual Capua. Such fand, besides all the store of victuals, and was the retchlesne's of the Campans. Hanno carriages, with abundance of booty, that was exceeding angry hereat: and told them Hanno had lately gotten from the Roman they were worse than very beasts; since Confederates. This misadventure, and hunger could not teach them to have greathe nearer approach of both the Consuls, ter care. Wherefore he gave them a longer made them of Capua fend a pittiful Embafday; against which he made provision to sage to Hannibal: putting him in mind of store them throughly. Of all these doings all the love that he was wont to protest unword was fent to the Roman Confuls, from to their City; and how he had made shew the Citizens of Beneventum. Therefore Q. to affect it no less than Carthage. But now, Fulvius the Conful, taking with him fuch they faid it would be loft, as Arpi was lately, strength as he thought needful for the fer- if he gave not strong and speedy succour. vice, came into Beneventum by night; where Hannibal answered with comfortable words: with diligence he made inquiry into the be- and fent away two thousand horse, to keep haviour of the Enemy. He learned, that Han- their grounds from spoil, whilest he himself no with part of his Army was gone abroad to was detained about Tarentum, partly by make provisions; that some two thousand hope of winning the Citadel, partly by the Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and disposition, which he saw in many Towns other Varlets, lay among the Carthaginians adjoyning, to yield unto him. Amongthe in their camp; so that little good order was Hostages of the Tarentines, that lately had kept: all thought being set upon a great filed out of Rome, and being overtaken, harvest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men suffered death for their attempt; were some prepare themselves to assail the enemies of the Metapontines, and other Cities of the Camp: and leaving all his impediments Greeks, inhabiting that Eastern part of Italy,

great waste and spoil, which the Romans some of his men had getten over the enewithin Eeneventum, he marched thither- which was called of old, Magna Gracia. ward to early in the morning, that he was These people took to heart the death of there with the first break of day. By com- their Hostages, and thought the punishment ing so unexpected, he had well near forced greater than the offence. Wherefore the the Camp on the sudden. But it was very Metapontines, as soon as the Roman garrison strong, and very well defended: so that the was taken from them to defend the Citadel longer the fight continued, the less desire of Tarentum, made no more ado, but openhad Fulvius to lose more of his men in the ed their gates to Hannibal. The Thurines attempt; seeing many of them cast away, would have done the like, upon the like and yet little hope of doing good. There- reason, had not some companies layn in their fore he faid, that it were better to go more Town; which they feared that they should leisurely and substantially to work; to send not be able to master. Nevertheless, they helfor his fellow-Conful, with the rest of their ped themselves by cunning:inviting to their Army; and to lye between Hanno and gates Hanno and Mago, that were near at home ; that neither the Campans should hand : against whom whilest they proffered depart thence, nor the Carthaginians be able their service to Atinius the Roman Captain, to relieve them. Being thus discoursing, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling and about to found the retrait; he faw that from him, closed up their gates. A little

selves to the siege of Capua.

CHAP. III.

he thought good, as if they had been dif- hindhim. charged by the decease of their Leader; so These two great blows, received the one

formality they used in pretending fear, lest thousand men. The Fathers were unwilthe enemy should break in together with the ling in such a time, to reject the vertue of Romans, insaving Atinius himself, and send- any good Souldier, how mean soever his ing him away by Sea; as also in consulting condition were. Wherefore they gave him asmall while (because perhaps many of their the charge of eight thousand: and he himchief men were unacquainted with the pra- felf being a proper man, and talking braveflice) whether they should yield to the Car- ly, gathered up so many voluntaries, as althe inian or no. But this disputation lasted most doubled his number. But meeting not long: for they that had removed the thus with Hannibal, he gave proof of the chief impediment, eatily prevailed in the difference between a stout Centurion, and rest; and delivered up the Town to Hanno one able to command in chief. He and his and Mago. This good fuccess, and hope of fellows were all (in a manner) flain, scarce the like, detained Hannibal in those quar- a thousand of them escaping. Soon after ters, whilest the Consuls fortifying Beneven- this, Hannibal had word, that Cneus Fulvius tum to secure their backs, addressed them a Roman Prætor with eighteen thousand men was in Apulia, very careless and a man Many difasters befell the Romans, in the insufficient for the charge which he held. beginning of this great enterprise. T. Sempro- Thither therefore he hasted to visit him: nius Gracchus, a very good man of War, that hoping to deal the better with the main had of late been twice Conful, was flain, strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, either by treachery of some Lucans, that when he should have cut off those forces drew him into ambush, or by some Carthagi- that lay in the Provinces about, under men nian stragglers, among whom he fell un- of small ability. Coming upon Fulvius, he awares. His body, or his head, was very ho- found him and his men fo jolly, that needs nourably interred, either by Hannibal him- they would have fought the first night. felf. cr(for the reports agree not) by the Ro- | Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what mans; to whom Hannibal fent it. He was ap- would happen the day following. So he bepointed to lie in Beneventum, there to secure stowed Mago with three thousand of his the back of the Army that should befiege lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit Capua. But his death hapned in an ill time, to for ambush. Then offered battel to Fulvius, the great hinderance of that business. The he soon had him in the trap : whence he Volones or Slaves lately manumifed, for fook made him glad to escape alive ; leaving all. their Enligns, and went every one whither fave two thousand of his followers, dead be-

that it asked some labour to seek them out, presently after the other, much assonished and bring them back into their Camp. Ne- the Romans, Nevertheless, all care was taken, vertheless, the Consuls went forward with to gather up the small reliques of the broken their work, and drawing near to Capua, did Armies: and that the Confuls should go all acts of hostility, which they could. Mago substantially forwards with the fiege of the Carthaginian, and the Citizens of Capua Capua: which was of great confequence. gave them an hard welcome, wherein above both in matter of reputation, and in many fifteen hundred Romans were lost. Neither other respects. The two Consuls sate down was it long ere Hunnibal came thither, who before the Town, and C. Claudius Nero, one fought with the Confuls, and had the better; of the Prætors, came with his Army from infomuch that it caused them to dislodge. Sweffula, to their affistance. They made Pro-They removed by night, and went feveral clamation, That who oever would iffue out waies : Fulvius towards Canna, Claudius into of Capua before a certain day prefixed, should Lucania. Hannibal followed after Claudius, have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all who having led him a great walk, fetcht a that unto him belonged: which day being compass about, and returned to Capua. It past, there should be no grace expected. This so fell out, that one Marcus Centenius Penula, offer was contumeliously rejected; the Caa stout man, and one that with good com- puans relying on their own strength, and the mendations had discharged the place of a succours attended from Hannibal. Before Centurion, lay with an Army not far from the City was closed up, they sent messengers thence, where Hannibal rested, when he was to the Carthaginian; which found him at weary of hunting after Claudius. This Penu-la had made great vaunts to the Roman Se-hope of gaining the Tarentine Citadel: of nate, of wonders which he would work, if which expectation failing, he turned to Brunhe might be trusted with the leading of five dusum, upon advertisement that he should Zzzzz 2

him of their danger with earnest words; and sended his Trenches against them; and so were with words as bravely re-comforted. well repressed them, that he drave them at He bade them consider, how, a few dayes length back into their City. Neverthelessin fince he had chased the Consuls out of their pursuing them to their gates, he received a fields; and told them, that he would prefent- wound that accompanied him in short space ly come thither again, and fend the Romans after to his grave. 2. Fulvius was held hargoing as fast as before. With this good an der to this task by Hannibal, and the Cartha. iwer the Mellengers returned, and hardly ginian Army. The Roman Camp was even at could get back into the City; which the Ro- point to have been loft; and Hannibal his mans had almost intrenched round. As for Elephants, of which he brought three and Hannibal himself, he was of opinion, that Car thirty, were either gotten within the rampua, being very well manned, and heartily part, or else (for the report varies) being devoted unto his friendship, would hold out some of them slain upon it, fell into the ditch. a long time, and thereby give him leifure to and filled it up in fuch fort, that their bodies do what he thought requisite among the Ta- served as a bridge to the Assailants. It is rentines, and in those Eastern parts of Italy; said, that Hannibal in this tumult caused whilst the Roman Army spent it self in a te- some fugitives that could speak Latin well. dious siege. Thus he lingred, and thereby to proclaim aloud as it were in the Consuls gave the Confuls time both to fortifie them- name, That every one of the Souldiers should selves at Capha, and to dispatch the election shift for himself, and fly betimes unto the of new Magistrates in Rome; whilst he himfelf purfued hopes that never found fuc-

Claudius and Fulvius, when their term of office was expired, were appointed to continue the fiege at Capua; retaining the same there was to raise the fiege by force. Armies, as Proconfuls. The Towns-men often fallied out, rather in a bravery, than nian. The purchase of Capua had (as was likelihood to work any matter of effect; the thought) with held him from taking Rome Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as it felf: and now his defire of winning the Taintending without other violence, to subdue rentine Citadel, had well-near lost Capua; them by famine. Yet against the Campan in respect of which, neither the Citadel.nor horse (fortheir foot was easily beaten)the the City of Tarentum were to have been Romans used to thrust out some troops, that much regarded. Falling therefore into adeshould hold them skirmish. In these exer- sperate anger with himself and his hard forcifes the Campans usually had the better, to tune, that of so many great victories he had the great grief of their proud Enemy; who made no greater use: on the sudden he enscorned to take foil at the hands of such Re- tertained an haughty resolution, even to set bels. It was therefore, devised that some upon Rome; and carry to the walls of that active and couragious young men should proud City, the danger of War that threatlearn to ride behind the Roman men at arms; ned Capua. This, he thought, would be a leaping up, and again dismounting lightly, as mean, to draw the Roman Generals, or one occasion served. These were furnished of them at least, unto the desence of their like the Velites, having each of them three own home. If they role from the fiege with

be let in. There the Capuans met him, told opposing himself to the Campans, easily denext hills, for as much as the Camp was already loft. But all would not ferve. The fraud was detected; and the Army having fitten there fo long, had at good leifure strongly intrenched it felf, so as little hope

This did extremely perplex the Carthagior four small darts: which alighting in time their whole Army, then had he his defire: If of conflict, they discharged thick upon the they divided their forces, then was it likely, Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this that either he or the Campans, should well kind of service, they much disheartned in enough deal with them apart. Neither did the main. The time thus passing, and fa- he despair, that the terrour of his coming mine daily increasing within the City, Han- might so astonish the multitude within nibal came at length, not expected by the Rome, as he might enter some part or other Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called of the City. His only fear was, left the Cam-Galatia, fell upon their Camp. At the same pans, being ignorant of his purpose, should time the Capuans issued with their whole think he had forsaken them; and thereupon power, in as terrible manner as they could forthwith yield themselves to the Enemy. devise: setting all their multitude of unser- To prevent this danger, he sent letters to viceable people by the walls, which with a Capua by a fubtle Numidian; who running as loud noise of Pans and Basons, troubled those a fugitive into the Roman Camp, conveyed that were occupied in fight. Appius Claudius | himfelf thence over the innermost Trenches

into the City. The Journey to Rome was lages, that fled out of all parts round about. Wound, to continue the fiege at Capua.

offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted without peril. Of Numidians that had shifthe away toward Rome, staying no longer in ed aside, and fallen (upon some displeasures) any one place, than he needs must. Yet from Hannibal to the Romans, there were found he the Bridges over Liris broken some twelve hundred then in Rome; which down by the people of Frigella: which, asit were appointed by the Confuls, to pass stopped him a little on his way; so it made thorow the Town, from the Mount Avenhim the more grievoully to spoil their time, to the Gate Collistua, where it was Lands, while the Bridges were in mending. thought that their fervice might be useful; The nearer that he drew to Rome, the grea- among broken wayes, and Garden-walls lyter waste he made: his Numidians running ing in the suburbs. The faces of these n.en,

to be performed with great celerity: no The Mellengers of these news came apace, fmall hope of good success resting in the one after another into the City; some few suddenness of his arrival there. Wherefore bringing true advertisements; but the most he caused his men to have in a readiness ten of them reporting the conceits of their own dayes victuals ; and prepared as many boats, fear. All the Streets and Temples in Kome as might in one night transport his Army were pettred with women, crying, and prayover the River Vulturnus. This could not be ing, and rubbing the Altars with their hair, done so closely, but that the Roman Gene- because they could do none other good. The rals, by some fugitives, had notice of his pur- Senators were all in the great Market, or pose. With this danger therefore they ac- place of Assembly; ready to give their adquainted the Senate; which was therewith vice, if it were alked, or to take directions affected, according to the diversity of mens given by the Magistrates. All places of opinions, in a case of such importance. Some most importance were stuffed with souldiers: gave counsel to let alone capua, yea, and all it being uncertain, upon which part Hinniplaces elle, rather than to put the Town of bal would fall. In the midit of this trepi-Rome into peril of being taken by the ene- dation, there came news that Quintus Fulmy. Others were so far from allowing of vius, with part of the Army from Capua, was this, as they wondred how any man could hasting to the defence of the City. The Ofthink, that Hannibal, being unable to relieve fice of a Proconful did expire, at his return Capua, should judge himself strong enough home, and entring into the Gates of Rome. to win Rome; and therefore stoutly faid, Wherefore, that Fulvius might lose nothing That those Legions, which were kept at by coming into the City, in time of such home for defence of the City, would ferve need, an Act was passed, That he should have the turn well enough, to keep him out and equal power with the Confuls during his fend him thence, if he were so unwise as to abode there. He and Hannibal arrived at come thither. But it was finally concluded, Rome, one soon after another: Fulvius hathat Letters should be sent to Fulviss and ving been long held occupied in passing over Claudius, acquainting them perfectly with Vulturnus; and Hannibal receiving impedithe forces, that at the present were in Rome: ment in his journey, as much as the Counwho, fince they knew best what the strength try was able to give. The Confuls, and Fulwas which Hannibal could bring along with viss incamped without the Gates of Rome, him, were best able to judge, what was need-attending the Carthaginian. Thither they ful to oppose him. So it was referred unto called the Senate : and as the danger grew the discretion of these Generals at Capua, to nearer and greater; so took they more caredo as they thought behoveful: and if it ful & especial order against all occurrences. might conveniently be, neither to raise Hannibal came to the River Anio, or Anien, their flege, nor yet to put the City of Rome three miles from the Town; whence he adinto much adventure. According to this De- vanced with two thousand horse, and rode cree of the Senate, & Fulvius took fifteen along a great way under the Walls, viewing thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the the tight thereof, and considering how he choice of his whole Army; with which he might best approach it. But he either went, hasted toward Rome; leaving App. Claudius, or (as the Roman Story faith) was driven who could not travel by reason of his away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the Hannibal having passed over Vulturnus, people; but were suppressed by the care and burnt up all his boats, and left nothing that diligence of the Senators. Above the rest, might transport the Enemy, in case he should one accident was both troublesome, and not before him; driving the Country, and kill- and their furniture, wherein they differed ing or taking multitudes of all forts and not from the followers of Hannival; bred

fisch mistaking, as caused a great uproar who had sent the As into the Camp. But in mong the people: all crying out that Aven- this present example of the Romans, appears tine was taken, and the Enemy gotten with- withall a great magnanimity; whereby in the walls. The norse was such, that men they sustained their reputation, and augcould not be informed of the truth : and the mented it no lefs, than by this bold attempt ftreets were fo full of cattel, and hulband- of Hannibal it might feem to have been dimimen, which were fled thither out of the Vil- nithed. Neither could they more finely have lages actioning, that the pullage was stopt checked the glorious conceits of their eneup; and the poor Numidians pitifully bea- my, and taken away the difgrace of that ten from the house tops, with stones and fear, which clouded their valour at his first other weapons that came next to hand, by coming; than by making such demonstratithe desperate multitude, that would have ons, when once they had recovered spirit, run out at the Gates, had it not been certain how little they esteemed him. To this purwho lay under the Walls. To remedy the posetherefore that very piece of ground on like inconveniences, it was ordained, That all which the Carthaginian lay encamped, was which had been diffators, Confuls, or Con- fold in Rome: and fold it was nothing under fors . Should have authority as Magistrates , till the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had the Enemy departed. The day following Han- been in time of peace. This dignity comnibal palledover Anien, and presented bat- ing to his ear, incensed Hannibal so much, tel to the Romans, who did not wifely if that he made port-fale of the Silver-smiths they undertook it. It is faid, that a terrible shops, which were near about the Market or showre of rain, caused both Romans and Car- Common place in Rome; as if his own title theginians to return into their feveral to the houses within the Town were no Camps, and that this happened two dayes whit worfe, than any Roman Citizens could together, the weather breaking up and clea- be unto that piece of ground, whereon he ring as foon as they were departed afunder : raifed his Tent. But this counter-practice certain it is that Hannibal, who had brought was nothing worth. The Romans did feek to along with him no more than ten dayes pro- manifest that affurance which they justly vision could not endure to itay there, until had conceived; Hannibal, to make shew of his victuals were all spent. In which regard continuing in an hope, which was already the Romans, if they suffered him to waste his past. His victuals were almost spent : and time and provisions, knowing that he could of those ends, that he had proposed unto not abide there long, did as became well himself, this Journey had brought forth none advised men: if they offered to fight with other, than the same of his much daring. him, and either had the better, or were part- Wherefore he brake up his Camp: and doed (as is faid) by some accident of weather, ing what spoil he could to the Roman Territhe commendations must be given to their tory, without sparing religious places, wherefortune. The terror of Hannibals coming to in wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a the City, how great soever it was at the first, tempest over the Country, and ran toward yet after some leisure, and better notice ta- the Eastern Sea so fast, that he had almost ken of their forces, which appeared less than taken the City of Rhegium before his arrival the first apprehension had formed them, was was feared or suspected. As for Capus, he much and foon abated. Hereupon it helped gave it lost : and is likely to have curfed the well, that at the same time the Supply appointed for spain, after the death of the two lime to relieve that fair City, fince he Scipio's, were fent out of the Town, and went had no other way to vent his grief. forth at the Gate, whilft one Carthaginian lay before another. In all Pinck terrours, as Proclamation anew, that whoso would they are called, whereof there is either no yield before a certain day, might fafely do cause known, or no cause answerable to the it. This, and the very return of Fulvisa, greatness of the sudden consternation; tisa without any more appearance of Hannibal, good remedy to do somewhat quite contra- gave the Capuans to understand, that they ry to that which the danger would require, were abandoned, and their case desperate were it such as men have sushioned it in their I o trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, every amazed conceits. Thus did Alexander cause ry mans conscience of his own evil deterts, his fouldiers to disarm themselves, when told him, that it was a vanity : and some they were all on a sudden in a great fear of faint hope was given, by Hanno and Bostar, they wist not what. And thus did Clearchus Captains of the Carthaginian Garrison

Q. Fabius returning back to Capus, made pacific a foolish uproat in his Army, by pro-claiming a reward unto him that could tell again, if means could only be found, how

to convey such Letters unto him as they should set them free from that cruel rewould write. The carriage of the Letters venge, which the Enemies fought upon of Boftar and his fellow.

his proceedings. If this were fo, justly might ing them first a good while with rods; after they curse their own malice, which had cast which he struck off their heads. theminto this remediless necessity. How- This terrible example of vengeance,

was undertaken by fome Numidians; who their bodies. About feven and twenty of running as fugitives, out of the Town into the Senators there were, that liking well the Roman Camp, waited fit opportunity to of his motion, ended their lives together by make an escape thence with their packets, drinking poylon. All the rest hoping for But it happened ere they could convey more mercy than they haddeserved, yielded themselves away, that one of them was de- simply to discretion. So one of the Towntected by an harlot following him out of gates was fet open; whereat a Roman Legithe Town; and the Letters of Bostar and on, with some other Companies, entring, dif-Hanno were taken and opened, containing a armed the Citizens; apprehended the Carvehement entreaty unto Hannibal, that he thaginian Garrison; and commanded all the would not thus for fake the Capuans and Senators of Capua to go forth into the Rothem.For(faid they)we came not hither to man Camp. At their coming thither, the Promake War against Rhegium and Tarentum, contuls laid Irons upon them all, and combut against the Romans: whose Legions, manding them totell what store of gold and wherefoever they lye, there also should the silver they had at home, tent them into sate Carthaginian Army be ready to attend custody; some to Cales, others to Theanum. them; and by taking such a course, have Touching the general multitude, they were we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrafy- reserved unto the discretion of the Senate, mene, and Canna. In fine, they befought him, yet fo hardly used by Fulvius in the mean that he would not dishonour himself, and while, that they had little cause of hope or betray them to their enemies, by turning comfort in this adversity. Ap. Claudius was another away; as if it were his only care, brought even to the point of death, by the that the City should not be taken in his full wound which he had lately received; yet view; promifing to make a desperate fally, was he not inexorable to the Campans; as haif he would once more adventure to fet up- ving loved them well in former times, and on the Roman Camp. Such were the hopes having giving his Daughter in marriage to that Pacuvius, of whom he spake before. But But Hamnibal had already done his best ; this facility of his Colleague, made Fulvius and now began to faint under the burden the more haity in taking vengeance; for of that War, wherein as afterward he pro- fear, lest upon the like respects, the Roman tested he was vanquished by Hanno and his Senate might prove more gentle, than he Persians, in the Carthaginian Senate, rather thought behoveful to the common fafety, than by any force of Rome. It may well be, and honour of their state. Wherefore he as a thing incident in like cases, that some took the pains to ride by night unto Theaof those which were besieged in Capua, had num, and from thence to Cales; where been sent over by the Hannonians, to ob- he caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer serve the doings of Hannibal, and to check death; binding them to stakes, and scourg-

soever it were, the Letters directed unto which the Carthaginians could not hinder, Hannibal, fell (as is shewed) unto the Ro- made all Towns of Italy the less apt to follow man Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the vain hope of the Campans; and bred a the hands of all such counterfeit fugitives, general inclination, to return upon good as carried such messages, whipt them back conditions to the Roman side. The Atellans, into the Town. This miserable spectacle Calatines and Sabatines, people of the Camsbrake the hearts of the Campans, fo that the pans, that in the former change had followmultitude crying out upon the Senate, with ed the fortune of Capua, made also now the menacing terms, caused them to affemble like submission, for very fear and want of and confult, about the yielding up of Capua ability to relift. They were therefore uled unto the Romans. The bravest of the Se- with the like rigour, by Fulvius; who dealt nators and such as a few years since, had so extremely with them all, that he brought been most forward in joyning with Hanni- them into desperation. Wherefore some of bal, understood well enough whereunto the their young Gentlemen burning with fire of matter tended. Wherefore one of them in-vited the rest home to supper; telling them, means by night-time, to set on fire many that when they had made good chear, he houses, that a great part of the City was like would drink to them such an health, as to have been consumed. The beginning of the

fire in divers places at once, argued that it mighty men in that Island, were the Ringwas no casualty. Wherefore liberty was pro- leaders; being incited by Hanno a Carthagiclaimed unto any flave, and other fufficient nian, that promifed the affiftance of his reward to any free man, that should disco- Country. Neither were the Carthavinians in ver who those locendiaries were. Thus all this enterprise so careless, as in the rest of came out; and the Campans being detected their main undertakings, about the fame by a flave of their own (to whom above his time. Yet it had been better if their care liberty promised, was given about the summ had been directed unto the prosecution of of an hundred marks ) had the punishment that main business in Italy; whereon this answerable to their deserts. Fulvius hereby and all other hopes depended. For it would being more and more incented against this have sufficed, if they could have hindred wretched people, held them in a manner as the Romans from fending an Army into Sarprisoners within their Walls: and this ex- dinia. Harlecoras with his followers might treme severity caused them at length to be- well enough have served to drive out Duincome suppliants unto the Roman Senate; that tis Mutius the Prætor; who lay fick in the some period might be set unto their miseries. Province; and not more weak in his own That whereupon the Senators resolved in body, than in his train. But whilst they the end, was worse than all that which they sought revenge of that particular injury, had fuffered before. Only two poor women whereof the fense was most grievous; they in Capua (of which one had been an harlot) neglected the opportunity of requiring were found not guilty of the late rebellion. those that had done them wrong, and of The rest were, some of them, with their the securing themselves from all injuries in wives and children fold for flaves, and their the future. Their fortune also in this engoods conficated; others laid in prison, and terprise was such, as may feem to have enreferved to further deliberation: but the ge- couraged them from being at the like nerallity of them commanded to depart out charge, in cases of more importance. For, of Campania by a certain day, and confined whereas they fent over Aldrubal, furnamed unto several places, as best liked the angry the Bald, with a competent Fleet and Army, victors. As for the Town of Capua, it was affilted in this expedition by Hanno the Aufuffered to stand, in regard of the beauty thor of the rebellion, and by Mago a Gentleand commodious fight: but no corporation man of the Earchine house, and near kinfonly a Roman Provoft was every year fent whole Fleet, by extremity of foul weather, to govern over those that should inhabit it, was cast upon the Ealeares; so beaten, and people of Rome, after many great loffes in ner quite vanquished, ere these their friends the present War. After this, the glory of could arrive to succour them. Hannibal began to thine with a more dim Titus Manlius was fent from Rome with light than before: his oyl being far spent two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve and that which should have revived his hundred horse, to settle the estate of that flame, being unfortunately flied; as shall be Island, which he had taken in, and annexed told in place convenient.

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ø. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a party in reputation of those men, and their families,

sicil by the Carthaginians and their friends, race after him, were the most ready and best were brought to a quiet and happy end by approved means, to procure the benefit of the industrious valour of the Romans. The the people subdued. Hereby the Romans sardinian rebellion was great and sudden: held very sure intelligence in every Proabove thirty thousand being up in arms, ere vince, and had alwayes in readiness fit men the Roman forces could arrive there to sup- to reclaim their subjects, if they fell into any

or form of policy was allowed to be therein; man to Hannibal: it so fell out, that the and to do justice. This was the greatest ad, in such evil plight, that the Sardinians had and most important, hitherto done by the even spent their hearts, and were in a man-

unto the Roman Dominion, long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custom of the Romans, to preserve and uphold in their feveral Provinces, the greatness and Sardinia and Sicil, held War against the by whom each Province had been first sub-Romans in those Islands, and were over- dued unto their Empire. If any injury were done unto the Provincials, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or 7 Hilft things passed thus in Italy, the whatsoever accident required the assistance commotions raised in Sardinia and of a Patron; the first Conqueror, and his press it. One Harscoras with his Son Hyoftus, such disorder, as would otherwise have required

at Calaris, or Carallis, where mooring his ving Sardinia in quiet. thins, he passed up into the Country, and The war in Sicil was of greater lengths

required a greater charge and trouble. The wonn the Town. All other Cities of the Ille coming of Manlius retained in obedience that had rebelled, following the example of all that were not already broken too far out. Cornus, and yielded unto the Roman; who. Yet was Harlecoras fo strong in field, that impoting upon them such increase of tribute, Manines was compelled to arm his Mariners: or other punishment, as best forted with the without whom he could not have made up nature of their leveral offences, or their that number of two and twenty thousand, ability to pay, returned back to Calaris with whereof we have spoken before: he landed a great booty, and from thence to Rame lea-

fought out the enemy. Hyoftus, the Sou and every way more burdenfome to Rome: of Harlicorus, had then the command of the as also the victory brought more honour Sardinian Army lescunto him by his Father, and profit, for that the Romans became who was gon abroad into the Country, to thereby, not only favors of their own, as in draw in more friends to their fide. This Sardinia, but Lords of the whole Country, young Gentleman would needs adventure by annexing the City and dominion of Syrato get honour, by giving battle to the Ro- cufe, to that which they enjoyed before Soon mans at his own discretion. So he rashly ad- after the battle at canne, the old King of Syventured to fight with an old Souldier; by racuse died; who had continued long a stedwhom he received a terrible overthrow; fait friend unto the Romans, and greatly reand loft in one day above thirty thousand of lieved them in this present war. He left his his followers. Hyoftus himself, with the Kingdom to Hieronymus his grand-child, rest of his broken troops, got into Cornus, that was about fifteen years of age ; Gelo his the chief Town of the Illand; whither Man- Son, that should have been his heir, being lius pursued them. Very soon after this de- dead before. To this young King his sucfeature came Asdrubal with his Carthagini- ceffor, Hiero appointed fifteen tutors; of ans: too late to win all Sardinia in such which the principal were Andronodorus Zoihalt as he might have done, if the tem- lus, and Themistius; who had married his pest had not hindred his voyage; yet soon daughters or the daughters of Gelo. The rest enough, and strong enough to save the were such, as he judged most likely to pre-Town of Cornus, and put a new spirit in- serve the Kingdom, by the same Art, whereto the Rebels. Manlius hereupon with by himselfhad gotten, and so long kept it. drew himself back to Calaris; where he But within a little while, Andronodorus waxhad not staved long, ere the Sardinians (such ling weary of so many coadjutors, began to of them as adhered to the Roman party | commend the fufficiency of the young craved his affistance; their Country being Prince, as extraordinary in one of his years; wasted by the Carthaginians, and the rebels, and said, that he was able to rule the Kingwith whom they had refused to joyn. This dom without help of any Protector. Thus drew Manlius forth of Calaris; where, if he by giving over his own charge, he caused had stayed a little longer, Afdrubal would others to do the like; hoping thereby to get have fought him out with some blemish to the King wholly into his hands; which came his reputation. But the fame of Asdrubal and to passin a fort, as he desired. For Hieronyhis company, appears to have been greater mus, laying afide all care of government, than was their strength. For after some trial gave himself wholly over to his pleasures: made of them in few skirmishes, Manlius or, if he had any regard of his Royal digniadventred all to the hazard of a battle; ty, it was only in matter of exterior shew; wherein he flew twelve thousand of the ene- as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of mies; and took of the Sardinians and Car- purple, and being attended by an armed thaginians three thousand. Four hours the guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his battle lasted; and victory at length fell to people, that had never feen the like in Hiero; the Romans, by the flight of the Islanders, or in Gelo his Son. But much more he ofwhole courages had been broken in their un- fended them, when by his infolent behaprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The viour, suitable to his outward pomp, he gave death of young Hyoftus, and of his Father proof, that in course of life, he would revive Harsicoras, that slew himself for grief, toge- the memery of Tyrants dead long since, ther with the captivity of Asdrubal himself from whom he took the pattern of his habit. with Mago and Hanno the Carthaginians, He grew proud, lustful, cruel, and dangemade the victory the more famous. The van- rous to all that were about him; so that such quished Army fled into Corms, whither of his late tutors as could escape him by Manlius followed them, and in thort space flight, were glad to live in banishment : the

rest

rest being most of them put to death by the but Grand-children of a banished strace. Tyrant: many of them dying by their own fan. These grew into such favour with Hishands, to avoid the danger of his displea- ronymus, that they drew him whither they fure, that feemed worse than death it self. listed. So that when App. Claudius the Ro-Only Andronodorus, Zoilus, and one Thraso, man Prætor, hearing what was towards. taking little heed of dangers far off, regard-Rome, the prevalent fortunes of Carthage. had laid out in vain, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with Hannibal; who readily entred into good correspon- in Hieronymus the new King. dence with him, that was maintained by

continued in grace with him, and were his made a motion of renewing the Confedera-Counsellours, but not of his Cabinet cy, between the people of Rome, and the King These, howsoever they agreed in other of syracuse; his messengers were dismissed points, were at some differtion about the with an open scoff. For Hieronymus would main point of adhering, either to the Ro- needs have them tell him the order of the mans, or to the Carthaginians. The two for- fight at Canna, that he might thereby learn mer of them were wholly for the Kingsplea- how to accommodate himself, faying, that fure, which was fet on change : but Thrafo, he could hardly believe the Carthaginians: having more regard of his honour and profit, fo wonderful was the victory, as they rewas very earnest to continue the amity with ported it. Having thus dismissed the Romans. Rome. Whilft as yet it remained some- he sent Embassadours to Carthage, wherehe what doubtful which way the King would concluded a league: with condition, at first. incline, a conspiracy against his person was that a great part of the Island should be andetected by a Groom of his; to whom one nexed to his Dominion; but afterward that Theodorus had broken the matter. Theo- he should reign over all sicil; and the Cardorus hereupon was apprehended, and tor- thaginians rest satisfied with what they mented; thereby to wring out of him the could get in Italy. At these doings Appins whole practice, and the names of the under- Claudius did not greatly ftir; partly for the takers. Long it was ere he would speak indignities that were offered; partly for that any thing: but yielding (as it feemed ) in the it behoved not the Romans to entertain end, unto the extremity of the torture, he more quarrels than were enforced upon confessed, that he had been set on by Thra- them by necessity; and partly (as may seem) fo; whom he appeached of the treason, to- for that the reputation, both of himself, and gether with many more, that were near in of his City, had received such blemish, by love or peace unto Hieror 1888. All these that which happened unto him in his jourtherefore were put to death, being innocent lacy, as much discountenanced him when he of the crime wherewith they were charged. came into Sicil, and forbade him to look But they that were indeed the Confpira-big. The money that Hiere had bestowed tors, walked boldly in the streets, and never formerly upon the Romans, wherewith to thrunk for the matter: affuring them- relieve them in their necessity, this Appins felves, that the resolution of Theodors was to carry back unto him; it being refuwould yield to no extremity. Thus they all fed by the Roman Senate, with greater braescaped, and soon after found means to exe- very than their present fortune would alcute their purpole. The King himfelf, low.Butinftead of returning the mony with when Thraso was taken out of the way, quick- thanks, as he had been directed, and as it ly refolved upon fiding with the Carthagi- had been noted abroad that he should do; nians, whereto he was very inclinable be- the war against Philip King of Macedon fore. Young men, when first they grow Ma- (whereof we have spoken before) compelsters of themselves, love to seem wifer than led the Romans to lay aside vain-glory, and their Fathers, by taking different courses. fend word after him, that he should configu And the Liberality of Hiero to the Romans, in that mony over to Marcus Valerius; of whole their great necessity, had of late been such, voyage into Greece, the City had not as might have been termed excessive, were otherwise wherewith to bear the charge. it not in regard of his providence; wherein he took order for his own estate, that de-claudius (which name in the whole continupended upon theirs. But the young Nephew | ance of that Family is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oftened only the things present; the weakness of tation of the Roman magnanimity, into such a pitiful tune of thanks-giving, as must needs and the much money that his Grand-father have bred forrow and commiseration in fo true a friend as Hiero; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn,

But whilst Hieronymus was more defirous Hippocrates and Epicides, Carthaginians born, of war, than well resolved how to begin it; his own death changed the form of have fought to murder all without diffe-State of spraeufe; which thereby might have and that, fince he beheld their orderly pro-

things, and bred a great innovation in the rence, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; prospered more than ever, had it been wisely ceeding, and their care, not to ravish their ligoverned. Hippocrates and Epicides, of whom berty perforce, but to wed it unto them for we fpake before, were fent about the evershe was willingly come to them forth of Country with two thousand men, to solicite his strength, and surrendered up the charge the Towns, and perswade them to shake committed unto him, by one that had been off their obedience to the Romans. The an evil Master both to him and them. Here-King himself with an Army of fifteen thou-upon great joy was made, and Prætors chofind horse and foot, went to Leontium a Ci- sen (as in former times) to govern the City. ty of his own Dominion: hoping that the of which Andronodorus was one, and the fame of his preparation, would make the chief. But fuch was his defire of Soveraignwhole Island fall to him in all hatte; and ac- ty, and so vehement were the instigations cept him for Soveraign. There the Conspirator of his wife, that shortly he began to prators took him on the sudden, as he was pal cife with Hippocrates, Fpicides, and other fing thorow a narrow street: and rushing Captains of the Mercenaries; hoping to hetween him and his guard, struck him make himself strong by their help, that were dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed; least pleased with the change. Hippocrates and the found of that word to joy fully an- and Epicides had been with the Syracufian swered by the Leontines, that the guard of Pixtors, and told them, that being sent from Hieroninus had little courage to revenge Hannibal to Hieronymus, they, according to their Mafters death. Yet, for fear of the worst, instructions of their Captain, had done him, a great largess was promised unto the Soul- whilst he lived, what service they could; diers, with rewards unto their Captains; and that now they were defirous to return which wrought so effectually, that when ma- home. They requested therefore that they ny wicked acts of the murdered King were might be friendly dismissed, and with a conreckoned up, the Army as in detestation of voy, that might keep them from falling inhis bad life, suffered his carkass to lye un- to the hands of the Romans, and set them buried. This news ran quickly to Syracuse; safe at Locri. This was easily granted; both whither some of the Conspirators, taking al- for that the syracusan Magistrates were fo of the Kings horses, posted away sto signi- well contented to earn thanks of Hannibal, fie all that had passed, to stir up the people with such a little courtesse; and for that to liberty, and to prevent Andronodorus, if they thought it expedient to rid their Town he or his followers would make offer to quickly of this troublesome couple, which usurp a tyranny. The Syracustans hereupon were good Souldiers, and gracious with the presently took arms, and made themselves Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not Masters of their own City. Andronodorus the desire of these two Sicilians, to be gone on the other fide fortified the Palace, and so hastily as they made shew; they were the Island; being yet uncertain what to do: more mindful of the business for which Hanbetween desire of making himself a sove- nibal had sent them. Wherefore they infinuaraign Lord, and fear of suffering punishment ted themselves into the bosomes of such as asa Tyrant, if his enterprise miscarried. His were most likely to fill the Army with tuwife Demarata, that was the daughter of mult, especially of the Roman fugitives, and Hiero, cherished him in his hopes; putting those that had cause to mistrust what should himin mind of that well-known Proverb, become of themselves, when the Romans which Dionysius had used ; That a Tyrant and Syracusans were come to agreement. Should keep his place, till he were baled out of it Such instruments as these, Andronodorus had by the heels, and not ride away from it on great need of: as also of many other, to help horse-back. But fear, and better counsel, him in his dangerous attempt. He sound prevailed so far, that Andronodorus, having Themistiur, that had married Harmonia, the slept upon the matter, dissembled his af Sifter of Hieronymus, ready to take his part; fections, and deferred his hope unto better as being carried with the like passions of his opportunity. The next day he came forth, own, and of his wife. But feeking to inand made a speech unto the people; telling create the number of his adherents, he rethem that he was glad to fee, how prudent- vealed the matter to one, that revealed all ly they behaved themselves in so great a to the rest of the Prætors. Hereupon it solchange; that he had flood in fear, left they lowed, that he & Themiflim, entring into the would not have contianed themselves with Senate, were slain out of hand: and afterin the bounds of discretion; but rather ward accused to the people, of all the evil Aaaaaa 2

gates,

which they had done, whileft Hieronymus | many acts of hostility against the Romans lived, as by his authority; and now fince at- first in secret, afterward more openly and tempted, in feeking to usurp the tyranny boldly. Marcellus, rightly understanding themselves. It was also declared, that the the purpose of these two brethren, sent word daughters of Hiero and Gelo were accessary unto the Syracusians, that they had already to this dangerous treason: and that the un- broken the league; and that the peace would

quiet spirits of these women would never never bekept sincerely untill this turbulent cease to work, until they had recovered pair of brethren were expelled the Island those royal ornaments and Soveraign po- Epicides, fearing to fustain the blame of his wer, whereof their family was now dif- brothers proceedings, and more defirousto possessed. These daughters therefore of set forward the war, than to excuse any Hiero and Gelo were also condemned to breach of peace; went himself unto the dye, and executioners presently sent by Leontines, whom he perswaded to rebel the entaged people, to take away their against the Syracuscass. For he said, that lives. Demarata and Harmonia had perhaps deserved this heavy sentence : but there was little reason why the Leontines Heraclea, the daughter of Hiero, and wife of should not be enfranchised by his death, as Solippus, being altogether innocent, was mur- well as the Syracufians ; yea or much radered, together with her two young daugh- ther, all things confidered; fince in their ters, in the halty execution of this ralh judg-ment. Her husband sospepus was a lover of proclaimed. Wherefore, since they of sythe Common-wealth; and in that respect so racuse were not contented to enjoy the Freehated by Hieromymus, that being fent Em- dom purchased among the Leontines; but baffadour to King Ptolomy, &c. he durst not thought it good reason, that they should return home, but stayed in Egypt as a bani- bear Dominion over those that had broken shed man. This consideration when it was the Chain, wherewith both the one and the too late, together with some pitiful acci- other were bound : his advice was, that such dents accompanying the flaughter, fo affect- their arrogancy should be checked betimes. ed the multitude, that (pardoning them- ere it could get any colour of right by prefelves)all cryed out upon the Authors of fo Comption. Hereunto occasion was given by foul a butchery. Being thus incensed against one article of the League, made of late by the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how the Romans and Syracusans. For it was to satisfie their anger, they called for an agreed, That all which had been subject to election of new Prætors, in the room of Hiero and Hieronymus, should henceforth be Andronodorus and Themistius, that were late- Vasfals unto the State of Syracuse. Against ly flain : meaning to substitute such in their this article, if the Leontines would take explaces, as the Senators should have little ception, and thereby challenge their own cause to like. At the election were present due; Epicides told them, that in this novela great rout, not only of the poorer Citi- ty of change, they had fit opportunity to zens, but of fouldiers that preffed into the recover the freedom, which their fathers throng. One of these named Epicides Præ- had lost not many ages before. Neither was tor; another named Hippocrates: and the it unreasonable, which this crafty Carthagiless that the old Prætors and Senators ap- nian propounded; if the Leontines had been proved this nomination, the more eager was subdued by the same hand, which took lithe multitude; and by a general cry forced berty from the Syracusans. But seeing they them to be accepted. These being made had long fince yielded unto spracuse, and Prætors did what they could to hinder the been subject unto that City, by what form agreement that was in hand, between the foever it was grounded; this claim of liber-Syraculians and the Romans. But having ftri- ty was rather feafonable, than just. Neverven in vain, and seeing that the people stood theless, the motion of Epicides was highly in fear of Ap. Claudius, and of Marcellus that approved : infomuch that when meffengers was lately come into sicil; they gave way came foon after from syracuse, to rebuke the unto the time, and inferred the old league of Leontines, for that which they had done Hiero to be re-confirmed, which afterward against the Romans; and to denounce unto they purposed to dissolve by practice. The Hippocrates and Epicides, that they should Leontines had some need of a garrison; and to get them gone, either to Locri, or whither them was sent Hippocrates the Prætor, at else they listed, so that they stayed not in tended by such fugitives, and mercenary Sicil: word was returned, That they of fouldiers, as were most burdensome to Syra- Leontium had not requested the Syracusians, cuse. Thither when he came, he began to do to make any bargains for them with the

Romans, nor thought themselves bound to so presented themselves to the Army. Six observe the covenants, which others with- hundred men of Crete were in the vantout warrant had made in their names. This guard; that had been well used by Hierongperemptory answer was forthwith reported mus: and some of them greatly bound unto unto Marcellus by the Syracultans; who Hannibal, who had taken them prisoners in offered him their affistance in doing justice the Italian war, and lovingly dismissed them. upon the Leontines their Rebels; with con- Thefe Cretians therefore welcomed the two dition. That when the Town was taken, it brethren, and bade them be of good chear. might be theirs again. Marcellus required faying, That no man should do them harm. nobetter fatisfaction: but forth-with took as long as they could use their weapons. the business in hand, which he dispatched in Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and one day. At the first affault Leontium was the rumour of this accident ran swiftly taken, all fave the Castle; whereinto Hippo- from man to man, with general approbation. crates and Epicides fled: and stealing thence | The Prætors thought to help the matter by away by night, coveighed themselves into severity, which would not serve. For when the Town of Herbesus. The first thing that they commanded these two traitors to be Marcellus did, when he had won the Town, laid in Irons, the exclamation was so violent was the same, which other Roman Captains against them, that fain they were to let all used after victory, to seek out the fugitive alone, and return, uncertain what course to Roman flaves and renegado's, whom he cauftake, unto Megara, where they were lodged ed all to die: the rest both of the Towns- the night before. Thither when they came, men and Souldiers, he took to mercy, for- Hippocrates devised a trick, whereby to help bearing also to strip or spoyl them. But the himself, and better the uncertain case fame of his doings was bruited after a con- wherein he stood. He caused Letters of his trary fort. It was faid, that he had flain Man, own penning, to be intercepted by some of Woman and Child, and put the Town to his most trusty Cretans, directed ( as they fack. These news met the Syracustan Army made shew ) from the Syracustan Prætors to upon the way, as it was going to joyn with Marcellus. The contents hereof were. That Marcellus, who had ended his busines be- Marcellus had well done, in committing all fore. About eight thousand Mercenaries to the sword among the Leontines: but that there were, that had been sent forth of sy- it further behoved him, to make the like racuse, under solis and Dinomines, two of dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to the Prætors; to serve against the Leontines Syracuse; which were offensive, all of them and other rebels. These Captains were holdingeneral, to the liberty of the City, and nest men. and well affected to their Coun- the peace with Rome. When this counterfeit try: but the Souldiers that followed them, Epiftle was openly rehearfed, the uproar had those diseases, with which all mercena- was such, that softs and his fellow Prætor, ries are commonly infected. They took the were glad to for take the Camp, and fly for matter deeply to heart, that their fellow their lives. All the Syraculians remaining fouldiers (as now they termed those against behind, had been cut in pieces by the enwhom they went) had been so cruelly but- raged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the chered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny ; fedition had not faved their lives; rather though what to demand, or with whom to to keep them as pledges, and by them, to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors win their friends within the Town, than for therefore thought it best, to turn their un- any good will. They perswaded also a misquiet thoughts another way, and fet them chievous knave, that had ferved among it the awork in some place else; for as much as at Leontines, to justifie the bruit of Marcellus Leontium there was no need of their service. cruelty, and to carry home the news to Sy-So towards Herbesin they marched; where racuse, as an eye-witness. This incensed not lay Hippocrates and Epicides, the architects only the multitude, but some of the Senate; of all this mischief, devising what further and filled the whole Town with causeless harm they might do; but now fo weakly indignation. In good time (faid some ) was accompanied, that they seemed unable to the avarice and cruelty of the Romans deescape the punishments belonging to their tected: who had they in like fort gotten offences past. Hereof the two brethren were into Syracuse, would have dealt much worse, no less well aware: and therefore adven- where their greedy appetites might have tured upon a remedy little less desperate been tempted with a far greater booty. than their present case. They issued forth of Whilst they were thus discoursing, and de-Herbesus unarmed, with Olive branches in vising how to keep out the wicked Romans, their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and Hippocrates with his Army came to the

mulet; for want of help, they would be be- rour in the very beginning; but didhis best traved to their enemies. The Prætors, with both by Land and Sea. Nevertheless all his the best and wifest of the Senate, would fain labour was disappointed, and his hope of have kept him out : but the violence of the prevailing by open force, taken from him by touldiers to to ce a gate, was no whit greatheill fucceis of two or three of the first afcor, than the head-firong fury of those with- faults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Dein the Town that laboured to break it open. fendants, or any strength of the City that So he entred and immediately fell upon the bred fuch despair of halty victory. But there Plators, whom (being for saken by all men) lived at that time in Syracuse Archimedes the he put to the fword, and made flaughter of noble Mathematician : who at the request them and their followers till night. The of Hiero the late King, that was his kinfman. next day he went opently to work; and, af- had framed fuch engines of war, as being in ter the common example of Tyrants, gave this extremity put in use, did more mischief liberty unto all flaves and prisoners; and to the Romans than could have been being fortified with adherents of the world wrought by the Canon, or any instruments and basest fort, made himself and his bro- of Gun-powder; had they in that age been ther Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords known. This Archimedes discourling once

of Stracule. great alteration, he thought it no time for wherein it is, if there were fome other him to fit itill, and attend the further iffue, earth, or place of fure footing, whereon a He fent Embassadors to Syracuse, that were man might stand. For proof of this bold not admitted into the Haven, but chased out affertion, he performed some strange works; as enemies. Then drew he near with his Ar- which made the King entreat him to conmy: and lodging within a mile and a half vert his study unto things of use: that might of the Town, lent before him, some to re-preserve the City from danger of enemies. quire a parlee. These were entertained with- To such Mechanical works, Archimedes, and out the walls by the two new Prætors: to the Philosophers of those times, had little whom they declared. That the Romans were affection. They held it an injury done uncome thither, not with purpose to do hurt, to the liberal sciences, to submit learned but in favour of the syracusans, which were Propositions, unto the workmanship, and opprefied by Tyrants; and to punish those gain, of base handy-crafts men. And of that had murdered and banished so many of this opinion Plato was an Authour: who the principal Citizens. Wherefore they re- greatly blamed some Geometricians, that quired that those worthy men, their Con- seemed unto him to prophane their science, tederates, which were chased out of the by making it vulgar. Neither must we rash-Town, might be suffered to return anden- ly task a man so wife as Plato, with the imjoy their own : as also that the Authors of putation of supercillious austerity, or affethe great flaughter lately committed, might cted fingularity in his reprehension. Forit them: but fince it was directed unto others, made known to be undervalued; as falling they should do well to return, when those within compass of the meanest wit; and part or other, be taken at the first assault. labour of workmanship grows to be the

gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terwith Hicro, maintained that it were poffible When Marcellus was advertised of this to remove the whole earth out of the place be delivered up. Hereto Epicides briefly hath been the unhappy fate of great invenanswered, that if their errand had been to tions to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreams, him, he could have told what to fay to before they were published; and being once to whom they were fent, had the govern- things that every one could well have perment in their hands. As for the War which formed. Hereof (to omit that memorable they threatned, he told them, they should example of Columbus his discovery, with the find by experience. That to beliege syracufe much different forts of neglect, which he unwas another manner of work, than to take der-went before and after it) in a familiar Leontium. Thus he fent them gone; and and most homely example we may see most returned back into the City. Immediately apparent proof. He that looks upon our began the fiege, which endured longer than English Brewers, and their fervants, that are the Romans had expected, the quick and daily exercised in the Trade; will think it easie winning of Leontium, did put Marcellus ridiculous to hear one say, that the making in hope, that so long a circuit of walls as of Malt was an invention, proceeding from compassed Syracuse, being manned with no some of an extraordinary knowledge in nabetter kind of Souldiers, than those with tural Philosophy. Yet is not the skill of whom he had lately dealt, would in some the inventors any whit the less, for that the trade of ignorant men. The like may be said, nical trade, or teach the Art of murdering of many handy-crafts: and particularly in men, it was besides his purpose. the Printing of Books; which being devised | Marcellus had caused certain of his Quin-

and bettered by great scholars and wife quereme Gallies to be fastened together, and men, grew afterward corrupted by those, to Towers erected on them to beat the defenwhom the practice fell; that is, by fuch as dants from the wall. Against these Archimecould flubber things easily over, and feed des had fundry devices; of which any one their workmen at the cheapest rate. In fort might have repelled the affailants : but this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all all of them together shewed the multiplicity others that have, or would feem to have of his great wit. He shotheavy stones, and any secret skill, whereof the publication long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards might do good unto mankind; are not with of thips; which brake fome of the Gallies by out excuse of their close concealing. For their force and weight. These afflicted such it is a kind of injustice, that the long travels as lay far off. They that were come nearer of an understanding brain, beside the loss the walls, lay open to a continual volly of of time, and other expence, should be cast shot, which they could not endure. Some away upon men of no worth; yield less be- with an Iron grapple were taken by the nefit unto the Author of a great work, than prow, and hoysted up, shaking out all the to meer strangers; and perhaps his ene- men, and afterwards falling down into the mies. And furely, if the pattion of Envy water. Some by strange Engines were lifted have in it any thing allowable and natural, up into the Air, where turning round a as having Anger, Fear, and other like Affe- while, they were broken against the walls ctions: it is in some such case as this; and or cast upon the rocks: and all of them were ferveth against those, which would usurp so beaten that they durst never come to any the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied second assault. In the like fort was the Landto indue them. Nevertheless, if we have Army handled. Stones and timber, falling regard unto common charity, and the great upon it like hail, did not only over-whelm affection that every one ought to bear unto the men, but brake down the Roman Engines the generallity of mankind, after the exam- of battery; and forced Marcellus to give over ple of him that suffereth bis Sun to shine upon the assault. For the remedy hereof it was the just, and unjust: it will appear more conceived, that if the Romans could early commendable in wife men, to enlarge them- before day get near unto the walls, they selves, and to publish unto the world, those should be (as it were) under the point-blank, good things that lay buried in their own bo- and receive no hurt by these terrible Instrusoms. This ought specially to be done, ments, which were woond up hard to shoot when a profitable knowledge hath not an- a great compass. But this vain hope cost manexed to it some dangerous cunning, that my of the affailants lives : For the shot came may be perverted by evil men to a mischie- down right upon them; and beating them voususe. For if the secret of any rare An- from all parts of the wall, made a great tidore, contained in it the skill of giving some slaughter of them, all the way as they fled deadly and irrecoverable poison: much bet- (for they were unable to tarry by it) even ter it were, that such a Jewel remain close in till they were gotten very far off. This did the hands of a wife and honest man, than be- fo terrifie the Romans, that if they perceived ing made common, bind all men to use the any piece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to wall, they ran away, crying out, That Ardo mischief. But the works which Archime | chimedes his Engines were ready to disdes published, were such attended unto ve- charge. Neither knew Marcellus how to ry commendable ends. They were Engines, overcome these difficulties, or to take away ferving unto the defence of Syracufe; not from his men, that fear, against the cause fit for the Syracufians to carry abroad, to whereof he knew no remedy. If the Engines the hurt and oppression of others. Neither had stood upon the walls, subject to firing, did he altogether publish the knowledge, or any such annoyance from without; he how to use them, but referred so much to his own direction; that after his death more make them unserviceable. But all, or the most of the same kind were not made, nor those of them were out of sight, being erected in of his own making were employed by the the streets behind the walls; where Archime-Romans. It sufficed unto this worthy man, des gave directions how to use them. Where-that he had approved unto the vulgar, the fore the Roman had no other way left, than dignity of his Science; and done especial be- to cut off from the Town all province of nefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mecha- victuals, both Ly Land and by Sea.

For the enemies having so goodly an Hathe disposition of the Islanders changed so thaginians that were strong by Sea, willing come from Rome, which escaped from Himilhe confumed with famine, as the beliegers to yet many places revolted unto the Carthasibe weatied out, by lying in Leaguer before nians, and flew or betrayed the Roman Garfo strong a City, having no probability to risons. carry it. Yet, for want of better counfel to In the midft of these troubles, Winter enfollow, this was thought the best, and most forced both parts to take breath a while:

honourable courfe. In the mean while, Himileo, Admiral of a fore syracuse, that he might not seem to have Carthaginian Fleet, that had waited long given over the fiege, went unto Leontium. about Sicil, being by Hippocrates advertised where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the of these passages, went home to Carthage, and beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt. there to dealt with the Senate, that five and whether it were better to continue the latwenty thousand Foot, three thousand borious work of besieging Syracuse, or to Horses and twelve Elephants, were com-turn all his forces to Agrigentum, against Himitted unto his charge, wherewith to make mileo and Hippocrates. But it would greatly war upon the Romans in Sicil by Land. He have impaired his reputation, if he had gone took many Towns; and many that had from Syracufe: as unable to prevail; and he anciently belonged unto the Carthaginians himfelf was of an eager disposition, ever undid vield unto him. To remedy this mif- willing to give ground, or to quit, as not chief and to stay the inclination of men, feisible, an enterprise that he had once taken which following the current of Fortune, be- in hand. He came therefore to Syracufe: gan to turn unto the Carthaginians; Mar- where though he found all the difficulties cellus with a great part of his Army, role remaining as before; and no likelihood to from stracule, and went from place to place take the City by force or famine; yet was about the Island. He took Felorus and he not without hope, that continuance of Herbelus, which yielded unto him. He took time would bring forth somewhat, which alfo Megara by force and fackt it : either to might fulfull his defire. Especially he affayterrifie others that were obstinate, especial- ed to prevail by treason; against which no ly the Syraculians, or elfe because Rome was place can hold out. And to this end he dealt at this time poor, and his Army must have with the Syracustan Gentlemen that werein somewhat to keep it in heart. His especial his Camp sexhorting them to practice with desire was to have saved Agrigentum: whi- their friends that remained in the City. This ther he came too late; for Himileo had got- was not easie for them to do, because the ten it before. Therefore he returned back Town would hearken to no parlee. At length toward Syractife; carefully, and in as good a flave unto one of these banished men, mak-order as he could, for fear of the Carthagi-ing shew to run away from his Master, got nian that was too strong for him. The cir- into syracuse; where he talked in private cumspection that he used, in regard of Hi- with some few, as he had been instructed. mileo, ftood him in good ftead against a dan- Thus began Marcellus to have intelligence ger that he had nor mistrusted. For Hippo- within the City: whence the Conspirators crates, leaving the charge of syracuse unto used to send him advertisement of their prohis brother, had lately issued out of the City, ceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth with ten thousand foot, and five hundred in the night: but when they were grown to horse, intending to joyn his forces with Hi- the number of fourscore, and thought themmileo. Marcellus fell upon him, erecither felves able to effect somewhat of imporwas aware of the other: and the Romans, tance, all was discovered; and they like being ir good order, got an easie victory Traitors put to death. In the mean while, against the dispersed and half unarmed sy- one Damasippus a Lacedamonian, that had racustans. The reputation hereof helped a lit- been sent out of the Town as an Embassiador tle to keep the Sicilians from rebellion. Yet to Philip King of Macedon, was fallen into the it was not long, ere Himilco, joyning with hands of Marcellus. Epicides was very desi-Hippocrates, ran over all the Island at his rous to ransome him: and many meetings pleasure, and presented battail to Marcellus, were appointed for that purpose, not far even at his Trenches; but the Roman wifely from the walls. There, one of the Romans refuse At. Bomilear also a Carthaginian, en-looking upon the wall, and wanting the

This was a very desperate piece of work. racuse, and victualled the City. After this. ven; the Sea in a manner free; and the Car- again, that although another Legion was to Supply them: were not likely fo foon to co, and fafely arrived at Marcellus his Camp:

and Murcellus, leaving some of his Army betred with a great fleet into the Laven of Sy-more compendious Art of Geometry, fell to numbring the itones: and making an efti-| led the reft to diflodge. The Romans Pribution of wine. A better opportunity Sicil farewell. Then durft not Epicides rethe walls, which he took by Scalado. Syra- faint hope of hearing any good news. cule was divided into four parts ( or five, if were fortified as diftinct Cities. When thereter opportunity than before, to deal with the reft. For there were now a great many, as well of those in Acradinia and the Island much terrified by the lots of those parts, which the Romans had taken and fackt. As for the weapons of Archimedes, little harm, or none they did, unto those that were sheltred under strong houses: although it may feem, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurnished of his help; since they by force. The Roman fugitives and Renegathe rest of the City: being sure to be rewarded with cruel death, if Marcellus could prevail. Hippocrates and Himilco, were daily expected; and Bomilear was fent away to Carthage, to bring help from thence. It was not long ere Hippocrates and Himilco came : who fell upon the old Camp of the Romans,

mate of the height judged it less than it had (though somewhat less) afflicted with the been formerly deemed. Herewith he ac- fame pestilence, insomuch that Bomilear did quainted Marcelluss: who causing better no put the City of Carthage in hope, that he tice to be taken of the place; and finding might be taken where he lay, if any great that ladders of no extraordinary length forces were fent thither. This Bomilear wantwould reach it, made all things ready, and ed no defire to do his Country fervice: but waited a convenient time. It was the weakest his courage was not answerable to his good cart of the Town, and therefore the most will. He arrived at Pachinus with a strong firongly guarded: neither was there hope to fleet: where he stayed; being loth to double prevail by force against Archimedes, if they the Cape; for that the winds did better ferve failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive the enemy than him. Thither failed Evicides out of the Town brought word, that a great out of syracuse: to acquaint him with the feast was to be held unto Diana, which was necessities of the City; and to draw him on. to last three dayes: and that, because other With much intreaty, at length he came forgood chear was not so plentiful within the ward : but meeting with the Roman fleet, City, as in former times, Epicides, to grati- that was ready for him, he stood off into the fiethe people, had made the more large di- | deep; and failed away to Tarentum, bidding could not be wished. Wherefore Marcellus turn into Syracuse, but went to Agrigentum: in the dead of the Festival night, came unto where he expected the islue; with a very

The Sicilian Souldiers that remained alive Epipola were reckoned as one) each of which of Hippocrates his Army, lay as near as they could fafely, unto Marcellus, and fome of fore Murcellus had gotten some pieces, he them, in a strong Town three miles off. Thele had the commodity of a better and fafe had done what good they could to Syracufe. longing, with good store of booty; and bet- by doing what hurt they could unto the Romans. But when they were informed, that the State of Sicil was given as desperate by the Carthaginians: they fent Embassadours inner parts of the Town, as of those that to treat of peace; and made offer to comwere already in the hands of Marcellus, that pound, both for themselves, and for the began to hearken unto composition, as being Town. Hercunto Marcellus willingly gave ear: for he had stayed there long enough; and had cause to fear, that after a little while, the Carthaginians might comethither strong again. He therefore agreed both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; that they should be Masters of their own, enjoying their liberty and proper laws; held out a good while, and were not taken yet fuffering the Romans to possess whatsoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupdoes, were more careful than ever to defend on they, to whom Epicides had left his charge, were put to death, new Prætors chosen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto Marcellus: when fuddenly the Roman fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their own condition to be desperate. perswading the other Mercenary Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained only for whilst Epicides fallied out of Acradinia upon themselves, and betrayed the Army to the Marcellus. But the Romans made such de- Romans. Wherefore they presently took fence in each part, that the Affailants were Arms, and fell upon the new chosen Prærepelled. Nevertheless they continued to tors; whom they slew, and made election beset Marcellus: whom they held in a man- of fix Captains that should command over ner as straightly besieged, as he himself did all. But shortly it was found out, that befiege the Town. But the pestilence at there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; length confumed, together with the two excepting only the fugitives. The Treaty Captains, a great part of the Army, and cau- was therefore again fet on foot, and wanted little little of conclusion: which yet was delay- treaty of peace held with the syracultans to ed: either by some fear of the Citizens, that make a bargain under-hand against them. had feen (as they thought) proof of the Ro- with a Captain of the Mercenaries? These man avarice in the fack of Epipole Tyche, and things were objected against Marcellus, at Neapolis, the parts already taken; or by some his return home : but the Scnators thought defire of Marcellus to get the Town by force, it a great deal better, to comfort the Syracuthat he might use the liberty of a Conquer- flans with gentle words, and promise of good or, and make it wholly subject to Rome. Me- usage in time to come; than to restore the ricus a Spaniard was one of the fix Captains booty, and give over the Dominion of a Cithat had been chosen in the last commotion: ty, so great, wealthy, strong, and many waves a man of fuch faith, as usualy is found in important. Nevertheless if we consider the Mercenaries; holding his own particular be- many inconvenienes and great mischiefs nefit above all other respects. With this Cap- whereunto Syracuse was obnoxious; both tain, Marcellus dealt secretly: having a fit in- by evil neighbours, and by that very form strument, of the same Nation, one Belligenes, of policy, after which it was governed we that went in company with the Roman Em- may truly affirm, that it received no small balladors, daily pailing to and fro. This benefit, by becoming subject unto Rome, For crafty Agent periwaded Mericus, That the thereby it was not only affured against all Romans had already gotten all Spain: and forraign enemies, domestical conspiracies. that if ever he purposed to make his own and such Tyrants as of old had reigned fortune good, either at home in Spain, or therein; but freed from the necessity of haany where elfe; it was now the only time to nishing, or murdering, the most worthy do it; by conforming himself to the will of Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine the Roman General. By such hopes the Spa- feditions, and a thousand the like miseries.

against the Syracustans, cannot well be com- secure under the protection of Rome; and mended as honeft:neither was it afterwards was no more molefted, by the difease of am-Eor the benefits of Hiero to the Romans had it was throughly cured. But such benefit, unto the people of Rome, advantage against ing. them. The poor Citizens could not make good their prits against the hired Souldiers and therefore were fain to yield unto the time, and obey those Ministers of Hanaibal that ruled the Army. But as long as the lift they had taken Carthage it felf; that main: were free after the death Hieronymus; and rained war by Land and Sea against them. now of late, when they had gathered coar All the goodly works and Imageries, whererage by the flight of Epicides : it had been with Syracuse was marvelloully adorned, their chief care to maintain amity with the were carried away to Rome; and nothing the principal of Epicides his followers; and banished men, that had escaped from Hippolately and in former times, because of this Among other pitiful accidents; the death their defire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascality, and some | Marcellus himself. He was so busie about his

nill Captain was easily won, and fent forth that were wont to grow out of the jealousie. his own brother among the Syracujian Em- wherein they held their liberty in vain. bassadours to ratissie the covenant with Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any fuch long time of happines. This under-hand dealing of Marcellus as that wherein it flowrithed, when it refted throughly approved at his coming to Rome. bitich; wherewith by Marcellus his victory been such, as deserved not to be requited arising from wrongs done, serves not to with the ruine of his Country: much less, make injustice the more excusable: unless that the mileries of his people, oppressed we should approve the answer of that thief, (though partly through their own folly by who being found to have stollen a filver cup an Army of Mercenaries, should minister from fick man, said, He never leaves drink-

by the reason of Marcius, the Roman was let into possession of all Syracuse: Merein, the booty that it found, was faid to ave been no less, than could be hoped for, people of Rome. They had lately flain many left untouched; fave only the houses of those many of themselves had also been flain, both crates and Epicides, into the Roman Camp. of Archimedes was greatly lamented, even by ill advised persons; joyned with the souldi- Geometry, in drawing figures, that he hearers in hatred of the Romans, by occasion of kened not to the noise, and uproar in the the flaughter which they heard to be done City, no, nor greatly attended the rude at Leontium, and afterward beheld in those Souldier that was about to kill him. Mercelparts of their own City which was taken? Its took heavily the death of him; and cau-Ought therefore the Roman General, in a fed his body to be hourourably buried. Uptime ) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, ried him unto the fight, upon a foolish defire with an inscription of the proportion be- to get victory, without the help of Mutines tween them; which he first found out. An their Country-man. Wherefore they fent invention of fo little use, as this may feem, unto the Roman General, and bade him be pleased that great Artist better, than the de- confident; for that it was not their purpose viting of all those Engines, that made him so to shew themselves his enemies that day, but famous. Such difference is in the judgement only look on, and fee the proud Carthaginiof learned men, and of the vulgar fort. For ans well beaten by whom they had been mifmany an one would think the money loft, used. They made good their promise, and that had been fpent upon a Son, whose ftu- had their defire. For Marcellus, finding likedies in the University had brought forth lihood of truth in their message, did so lustifuch fruit, as the proportion between a ly fet upon the enemies, that he brake them Sphere and a Cylinder.

CHAP. III.

in Sicil vielded unto the Romans, except Agrigentum. Agricentum and a few places thereabout. At It Hanno could have been contented, to Agricentum lay Epicides with one Hanno a follow the directions of one, that was a bet-Carthaginian, and Mutines an African, that ter man of War than himself, and not to was lately fent from Hannibal. This Mutines have hazarded a battel without need; the by many good pieces of fervice, had added Romans would shortly have been reduced fome credit to the beaten Carthaginian fide; into terms of great difficulty in their Siciliand withall made his own name great. By an War. For Marcellus was shortly after to his perswasions, Hanno and Epicides adven- leave the Province; and soon upon his detured to meet Marcellus without the Town, parture, there landed in the Itland a supply and not behave themselves as men expect- of eight thousand foot, and three thousand ing to be belieged. Neither was he more Numidian horse, that were fent from Carvaliant in counsel, than in execution. Once thage. The fame of this new Army drew and again he fet upon the Romans, where many of the Siciliansinto rebellion. The they lay encamped, and drove them fear- Roman Army confilting (for the most part) fully into their Trenches. This bred envy of the Legions of Canna, took it very hainin Epicides and Hanno; especially in Hanno, outly, that no good service done, could bring that having been lately fent from Carthage, them into the favour of the Senate; but that, with commission and authority from the as banished men, they were sent far from State, thought himself wronged greatly by home, and not suffered to return back to Hannibal; in that he had fent unto him this Rome with their General. Mutines had paci-Mutines, to be his companion, and to take fied his Countrey-men the Numidians, and upon him, like as good a man as himself. The like an honest man, did what he could for indignity feemed the greater, when Mutines those whom he served, without contending being to step aside into Heraclea, for the pa- against the foolish pride of Hanno; finding cifying some troubles there among the Nu- that there was a great alteration; and a greamidians; advised (as directing Hanno and ter might have been, if the Army lately over-Epicides) not to meddle with the enemy, un- thrown had been entire. M. Cornelius the til his return. So much therefore the ra- Roman Prator, used all diligence, both to ther would Hanne fight; and offered battel pacifie his own men, and to hinder the Carunto Marcellus, before he fought it. It is like, | thaginians. He recovered those Inland towns that a great part of the Roman Army was left that had rebelled : and though he could not behind in Syracuse, as need required; which hinder Mutines from over-running all the made the Carthaginians the better able to Country; yet he hindred the Country from deal with those that came against them. But revolting unto Mutines. Above threetwo Armies; far greater were the odds be- ginians held in Sicil: of which Agrigentween the Captains. For how loever the peo- tum was the principal, and far bigger than ple of Carthage would give authority by fa- any of the rest. Thence issued Mutines as vour ; yet could they not give worth and often as he pleased, in despight of the Roagainst their Captains; and being there- that followed the contrary part. But Hanno,

on his Tomb (as he had ordained in his life- | that the vain-glorious envy of Hanno carat the first charge ; and with the slaughter After the taking of Syracufe, all the Towns of many thousands, drove them back into

whatfoever difference on was between the score Towns, great and small, the Carthaability, in matter of war. The Numidians, mans: not only to the fuccour of his own having before conceived some displeasure adherents, but to the great waste of those fore some of them gone away to Heraclea, instead of being pleased with all these good were much more offended, when they faw (ervices, was filled more and more with en-

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vy, against the man that performed them. Army and Adherents in Sicil, to the mer-He had (belike) received instruction from cy of the Romans, that henceforward conold Hanno at Carthage, not to fuffer Hannibal, tinued Malters of the whole Island. or any Hannibalian, to have a share in the honour of these sicilian Wars: which were gentum, did tharp execution of justice upon therefore perhaps the more diligently sup- all the Citizens. The principal of them he carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needful, to the performance of that which Mutines had undertaken: For he with his Numidians did forcibly feize upon a gate; whereat they let in some Roman Companies, that lay near in a readiness for the purpose. Hanno, when first he heard the noise, Deellus came to Rome : where for his thought it had been no worse matter, than good services done in the Island of sicil, fome such tumult of the Numidians, as he he had granted unto him the honour of had been well acquainted with of late. But the lesser Triumph, which was called Ovawhen, making halte to pacifie the trouble, tion. The greater Triumph was denyed he saw and heard, the Romans intermixed, him: because he had not finished the war, among those discontented followers of Mu- but was fain to leave his Army behind him tines, forthwith he betook himself to flight: in the Province. He stayed not long in

Levinus the Conful having taken Aeriplied, whilft Italy was neglected, that should scourged with rods, and afterwards beheadhave been regarded more than all the rest ed, as was the manner of the Romans: all the Wherefore to shew his authority, and that rest of them he sold for slaves, and confiscait was not in the power of Hunnibal, to ap- ted their goods; fending home to Rome the point unto him an Atliftant, or Director: mony that was raifed of the booty. This was He took away from Mutines his charge, indeed a time, wherein Rome stood in no less and gave it to his own Son; thinking there- necessity of gold, than of fteel: which may by to discountenance the man, and make have been the reason, why Levinus dealt him little effected, as one out of Office, fo cruelly with the Agrigentines. Nevertheamong the Numidians. But it fell out quite less, the fame of such severity bred a terror contrary: and this spightful dealing occa- among all the Dependants of the Carthaginifioned the loss of what soever the Carthagini- ans, so that in great haste they sought to ans held in Sicil. For the Numidians were fo make their peace. About forty Towns yieldincented by the indignity offered unto their ed themselves quickly unto the Romans: Country-man being such a brave Comman-twenty were delivered up by Treason; and der, that they offered him their service to fix only stayed to be wonn by force. These requite the wrong; and were thenceforth things done, Lavinus returned home to absolutely at his own disposition. M. Vale- Rome; carrying with him about four thourius Lavinus, the Roman Conful, was newly fand men from Agatirna; that were a compacome into the Province, when this fell ny of out-laws, bankrouts, and banished men out : and with him did Mutines enter into accustomed to live by spoil of others in these intelligence. For he could no longer brook troublesome times. He bestowed them about these indignities; but being neither a Car- Rhegium in Italy, where they might exercise thaginian, nor favoured by those that bore their own occupation against the Britians all the sway in Carthage: He thought it thievish kind of people, that were enemies the wifest way, to play the best of his own unto those of Rhegium, and to the Romans. As game, and forfake that City, which was for Mutines, he was well rewarded, and made likely to perish by the evil counsel that go- Citizen of Rome: where he lived in good acverned ir. He did not therefore, as his compt; accompanying the two Scipio's in Country-men had lately done, content him- their journey against Antiochus, and therein felf to see his Adversaries reap the bitter doing (asit is said) very especial service. So fruits of his own malicious over-weening: by this enterprise of sicil, the Carthaginians and to suffer that harm, in doing whereof wasted much of their forces, that with greahe would not bear a part ; but conspired ter profit might have been employed in Itaagainst them to deliver up Agrigentum, and ly : leaving yet unto the Romans, in the end to help to expel them utterly out of sicil. of this war, the entire possession of this The Consul was glad of his friendship; and Island; which they wanted when it began.

## ø. XVI.

How the War paffed between the Romans and Hannibal in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the great victory of Metaurus.

C'Hortly after the winning of Capua, Marand faving himself, with Epicides, in a small Rome, before he was again chosen Consul Bark, set fail for Africk; leaving all his together with M.Valerius Lavinus, who sucagainst Hannibal.

Before the Confuls departed out of Rome,

ceeded him in the Government of Sicil, and to further confideration. The Senate could was, at the time of his election, making war ill tell, what to determine or do, in a case of against King Philip in Greece. Great Com- such extremity. For manifest it was that plaint was made against the Conful Marcel- the multitude had already indured somuch. lus, by the Syracustans, for that which he had as well it could undergo; and somewhat done unto them: they alledging their great more, than could with honesty have been friendship to the people of Rome, in the time imposed upon it. Nevertheless it was imposed of their late King Hiero; and affirming that lible to maintain the war against the Cartheir City did never willingly break the thaginians; or to keep the Macedonian out of alliances excepting when it was oppressed by Italy without a strong seet. Wherefore some fuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies were of opinion; That fince the common to Rome, than to all good men that lived in Treasure was so empty, the people must be Syracuse. The Conful, on the other side; reck- forced, by right or wrong, to take the buroned the labours & dangers whereunto they den upon them. At laft the Confuls began to had put him: willing them to bemoan them- fay, That no perfu alions would be to efselves to the Carthaginians that had holpen sectual with the people, as good examples : them in their necessity; and not unto the and that if the Senators would follow the Romans, whom they had kept out. Thus Confuls, like it was that the people also each part having some good matter to al- would follow the Senate. Wherefore they ledge, the Senate made fuch an end of the propounded, and it was immediately concontroversie, as best agreed with the benefit cluded, that every one of them should bring of their own Common-wealth : blaming the forth, and put into the Treasury, all the motoo much rigour of Marcellus; yet not re- ny that he had; and that no Senator should floring the booty that he had taken, nor keep any veticlof gold, or plate what foever; making the syraculians free from their sub-excepting one Salt-feller, and a Bowl jection . but comforting them with gentle wherewith to make their offerings unto the words, and hopeful promifes, as hath been gods; as also a Ring for himself, with such shewed before. The two new Confuls Mar- other tokens of ingenuity for his wife and cellus and Levinus, were appointed to make children, as every one did use, and those of as war, as their lots should fall out; the one in small value as might be. This advice of the Italy, the other in Sicil. The Isle of Sicil fell Confuls was not more thankfully accepted unto Marcellus, which Province he willing- by the Senate, than the ready performance ly changed with his Colleague; to the end thereof by the Senate was highly applaudthat the Syracultans ( whose cause had not ed, and nastily followed by the Gentlemen of as yet been heard in the Senate ) might not Rome. Neither did the Commonalty refule feem hindred by fear, from uttering their to do that, which their betters had openly grievances freely. Afterwards, when his bu- done before them. For fince the publick nefinels with them was dispatcht, he gently un- ceffity could no otherwise be holpen; every dertook the patronage of them: which re- one was contented, that his private estate mained long in his Family, to the great be- should run the same fortune with the Comnefit of their Country in times following. So mon-wealth, which if it suffered wrack in Valerius, the other Conful, was fent into Si- vain could any particular man hope to enjoy al, whose doings there have been already the benefit of his proper substance. This magrehearled: but Marcellus was employed nanimity deserved well that greatness of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an they were much troubled with prefling of Army and Fleer: Murcellus went forth of the Souldiers to the war, and most of all, with City against Hannibal; and Levinus toward getting Mariners for their Navy. They were sicil. The Army of Hannibal was greatly diall of the poorer fort, that used to be em- minished by long and hard service : neither ployed in Sea-fervices, especially in rowing. did his Carthaginians seem to remember him, These could not live without present wa- and think upon sending the promised supply, ges: neither was there mony enough in the or any such proportion as he needed. His cre-Treasury to give them pay. Wherefore it dit also among his Italian friends, was much was ordained, that they should be set out at wakened, by the loss of Capua: which gave the expence of private men; who in this ne- them cause to look unto themselves; as if in ceffity of the State, were driven to fultain his help there were little trust to be repoall publick charges. Hereat the people mur- fed, when they should stand in need. This he mured, and were ready to fall into sedition; well perceived; yet could not tell how to had not the Confuls deferred the matter un-remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons inThe fifth Book of the first Part

to all the Towns that he suspected, and there | five thousand Numidians, ready to set fail by so diminish his Army, that he should not for spain; whither, when he came, it was be able to keep the field; or else he must appointed that Afdrubal should forthwith leave them to their own fidelity, which now take his journey into Italy, of which there began to waver. At length his jealousie had been so much talk. These news did not grew so outragious, that he sacked and was more comfort Hannibal and his followers. ited those places that he was unable to de- than terrifie the Romans. Wherefore each fend: thinking that the best way to enrich did their best; and the Remans, to prevent himself; and make unprofitable to his ene- the threatning mischief, and win as much as mies, the purchase from which he could not they could upon Hannibal, before the comhinder them. But by this example, many ing of his Brother; Hannibal, on the contrawere quite alienated from him: and some of ry, to hold his own, and weaken the Romans those, whom before he had least cause to as much as he was able. He had intelligence doubt. The Town of Salapia yielded unto that Cn. Fulvius, a Roman Prator, lay near Mucellin; and betrayed unto him a gal- unto Herdones, to get the Town by practice. lant Regiment of Numidian horse, the best It was not long since, near unto the same of all that ferved under Hannibal; which place, another Cn. Enlvius had loft his Arwas a greater lofs, than the Town it felf. Bla- my. Therefore Hannibal made great marches fins the author of this rebellion, could not thitherward; and came to Herdones ere Fulbring his defire to effect; without getting vius heard news of his approach. As foon as the consent of one Dalius, that was his bitter he came, he offered battel to the Roman Praenemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to tor; who accepted it with more hafte than this Dailing in private, and was by him accu- good speed. The Roman Legions made good sed unto Hannibal. But when he was conven- relistance a while, till they were compassed ted and charged of Treason, he so stoutly round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell denyed it, and by way of recrimination, to they to rout, and great flaughter was made vehemently pressed his accuser with the of them. Fulvius himself, with twelve Trifame fault : that Hannibal thought it a mat- bunes or Coronels, were lost : of the common ter devised out of meer malice; knowing wel | Souldiers, that were flain, the number is unneither of them could bring any proof of teen thousand. The Town of Herdonea, befins did not cease to press his adversary Fulvius, Hannibal did set on fire: and putting

but was fain to catch advantages, where he fought with him a battel : which beginning might get them; the Romans now being at nine of the clock in the morning, lasted grownstronger in the field than he. The best until night, and ended, by reason of the themselves with ill speed in many petty en- Hannibal departed thence into Apulia, whiterprises, and laid afide all this while the ther Marcellus followed him. At Venusia they care of Italy, to follow business of far less im- met, and had many skirmishes; but none of fo long promised and expected. This, if they some ambush. But Marcellus, though he was had done in better feafon; Rome it felf might very eager of battel, would yet adventure have been strucken down, the next year after that great blow received at Cannæ. But fair ground. fince that which is past cannot be amended; Hannibal must force himself to make a good us Maximus, and Q. Fulvius, he that lately countenance; and tell his followers; that had taken Capus, were chosen Consuls. Fathis mighty succour would come time bins considering how much the Roman af-

Hannibal his men.

what enemies they were; and feeing that certain; some reporting seven, others thirwhat he affirmed. This notwithstanding, Bla- cause it was at point to have yielded unto anew, and urge him from time to time, with those to death that had practifed with the fuch lively reason; that he who could not Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom be believed by Hannibal, was contented at he bestowed among the Thurians and Metalength to win the favour of Marcellus. Pre pontines. The Conful Marcellus hearing of fently after this, the Conful took by force, this, wrote unto the Senate : and exhorted Maronea and Meles, Towns of the Samnites; them to be of good chear; for that he would wherein he flew above three thousand of shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the Carthaginian apace ; and overtaking him Hannibal could not look to all at once; at Numifire in the Countrey of the Lucans, was, that his Carthagine ans, having wearied darkness, with uncertain victory. Afterward portance; had now at length resolved, to importance. Hannibal removed often; and fend presently the great supply, that had been sought to bring the enemy within danger of nothing, but by open day-light, and upon

Thus passed the time away, until Q. Fabienough. For Musanissa was at Carthage with fairs were bettered by the taking of Capua, purpofed himfelf, to deal with Hannibal in open field. He followed him therefore to Cannulum. Marcellus was so impatient of his disho- rentum nour, that he rated his men, as Pesants, and

purposed that year to befiege Tarantum: hope; and the enemy, not with tanding their which if he could win; like it was, that late victory, as ready to molest them as bescarce one good City would afterwards re- fore. In this second battail Marcellus got the main true to Hannibal. Wherefore he vehe- victory: which he purchased at fo dear a mently exhorted his Colleague, and Mar- rate; that neither he, nor Hannibal, had cellus. (to whom was continued them com- great caufe to vaunt, the second night. For mand of those Legions that served under him if eight thousand of the Caribagians were the year before) to press the Carthaginian so slain, and three thousand of the Roman side. hard, as he might have no leifure to help in this next battail, the difference was no Tarentum. Marcellus was very glad of this greater, than even to recompence the late charge : for he thought no Roman fitter than received overthrow : especially since the number of the Romans that were wounded, was fogreat, as difabled Marcellus from purand thence from place to place: defiring [uing Hannibal; who diflodged by night. ever to come to battail, but upon equal Nevertheless t fufficed, that Fabius the Conterms. The Carthaginian had not mind to ful hereby got leifure, to follow his business hazzard much in fight : but thought it at Tarentum without any diffurbance. @ Fulenough to entertain his enemy with fkir- vins the other Conful about the same time. mish; as being desirous to keep his Army took in many of the Hirpines, Lucans, and ftrong until the coming of Astribal. Yet Volcentes, that willingly yielded themselves, could he not avoid the importunity of Mar- and betrayed the Garrifons of Hannibal that cellus, nor brook the indignity of being dai- lay in their Towns : whom Fulvius enterly braved. He therefore bade his men to be tained in loving fort; gently rebuking them lufty, and to beat foundly this hot-spirited for their errours past, without punishing Roman Captain, that would never suffer those that had been authors, or buside doers them to be at quiet; until they once had in the rebellion. That rabble of Sicilian cooled well his courage, by letting him thieves, which Levinus had lately brought blood. Hereupon followed a battail; where- from Agaierna, was then also set on work to in Hannibal had the victory; took fix En- besiege Caulonia, a Town of the Brutians: figns; and flew of the Romans almost three and nothing was omitted, that might serve thousand, among which were some of mark. to divert Hannibal, from the succour of Ta-

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2. Fabius the Conful, having taken Manbase cowards: telling them, that they were duria a Town of the salentines, sate down the first of the Roman Legions; which had before Turentum: making all preparation been beaten by Hannibal, by plain force and that seemed needfull to carry it either by asmanhood, without being circumvented by fault or long fiege. Of the Garrisons in the any stratagem. with these and many other Town, a good part were Erutians, placed the like words, which they were ashamed there by Hannibal, under a Captain of their to hear, he did so vex them; that thinking own Nation. This Captain fell in love with themselves better able to endure any vio- a Tarentine wench; whose brother served lence of the enemy, than such displeasure under Fabius. Hereof she gave notice by letof their General; they befought him to par- ters to her brother, as thinking belike to don them, and lead them forth once again draw him from the Roman fide; by telling to fight. He did so : and placing those him how rich, and of what great account Companies formost, that had lost their En- her lover was. But her brother made the figns the day before, bade them be careful Conful acquainted with these news : and to win a victory; whereof the news might faid, that if the Brutian were far in love, he be at Rome, before the report of their might perhaps be won, by intreaty of his hameful overthrow. Hannibal was angry, Miltris, to do what the would have him. to fee that nothing could make this Enemy The Conful hearing this, and finding likeliquite: and therefore was ready to fight hood in the matter, willed his fouldier to again; fince all other motives, continued convey himself into the Town as a sugitive, the same, and his men had been heartned by and try what good might be done. It fell the late victory. But the Romans were stir- out according to his defire. The Souldier red up with defire of revenge, and of repair- grew acquainted with this Brutian Captain: ing their honour loft, which affections gave and partly by his own perswasions, partly a sharp edge unto their valour: whereas the by the flattering intreaty of his fifter; wan Caribaginians were grown dull, and weary him to betray the Town to the Romans. by feeing themselves disappointed of their When they had agreed upon the business,

and refolved how to order it; the fame hasted away to relieve Tarentum. But when Souldier got out of the Town by night, and he came within five miles of the City, he acquainted the Conful with his proceedings: had news that it was loft, This grieved him: telling him in which part that Brutian kept yet he faid no more than this, The Romans watch, and what might conveniently be have also their Hannibal; we have loft Tarendone. So in the night time, i abine gave an tum in tuch fort as we got it. That he might alarm to the City; especially about those not seem to turn back amazed, or in any fear parts of the wall, which were farthest from of the victorious Conful; he incamped a the place where he meant to enter. The few dayes together, fo near as he was unto Captains in the Town prepared to make Tarentum: and thence departed to Metaresistance in those places, where the noise pontum, bethought himself how to take Fa-did threaten them with greatest likelihood bins in a trap. He caused the chief of the of danger. But Fabius himself with the Metapontines to write unto Fabius, and offer choice of hismen, came in great filence to to betray into his hands, the Carthaginian the quarter of the Brutians: who being Garrison; with condition, that he should in wrought by their Captain, helped the Ro- that respect, forgive them all offences past. mans to get up, and break open the next These letters were sent by two young men gate, whereat the Army was let in. The Ta- of the same City; who did their errand so rentines and Carthaginian Souldiers, made well, that the Conful wrote back by them head against Fabius in the Market place:but unto the Metapontines, and appointed the ( as hapneth in like cases, where the main day, when they should expect him. Hereof confidence is already taken away ) not very Hannibal was exceeding glad: and at good obstinately. Nico, Democrates and Philomenes, leisure made ready his ambuthes for the wawith those that before had let in Hannibal, ry Fabius. But whether some secret notice of used now the last of their courage in dying the plot were given; or whether indeed(as against the Romans. Carthalo, who command- it is related) some tokens in facrificing, tered the Carrifon within the Town, offered rified the superstitious Roman; the journy himself prisoner: hoping to be well used, to Metapontum was deferred. Hereupon the because of his hospitality that had passed same two Messengers were employed again: between his Father and the Conful. But he but being apprehended, and threatned with was flain by the way, ere he could come at torture, they discovered all. Fabius. The Romans did put all indifferently to the fword, in such fort, that they spared all their wars: for they got every where, few of the Brutians. This flaughter of the fave only at Caulonia; where they had loft Brutian, was thought to have been made a company of such lewd fellows, that it may by appointment of the Conful, to the end feem good fortune, to have been fo rid of that he might feem to have won the Town them. But their common poverty, and difabihad the glory which he expected, nor pre- Roman Colonies were then in Italy: of which,

This year was happy to the Romans, in by force and not by treason: though he lity to maintain their charge, continued, and thereby failed of his purpose; and neither grew greater than it was before. Thirty ferved his reputation offaithful dealing, and twelve refused to contribute any longer to keeping his word. The booty found in 1a- the Wars For it was confidered; that the Lerentum was very great: wherefore the Roman gions of Canna, and those unhappy Com-Treasury, whither it was carried, had great panies that had been beaten under the one need. As for the Imageries, and other curi- and the other Cn. Fulvius, were transported Ofities that were in the City, Fabius was con- into Sicil; where they lived, in a fort, as tented to let them alone : and being told of banished men. This grieved their friends at fome Idols that feemed worthy to be car- home, and made them reckon up the more ried away, being very goodly pieces, in such diligently those other miseries which they habit and positure as if they were fighting : daily felt. Ten years together they had been he faid Let us leave unto the Tarentines their exhausted with levies of men, and impositions of money: in every of which years Hannibal being gotten clear from Marcel- they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could fear; They fled at his coming: but he was so near, or rather the best that they could hope; was that they were fain to betake them to a hill, to fall into the hands of the enemy to be which ferved to no other purpose, than to made prisoners. For Hannibal did gently send bear off the first burnt. There they defen- home their people that was taken by him: ded themselves a little while, and then they whereas the Romans did banish from their yielded. When this business was done, he homes, those that had escaped. It was thereneither men, nor mony. It was well for the arrival. tion of their ill deferving.

hopeful and fortunate success Nevertheless, many of the Hetrurians, especially the Are-

fore likely to come to pals within a while, they were fain to open their most pals that they should be all consumed : fince new treasury; and thence take out the gold than touldiers were daily pressed forth of their had been laid up to serve them in cases of Towns; and the old ones never returned. greatest extremity. Of the mony thus extra-Such talk was frequent among those of the cted, one quarter was delivered to Fabine Colonies: especially where they that were the Consul, to set him well out against the transported into Sicil, had most compassio- Turentines; all the rest was fent into Spain nate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by to scipio, for the maintenance of his Army; the people of Ardea, Sutrium, Alba, and and to provide that Afdrubal might not pass other good Towns, to the number of twelve, from thence into Italy. It is likely that That they should boldly deny unto the Ro- Fabins did not spend all his mony; finding mans their farther help. This was thought such easie success at Tarentum, as was shewthe likeliest way to obtain peace: where- ed before. But to stop the journey of Aldruof other wife they faw little hope, as long as bal; neither the mony fert into \$pain, nor Hannibal lived. When the Confuls heard any victories won by \$\sigma\_{iji0}\$ could fuffice. Nethe Embassadors of these Towns make such vertheless, it fell out happily for the people declaration, and protest their difability of of Rome, that this year, and the next were giving any further help; they were much ipent, before his coming; and they better amazed. They willed the Emballadors to prepared, than at less warning they could return home, and bring a better answer, have been, to entertain him. Here it were not forasmuch as this was none other than trea- amiss to note, that fince the Komans, being fon: they bade them to consider, that the in so great a necessary of mony, were driven people were not Campans or Tarentines, but to furnish the Army in Spain, with the greathe off-fpring of the Romans; and no less telt part of all their flock that was left: it partakers of the Empire, than they that in- must needs be, that either the booty taken in habited the Mother-City. But all would new Carthage, was far less than fame had renot serve, the Embassadors continuing to ported it; or else that Scipio had not as yet protest, that they had already done what won it: howsoever Livie rather inclines to they could; and that they had remaining, those, who say that he got it soon after his

Romans, that the other eighteen Colonies, M. Claudius Marcellus, and T. Quintus did not imitate these twelve; but shewed Crispinus, were chosen Consuls after Fabius themselves willing to undergo whatsoever and Fulvius. In their year it was, that Asarushould be laid upon them, without shrinking bul took his journey out of Spain, though he under the burden. This their offer was fo came not into Italy until the year following. highly pleafing to the Confuls; that the Em- after the great battle at Canna, Hannibal baffadours of those faithful Colonies, were had lost much time about Cuma and Naples, brought unto the Senate, and produced into in feeking to make himfelf Master of a the Assembly of the people : where, with good haven; for the landing of those succommemoration of all their former good fer- cours that were promifed from Carthage. The vices, this their present love unto the State hope that he reposed in Philip, caused him to was magnified, and thanks accordingly be- turn his principal care to the Eastern parts stowed upon them; with promise, that it of Italy; where he made ready a fair enshould not be forgotten. As for the Embas- trance for the Macedonian, if he had been fadours of those twelve Colonies, that refu- ready to come; but fince his hope was vanishfed to contribute; it was thought best, nei-ed, and the long promised succour of Asaruther to detain them in the City, nor yet to bal was (though far later than had been exdismis them, nor take any notice of them at pedient ) ready to strive : he began to all; but leave them to their own confidera- deal with the people of Hetruria, through whose Countries his Brother was to pass, It may greatly be doubted, what the ex- that therein he might make a party against ample of these twelve people would have the Romans. The loss of Capua, Tarentum, and wrought in those that were so willing to many other Towns, might have terrified all help the State, if Asdrubal had been then other of the Italian Towns, from harkning coming into Italy. For then must the Romans to any solicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet have betaken themselves wholly to their the poverty of the Romans, and the weariness own defence; whereas now, to the great of their adherents, together with the fame comfort of their subjects, they employed of a greater Army coming than that which their forces in the conquest of Italy, with Hannibal brought into Italy; did imbolden

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one of the best Cities which the Carthaginivantage; referving his own numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, Marcellus took no pleafure: but fought to compell the Enemy to battel, whether he would wellenough be forced, if Hannibal continued terred, where he thought good. as he began, to trifle away the time at Venusia. To the same purpose a part of the Garrifon that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to go by land to the affistance of Cincins . But Hannibal had an eye behind him. He laid an am-

tines, to take such counsel as they thought of Hannibal to waste their Army by little and most expedient for themselves, without re- little : which to do, he neglected no advangard of their fidelity to Rome. The Roman tage. There lay between him and them an Senate. hearing the rumour of this confpi- Hillock, overgrown with wood, that feemed racy fent Marcellus the new choien Conful fit to cover a number of men: who lying into Hetruria: whole coming did so terrefie there undiscerned, might fall upon suchas them, that they refred quiet for a while. All should straggle from the Roman camp; and the year following they were deviling how out them off. Therefore he fent thither hy to break out: as contrarywife the Koman night fome companies of Numidians: whom Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judg- he willed to keep themselves close, and atments and inquisitions; and partly by the tend their best advantage. To this piece of force of two or three Legions, with which ground the Confuls thought it fit to remove they visited all suspected places, kept them their camp : Marcellus thinking that he nehonest against their wills, and took many ver lay near enough unto Hannibal. Thither Hostages for better assurance. The two Con- therefore both of them rode to view the fuls had an earnest defire, to make strong place, accompanied with the son of Marcellus. War upon Hannibal without more tempo- a few Colonels, and other principal men: riling: periwading themselves, that in bat- and not many more than two hundred horse. tel they should be too strong for him. Criffi- most of them Hetrurians. The Numidian Cennus had further his particular defire, to make | tinel gave warning of their approach to his his Confulthin notable by the winning of fellows who discovered not themselves, until fome good Town: as Fulvius and Fabius they had furrounded the Confuls and their had gotten honour by Capua and Tarentum. train. The Confuls, as necessity compelled Therefore he went about the fiege of Lorris them, defended themselves : hoping to be quickly relieved from their camp that was an then held in Italy : and brought thither near at hand. But the Hetrurians ran away all forts of Engines; fending for a Freet out from them, at the first : and left them in that of Sicil to help him. But Hannibal was not great danger, to the weak affiltance of no flow to relieve the City: the rame of whole more than forty horsemen, that were of the approach, made Crispinus desist irom his en- Colonie of Fregella. These Fregellans abode terprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that by the Confuls, and did what they could to lay at Venulia. Thirher followed Hannibal; have brought them fafe off. But when Marto whom the Confuls daily offered battel. cellus was stricken thorow with a Lance and This great man of War had no need to stand fell down dead; then began every one to upon his reputation: which was already so shift for himself, and escape as they might, confirmed, that his resusing to fight, was crissians the other Conful, had his deaths not likely to be ascribed unto fear; but ra- wound, being stricken with two Darts; and ther deemed as part of his wisdom. He en- young Marcellus was likewise wounded ; yet tertained the Confuls with many light skir- these two recovered their camp: The rest mishes, and fought to take them at some ad- of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundle of Rods and Axes before the Confuls, were all flain or taken. To the dead body of the Conful Marcellus, Hannibal gave honourable Funeral, according to the cuftom of those times: or no. The Admiral of the Roman Fleet and bestowing his ashes in a filver pot, coabout Sicil, L. Cincius, was commanded again vered it with a crown of gold; and fo fent to affail the Town of Locri: which might them to young Marcellus, to be by himin-

Presently after this, Crispinus bethought himself, how that the fignet Ring of Marcellus was faln into the custody of Hannibal; who might use it to his own purposes, ere that which had happed were well known bushin the way, between Tarentum and Lo- abroad. Wherefore he sent word unto all cri, whereinto the Romans fell: and having the Towns about; that his Colleague was loft above three thousand of their Company, slain, and that Hannibal had gotten his Ring: were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their | wishing them in that regard, to give no creenterprise, and save their own lives within dit unto any letters therewithal signed. This Tarentum. As for the Confuls, it was the defire providence of Criffinus was not more than

requifite. For his messenger was but a little | not to commit their Army unto rath heads. hefore come to Salapia, when another Mefjenger arrived there tent from Hannibal bringing letters in the name of Marcellus, and fealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to he willed that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readiness, for such implovful mind which he bare against that City; that had therein been betrayed. The Salapiback the Meslenger, which was a Roman fugitive, without letting him perceive any fign of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readiness, for the enterrainment of fuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troop of Roman fugitives armed Roman-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called unothers, were taken themselves; being said at on all hands by the Salapines, that quickly made an end with them.

engines, and whatfoever was in ther Camp, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, fent unto Crispinus the surviving Conful, and requested him to name a Dictator wealth, and dispatch the election of new

Among those that stood for the Consulship, C. Claudius Nero, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whose many fervices in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. come the fame night unto salapia; where Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staid wir. The Fathers therefore endeavourment as he should think needful. The device ed to joyn unto him in the Consulship, M. Liwas plain, and no less plain was the revenge- vins : one that had born the same office long before. This M. Livius had been Conful hecause of his brave Numidian companies with L. Amilius Faulus, in the year foregoing the beginning of this War. After their ans hereupon bethought themselves, how to Consulthip, wherein they did good service. take their enemy in his own fnare. They fent they had both of them been called into judgement by the people : and this Livius condemned ; #milius hardly escaping. Though it hash been once already noted; yet I cannot forbear to remember it again : how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankful Romans, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battel at Canna, it was apto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for parent what lamentable effects the memory the Conful was there. The gate was opened of their injustice wrought; when L. Emilius fair and leifurely, and the Port-cullis drawn rather choic to yield to the froward ignoup no higher than needs it must be, to let rance of his Colleague; and afterward to thementer. But when fix hundred of them die in the greatest overshrow that ever fell were gotten in, down fell the Port-cullis upon the State of Rome, than by refifting the again : and they that thought to have taken pernicious courses of Terentius Varro, to cast himfelf anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for M. Livius, he is even now ready, and will fo continue, to tell the peo-Hannibal being thus over-reached with ple of their faults in a givers manner. Eight this stratagem, hasted away to Locri; where- years together after his condemnation, had unto Cincius the Admiral of the Roman fleer he been ablent out of the City, and lived about Cicil, did lay hard fiege. The first ap- in his Country Grange still vexing himpearance of the Numidians, Hannibal his felf with the indignity of his condemnation. Vanteurrors, made the Romans in all confu- Marcellus and Lavinus, being Confuls two fed hafte, run to their fhips: leaving all their or three years ago, had brought him into Rome: where he lived private in discontented fort, as might appear, both by his careleineis in apparel, and by the wearing of his long hair and beard; which in that time were thebadges of men afflicted. Very that might take charge of the Common-lately he was compelled by the Cenfors, to poll his hair, and come into the Senate: Magistrates, with other business; where unto where he used to six silent, and signifie his himfelf was difabled by his hurts. He did fo: aftent or diflike to what was proposed, eiand soon after died. Then was it thought ther in short formal words, or in passing needful, that new Confuls should be chosen from fide to fide, when the house was dividout of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Ar- ed. At length it happed, that in some business mies lay so near unto the Enemy, without weightily concerning one that was his kinsany General. Especially it was defired, that man; he stood up and made a set speech: Election should be made of such men as whereby he drew all the Fathers to attentiwere not only valiant, but well advised: on; and bade them enquire of him, and take fince the best, and most fortunate of their better notice, what he was, and what he great Darers, M. Marcellus, by losing himself had been. The Senate was much altered fince to strangely, had given them a fair warning, he had left it; many brave men were lost;

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to fill up the number, than to answer to the had, four served in spain, two in sicil, and dignity of the place; and they that were two in Sardinia: therest were so disposed. left of ancient standing, had even spent their inteveral parts of Italy, where need seemed Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all to require, that only two Legions were left began to fay; that it was great pitty, fo wor- to each of the Confuls. But the Confuls were thy and able a man as this Livius, had been men of execution; and would not be tyed to all this while forgotten; one of whom the the punctual observance of what the Senare Gommon-wealth stood in great need, yet thought fit. M. Livius would not stir out had not used in this dangerous war. Now of Rome, against so mighty a power as followfeeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, ed Afdrubal, untill he had first obtained. to be cholen a Patric tur, the other of necessi- that he might carry with him as many as tv a Pheleian : and fince neither Fabius, nor could well be spared from other imploy-Valerius Lacenus, being both of them Pairicrans, could be joyned with Claudius Nero: fen Companies. It was true, that two Legions every one was of opinion, that there could appointed to ferve under Lucius Portius a not be chosen and coup'ed together, two Prætor of that year, among the Cifalpine fitter men than C. Claudius, and this Marcus Gauls, might be reckoned as an additament Livius. But Livie would not endure to hear to the forces of Livius; to whom the War of this. He faid it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a dithonest man thould afterwards be chosen Ruler of the City. If they had done ill to truft him with one Confulfhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With these and the like phrases he refitted their defires : till by perswasions and cial instance of Livie, did obtain, that all examples rehearfed, of such as had patiently | might be left to their own discretion. For digested injuries done by the people, and re- news came that Astrubal was already paspayed good for evil; he was contented to ac- fing the Alps; the Ligarians, who dwelt in cept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblem, with which Themistocles checked the ingratitude of the Athenians; resembling himfelf to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men break in fair weather ; thought best, the two Consuls went forth but run under it for shelter in a storm. Such of the City; each his several way. The unthankfulness to well deserving men, is people of Rome were now quite otherwise not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto lins Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro, were fent much unlike, of Philip the fecond King of Spain his dealing with the Duke of Alva. For upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid although he had committed the Duke to them dispatch, and win the victory betimes: prison, upon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deferts: yet when his intended Conquelt of Portugal, little. For fince few years had paffed, whererequired the service of a man, more than or in some one of their Generals had not been dinarily sufficient; he stood no longer up- slain; and since it was manifest, that if eion the scanning of late displeasures; but em- ther of these present Consuls were deseated, ployed the same Duke, whom he had newly or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians difgraced. This is wildom often taught by would forthwith joyn, and make short work necessity.

new ones were cholen; such as rather ferved | and maintain them. Of these which they ments; and those, or the most of them, choagainst Asdrubal was allotted. So might also two other Legions , that were among the Salentines, near unto Tarentum, unto another of the Prætors, be accounted a part of Clandius his Army, thar was fent against Hannibal. Nevertheless, the Confuls, by the espethe Country about Genna, with their neighbour people, were in readiness to joyn with him; and L. Portius fent word, that he would adventure no further, than he fafely might. When all was ordered as themselves affected, than they had been, when L. Emiagainst Hannibal. They did no longer take but rather they stood in fear, lest all diligence, wisdom and valour should prove too with the other: it seemed a greater happi-It was a dangerous year toward, when ness than could be expected, that each of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Levius were chosen them should return home Victor; and come Consuls. Afdrubal was already come into off with honour, from such mighty opposi-France, and waited only, to have the wayes tion, as he was like to find. With extream of the Alps thawed by warm weather, for his passe un into the passe under the his passe under the his passe under the fine the battle of Canne: though it were this time the service of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment for ma- Carthage, had continued the War in Italy. ny more, if they had known how to levy But there was now arrived another Son of

amiltar; and one, that in his present Expe- Brother of Hannibal it was thought needful. dition, had seemed a man of more sufficien- by these mischievous Partizans of Hanno, to cy than Hannibal himself. For whereas in use the violent opposition of more earnest that long and dangerous march, thorow malice. Nevertheless, As divibal was a good barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Patriot; and therefore endured patiently Mountains, that were thought unpailable, such indignities, as Mutines could not long Hannibal had loft a great part of his Army: digeft. His Journey into listy being refolthis Aldrubal in the same places, had multi-ved upon: he lay with part of the Army at olied his numbers; and gathering the people, Eetula, not far from the Mines of Silver; that he found in the way, descended from whence he was to furnish his Expeditions. the Alos like a rowling Snow-ball, far grea- Thither came Scipio; and drave him out of ter than he came over the Pyrenees at his his Campsthough he were strongly lodged, first setting out of spain. These considerati- before the other Carthaginian Captains ons, and the like, of which fear presented could or would come to his affistance. The many unto them; caused the people of Rome, overthrow seems not to have been so great. to waitupon their Confuls out of the Town, as it must have been supposed; if no way lay like a pensive train of Mourners: thinking open to those that fled. Rather it appears, upon Marcellus and Eristinus; upon whom that Asdrubal dealt like a provident man, and in the like fort they had given attendance feeing that his Camp was likely to be forced, the last year; but saw neither of them return fent away all his mony with the Elephants alive, from a less dangerous War. Particu- before him: but stayed behind himself to larly old Q. Fabius gave his accustomed ad- fustain the Romans a while, until his carvice to M. Livius, that he should abstain riages might be out of danger. Herein he from giving or taking battel, untill he well had his defire, afterwards he gathered his understood the Enemies condition. But the broken troops together; and retired in such Conful made him a froward answer, and fort, that scipio thought it not good to purfaid, that he would fight the very first day: sue him, and so passed over Tagus. Then for that he thought it long, till he should taking unto him the forces assigned for his either recover his honour by victory; or by expedition, he marched away toward the feeing the overthrow of his own unjust Ci- Pyrenees: leaving the care of spain unto his tizens, satisfie himself with the joy of a great, Brother Mago, and to Astrubal the Son of though not an honest revenge. But his mean- Gesco; that thought himself the fittest man

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for the administration thereof. Fain would Of the overthrow that Astrubal received scipio have stopped him in his fourney, by in spain by Scipio, a little before he took his fending to defend against him the ordinary Journey into Italy; such mention hath al- way of the Mountains. But whether Addruready been made, as agreed with the report bal took another way, or whether he forced of that noble Historian Livie. Yet I think it the guards that Scipio had fent to keep the not amissto add in this place, what may be Pyrenees ( as the defence of hard passages be gathered out of the remaining fragments commonly forts to no good effect) he was of Polybius his History concerning that aconot letted in his voyage by any such impedicident: Asdrubal had wrestled with many ment. Coming into Gaul, and following the difficulties in Spain; by reason of those Cap-tains that were sent from the City of Car-Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, thage, to joyn with him in the administration either to him or to his mony, that no passaof that Province: they being, as it may ges were defended against him, nor any sort feem of the Hannonian faction; which is to of refiftance made; but he, and his Army fay, thus far forth Traytors, that they pre- well entertained and their number much inferred the advantage of their own fide, be- creased, by access of such as were desirous fore the good of their Common-wealth. In to take his pay. Of these he had the better what particulars they wronged this worthy choice; for that he was driven to winter Son of Amilear, and how they hindred his in their Country; whilst that the passages for the Alps were closed up with Ice and since of those Books, wherein Polybius hath exactly handled these matters, there are to for greatly molested Hannibal in his Journey us remaining only a few broken pieces. But over the Alps, were easily won to take part by the spightful dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Asdrubal*, when he travelled thorow with Mutines, a better man of War than him- their Country. For these poor men, at the Island: we may conceive, that against the ded, that it was his purpose to 100 them of to fill up the number, than to answer to the had, four served in spain, two in sicil, and dignity of the place; and they that were two in Sardinia: therest were so disposed. left of ancient standing, had even spent their in leveral parts of Italy, where need seemed Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all to require, that only two Legions were left began to faysthat it was great pitty, fo wor- to each of the Confuls. But the Confuls were thy and able aman as this Livius, had been men of execution; and would not be tyed to all this while forgotten; one of whom the the punctual observance of what the Senate Gommon-wealth frood in great need, yet thought fit. M. Livius would not fit out had not used in this dangerous war. Now of Rome, against so mighty a power as followfeeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, ed Asarubal, untill he had first obtained. to be chosen a Patrician, the other of necessi- that he might carry with him as many as ty a Phileian : and fince neither Fabius, nor Valerius Lavanus, being both of them Patricians, could be joyned with Claudius Nero: fen Companies. It was true, that two Legions every one was of opinion, that there could appointed to ferve under Lucius Portius a not be chosen and coup'ed together, two Prætor of that year, among the Cifalpine fitter men than C. Claudius, and this Marcus Gauls, might be reckoned as an additament Livius. But Livie would not endure to hear to the forces of Livius; to whom the War of this. He faid it was unreasonable, that one against Asdrubal was allotted. So might also condemned as a dithonest man, should after had done ill to trust him with one Conful- ther of the Prætors, be accounted a part of thip, what meant they then to offer him ano- Clandin his Army, thar was fent against Hancept the honour.

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amiltar; and one, that in his present Expe- Brother of Hannibal it was thought needful. dition, had feemed a man of more fufficien- by these mischievous Partizans of Hanno to cy than Hannibal himself. For whereas in use the violent opposition of more earnest that long and dangerous march, thorow malice. Nevertheless, As drubal was a good harbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Patriot; and therefore endured patiently Mountains, that were thought unpatlable, fuch indignities, as Mutines could not long Hannibal had loft a great part of his Army: digeft. His Journey into list being refolthis Aldrubal in the same places, had multi- ved upon: he lay with part of the Army at olied his numbers; and gathering the people, Betula, not far from the Mines of Silver; the Alps like a rowling Snow-ball, far grea- Thither came Scipio; and drave him out of ter than he came over the Pyrenees at his his Campsthough he were strongly lodged, first setting out of spain. These considerati- before the other Carthaginian Captains ons, and the like, of which fear presented could or would come to his assistance. The many unto them; caused the people of Rome, overthrow seems not to have been so great. larly old 2 Fabius gave his accustomed ad- sustain the Romans a while, until his caring was better than his words.

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But the broken troops together; and retired in such Conful made him a froward answer, and fort, that scipio thought it not good to purfaid, that he would fight the very first day! fue him, and so passed over Tagus. Then for that he thought it long, till he should taking unto him the forces assigned for his either recover his honour by victory; or by expedition, he marched away toward the feeing the overthrow of his own unjust Ci- Pyrenees: leaving the care of spain unto his tizens, satisfie himself with the joy of a great, Brother Mago, and to Asarbal the Son of though not an honest revenge. But his mean- Gesco; that thought himself the fittest man for the administration thereof. Fain would Of the overthrow that Asdrubal received scipio have stopped him in his Journey, by in Spain by Scipio, a little before he took his fending to defend against him the ordinary Journey into Italy : such mention hath al- way of the Mountains. But whether Afdruready been made, as agreed with the report bal took another way, or whether he forced of that noble Historian Livie. Yet I think it the guards that Scipio had fent to keep the not amissto add in this place, what may be Pyrenees ( as the defence of hard passages be gathered out of the remaining fragments commonly forts to no good effect) he was of Polybius his History concerning that ac- not letted in his voyage by any such impedicident: Aldrubal had wrestled with many ment. Coming into Gaul, and following the difficulties in Spain; by reason of those Cap- steps of his Brother Hannibal: he found the tains that were fent from the City of Car- Nations that lay in his way, so well affected, thage, to joyn with him in the administration either to him or to his mony, that no passaof that Province: they being, as it may ges were defended against him, nor any fort feem, of the Hannonian faction; which is to of refistance made; but he, and his Army fay, thus far forth Traytors, that they pre- | well entertained, and their number much inferred the advantage of their own fide, be- creafed, by access of fuch as were defirous fore the good of their Common-wealth. In to take his pay. Of these he had the better what particulars they wronged this worthy choice: for that he was driven to winter Son of Amilear, and how they hindred his in their Country; whilft that the passages courses undertaken, it cannot be known; of the Alps were closed up with sce and since of those Books, wherein *Polybins* hath Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had exactly handled these matters, there are to so greatly molested Hannibal in his Journey us remaining only a few broken pieces. But over the Alps, were easily won to take part by the spightful dealing of Hanno in Sicil with Asdrubal, when he travelled thorow with Mutines, a better man of War than him- their Country. For these poor men, at the felf, whom Hannibal had fent into the first coming of Hannibal, were verily perswatheir cattel; and to make spoil or that both of them relted, without making offer little wealth which they had painfully fora- to light. It feemed perhaps unto Hannibal. ped together out of the defolate rocks. But who knew the Country very well; that his now in process of time, they were better in- Brother might with little impediment overformed. Therefore, understanding that come the way to Canufum: where, if he there were two mighty Cities far dif-joyned could once again deal with both the Conafunder, which made War upon each other, fuls, and all the Roman forces together, he he Land and Seas and that the Alps did on- had reason to hope for such another victory, ly lye in the way: they gladly condescend- as once he had gotten in the same open Couned to take their part in the fortune of the try. If this had fo falo out; Rome would invaders. The like affection upon greater have been undone for ever. But the Carthacause, was afterward found in the Cifalpine ginians should not have need to wish any Gauls. The Ligurians also joyned with Jecond victory, in the naked Campans about Aldrubal: and to would the Hetrurians have Canna; If fuch an Army as this which Aldrudone, if he had arrived in their Country. bal now brings, had come to fecond Hanni-There was no other Roman Army near than bal, when he was in full strength; and the L. Portius with his two Legions; of whom Romans not able to keep the field. Wheiethere was no great fear. Therefore did of fore this worthy General had good reason drubal: fet upon Placentia, a Koman Colony: afterward to fay that Hanno was the man. in hope to make his coming the more ter- who by delaying the supply, did beat him rible, by the destruction of that Town. But out of Italy; which elle no power of the there he loft a great deal of time, and final- Romans could have done. Iv was driven to quit the enterprise: by Whilst Nero waited upon the Carthaginiundertaking which , he gave the Roman ans, and thought it enough to hinder them Confuls leadure to make ready for him; and from meeting with the Army that was comcaused his Brother Hannibal ( who upon ing to their succour: he was advertised of the first bruit of Asdrubal he io timely, and Asdrubal his approach; by Letters and Meseafily passing the Alps, was about to leave sengers intercepted, as they were going to his wintring Camps, and go forth to meet Hannibal. These gave notice, that Asdrubal with him) to fit still a while, as well aware, had left the fiege of Placentia, and drew onthat Placentia would not be taken in wards apace being already come within

what speed he could to meet with Hannibal, by Livie the Consul. Of these news Claudius and stop him from joyning with his Brother. Nero was nothing joyful. For if Hannibal He had about forty thoutand foot, and five could once be joyned as head, unto that great hundred horse: with which he dayly offer-body of an Army, which Asdrubal brought ed battel to the Carthaginians; and had of with him: it was most apparent, that howhim the better in many fkirmilhes. Hannibal foever the fortune of Rome fnould avoid for was once driven to make a tedious march the prefent, any great calamity; yet the vefrom the borders of the Salentines and Apu- ry continuance of fo figure a war at home, lians, unto the Country of the Bratians, would enforce the Latines, and other faiththere to encrease his forces; which were ful Associates, to faint under the burden; as otherwise too weak for the Journey intend- twelve of the thirty Roman Colonies had ed. Afterward coming to Grumentum, a already done. Wherefore he refolved, that Town of the Lucans; he there fought un- it were better to make any desperate advenprofoeroully with Nero the Conful. Never- ture, than to fuffer the conjunction of two theless, he got off, and marched away to Ve | fuch malevolent Planets: whose pestilent innulia. But Nero followed him, and had there fluence, if not on the fudden, yet within few again the letter of him. Wherefore he was years, was like to work most lamentable driven to return to Metapontum : where effects. It feemed apparent, that his Colleague joyning with Hanno, that had made ready a was unable to stay the progress of Asarubal: good Army, he affayed again, to make way neither were there any good Legions in a by force to his Brother. So he passed on readiness, that could do service in such a ward, and came again to Venulta, having needful case; excepting those, that were al-Nero ttill at his heels. Thence went he over ready imployed under the two Confuls. the River Aufidus, to Canufum, where he fate Hereupon he concluded, that it was not down, not tar from the place, in which he expedient for him to tye himself to his own had obtained his most memorable victory. charge, which was the war against Hanni-

two hundred miles of his Bother; not with-C. Claudius Nero the Roman Conful, made standing all opposition that could be made There also did Nero sit down by him: and bal: but rather that it behoved him, to help where more necessity required; and to car- | mans to come to battle, having long dewhich was of the less importance. Six thoutook, that were the very choice of his Artel should be hung out; which was commonly a Purple Coat over the Generals Pa-

ry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This fired it, and hitherto not found occasion becould not be without much danger. Yet fore. But when he had put his men in order. fince the meeting of the two Carthaginian and was riding before the head of his Army, Brethren, was far more dangerous to the to behold the Enemies countenance: it Roman Common-wealth: it seemed the best seemed to him, that they were more than way to put Fortune in trust, with that they had been; and some of their arms and horses looked as though they had wanted fand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore dressing, after a long Journey. Hereupon he began to withdraw his Army back into the my; and making thew, as if he would on- Camp: and gave order, that if no prifoly ften aside, to do some small piece of fer- ners could be taken, by whom he might be vice near at hand; away he posted as fast as certified of the truth; yet should there good he could, to affift his fellow-Conful. His observation be made, whether the Enemies Mellengers ran before him, to give warning Camp were enlarged, or no; or what other to all Towns by which he was to pass, alteration could be noted, that might shew that they should be ready to meet him with their forces to be encreased. The Camp, as victuals, and all other necessaries for his hath been said, was not extended: butthe Army, Livius the other Conful, at that trumpet, that founded only once in the time, lay encamped near unto Sena Gallica; Quarter of L. Portius the Prætor, did now, and Aldrubal, within half a mile of him. In contrary to former custom, found twice in fix dayes Nero had finished his Journey thi- the Quarter of Living the Conful. Hereat Afther; and when he drew near, fent Messen- drubal greatly mused: and being well acgers before him, to give notice of his com-ing. Livie thought it fittest that he should for a sure token, that the other Consul was flay in some place of covert until dark night, and then enter secretly into the Camp: left bal were alive, and in good case, he was not the Enemy, perceiving this access of able to conjecture: but thought it the best strength, should accordingly frame his coun way, to go leisurely to work, till he might fels. This was done; and a token given, that be better informed. Upon confidence in his the Colonels, Captains, and all Souldiers, as own forces, he had not cared hitherto, well horse as foot, that Nero had brought how near he lay to the Romans; nor troubwith him, should be lodged and entertained led himself perhaps with over-strongly forby men of their own fort. Their Company tifying his own Camp. Yet when he now was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that perceived, that somewhat was fallen out joyned with him on the way. Nevertheless beside his expectation, he changed his resoit was not needful that the Quarter which lution; and held it no dishonour to remove received them, should be enlarged; since a little further off. So he dislodged secretly they had brought with them nothing but by night, intending to get over the River their arms. The next day they held a Metaurus; whereby to keep himself as long Counsel of war: wherein some were of opi- as he could, from necessity of battel. But nion, that it were best for these new arrived whether it were so, that his guides did steal Companies to refresh themselves a few days away from him in the dark, so that he could after their weary Journey, before they not find the way to the Foords; or whether should be drawn forth to battel. But against his carriages were too heavy, and hindred this, Nero was very earnest: and befought his speed: far he had not gone, ere the Conhis Colleague, to make use of him out of ful Nero was at his heels with all the Roman hand; that he might betimes return to his horse, and stayed him from pessing any furown Camp, ere Hannibal (hould have no- ther. Soon after came L. Portius with the tice of his absence. The Souldiers also of light armature : whom the other Consul Nero were full of spirit; perceiving that followed anon with all the Legions; in the honour of the victory was like to be good order, and ready for battel. Afdrubal, theirs: forasmuch as the battel would not seeing himself overtaken with necessity to have been undertaken, without this their fight, omitted no care and circumspection. coming to help. Finally, it was agreed when His Gauls, in whom he reposed least confithe Counsel brake up, that the sign of bat- dence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemy should not, without much difficulty, be able to climb : in the right wing he stood himself with his Afdrubal was no less willing than the Ro. Africans and Spaniards; his Ligurians he

stowed in the front of his battels. On the Chizzel, wherewith he gave them a stroke Roman fide, Nero had the leading of the between the ears, in the joynt of the neck. right wing. Livius of the left, and Porcius of next unto the head, wherewith he killed the the battel. Both Romans and Carthaginians bealts upon a sudden, This speedy way of well understood, how much depended up- preventing such harm as the Elephants, beon the fortune of this day; and how little ling hurt, were wont to do to the squadrons hope of fatety there was unto the vanquish- following them, is faid to have been the deed. Only the Romans herein feemed to have vice of Asdrubal himself, who died in this had the better in conceit and opinion; that battel. they were to fight with men defirous to have fled from them. And, according to this pre- bal, both by Polybius, and by Livie. Heis fumption, came Livius the Conful with a faid at all times to have shewed himself worproud bravery, to give charge on the Afri- thy of Amilear his Father, and Hannibal his cans, by whom he was to sharply entertained, Brothersto have striven with great patience that the victory seemed very doubtful. The against many difficulties, whereinto he fell Africans and Spaniards were fout Soul- by the means of those Captains that were diers, and well acquainted with the manner tent from Carthage into Spain; to have perof the Roman fight. The Ligurians also were formed in this last battel all duties of a wora hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give thy General; and finally, when he sawthe ground; which they needed the leis, or were loss irrepairable, to have ridden manfully able now to do, being placed in the midit. Li- into the thickest of his Enemies; where, vius therefore, and Porcius found strong fighting bravely, he was flain. Of the numopposition : and with great slaughter on ber that died with him in this battel, the reboth fides, prevailed little or nothing. Befides port of Livie and Polybius do very much difother difficulties, they were exceedingly agree. For Livie faith, that the Caribagitroubled by the Elephants that brake their nians had no less an overthrow, than was first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as that which they gave to the Roman at Canthe Roman Enligns were driven to fall back. ne: that fifty fix thousand of them were All this while Claudius Nero, labouring much Ilain, five thou and four hundred taken in vain against a steep Hill, was unable to prisoners, and above four thousand Roman come to blowes with the Gauls, that stood Citizens, whom they had captives with opposite unto him, but out of danger. This them, delivered and set at liberty. He saith made Afdrubal the more confident; who, also, that of the Romans and their Affociates feeing his own left wing fafe, did the more there were flain eight thousand: and of the boldly and fiercely make impression on the booty, that it was exceeding great; not only other fide, upon the left wing of the Ro- in other kinds, but in gold and filver. Con-Ligurians and Gauls escaped as they could; Country, above their lives. and faved themselves by timely slight. Of the Elephants, four were taken alive: the Rome, than had been the fear of the event. rest were slain: some by the Enemies wea- For ever since it were known in what sort pons, others by their own guides that rode Nero had left his Army, the whole City was them. For when any of them, being fore troubled, as much as lately at Hannibal his wounded, began to wax unruly, and rush coming thither. Men thought it strange, that

placed in the midit; and his Elephants he be- 1 the guide had in readiness a Mallet and a

Great commendations are given to Aldrumans. But Nero perceiving that the place cerning the booty, Polybius hath no mention wherein he stood, was such as would com- of it. Likely it is to have been as rich as Lipel him to remain idle till the fight were viereporteth it; for Asdrubal came well stoended; took a part of his forces and led | red with mony. But Folybins (who had no them round behind the forces of Porcius and defire to make this battel of Metaurus, a pa-Livius: which having compassed, he fell rallel unto that of Canna) reports no more upon Afdrubal, and charged him in the than about ten thousand of the Carthaginian flanck. Here began the victory to be mani- | fide; and two thou fand of the Roman, to have fest on the Roman side. For Nero, finding been slain. The number of the prisoners he mone to refift him in front, ran all along the doth not mention: but only faith, That some depth of Afdrubal his battle : and falling up- of the Carthaginian Princes were taken on the skirts thereof, disordered the Ene- alive; and that all the rest died in the batmies, and putall to rout. Of the Spaniards tell. Whereby it may feem that they were therefore and Africans, that were laid at on all Barchines : for a fouch as they preferred every fide, the greatest part was slain. The the honour of themselves, and of their

The joy of this victory was no less in back upon their own battels following them, the Conful should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the wards to flow, till it could not be contained

Roman forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For within any banks. Hannibal having loft in what if Hannibal should chance to have no- this unhappy fight besides the worthy Gentice of this his departure, and either purfue tleman his brother ) all the hope that so him, or setupon the Army that staid behind, long sustained him in Italy, withdrew himself much weakned, and without a General? into the Country of the Brutians: and thi-Thus did they talk ; yet referving their ther he caused all the Lucans, that were of censure unto the success; with liberty to ap- his party, to remove; as likewise all that prove or condemn, according to the iffue. In dwelt in Metaponium. For he wanted men to the mean time the people filled the Market- defend fo many places, as he held at the place, the Women ran to the Tumples with present, because they lay too far assuder. Vows and Prayers; and the Senators were Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser daily in councel, waiting still ready at hand compass, in the utmost corner of Italy, it beupon the Magistrates; as if some great mating a country of much fastness, and the peo-ter were likely to fall out, that would ask ple exceedingly devoted to his service. In every ones help. In brief, they were all fo this bufiness Nero gave him no memorable full of melancholy, that when the first news impediment : either because Hannibal was of victory came, there were not many that too strong for him, having all his forces uniwould believe it. Afterwards, when Messen-ted; or because it is likely that this remove gers arrived from the Confuls, with Letters of the Lucans and Metapontines, was not becontained all that had passed, there was not forethe end of Summer, when their harvest only great and joyful concourse of all forts was gathered in : at what time the Senate of men unto the Temples, but the very face | called him home to Rome.M.Livius the other of the City was altered; and men from Conful tarried among the Cifalpine Gaules thenceforth began to follow their private untill the end of summer; there to set things bufiness; making contracts one with ano- in such order, as he thought requisite : which ther ( which they had long forborn to do ) done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there &attending their own affairs in such wise, as was no more need of him and his Army in if Hannibal were already driven out of Italy. that Province, but that L. Porcius, with the Nero returning to his Camp, threw forth two Legions that were there before, might openly the head of Asarubal before the Car- very well discharge the place. For this cause thaginians: and producing his African pri- he defired leave to return home; and that foners bound, fent two of them loose to he might bring his Army with him. The give Hannibal notice of what had hapned. | Senate well understood his meaning: which These two prisoners might have served was to have the honour of triumph as he well enough to certifie Hannibal of the mifad well deferved. But for a fouch as it was well venture, without doing wrong to the dead known, what interest Nero had in the late body of Afdrubal: especially since Hanni- victory:order was so given, that not only Libal, in honourable, and far different vie with his Army should come home; but manner, had given burial to Gracchus and likewise Nero, though leaving his Army be-Marcellus; yea, to all the Roman Generals, hind him, to confront Hannibal. So the howhose carkasses fell into his hands. But it nour of triumph was granted to them both: may seem, that howsoever the People of in the pomp whereof, Livie made the grea-Carthage wanted much of the generous dif- ter shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followpolition, which was found among the Ro ed by his Souldiers, because in his Province, man, in their love unto the Common-weal: and upon his day of command, the victory yet in dealing with enemies, they were far was gotten: his Army also being present at more civil, and less prone to the infolency the triumph. But Nero that rode on horseof revenge. The best excuse of this outrage back, and without such attendance, was the done by Nero, is that he hoped much more more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, by whom, the victory was in a manner wholthan by the simple relation of that which ly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither Paffed, to make a deep impression of fear wanted L. Veturius Philo, and Q. Cecilius Meinto the Carthaginians. It may also be tellus, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due faid, That he forgot himself, being over- acknowledgement of their good service. loyed with the greatness of his prosperity. For they were commended unto the People, For it was the battel of Metaurus that as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and weighed down the ballance, and turned the Confuls they were chosen for the year fol-Tide of the Roman fortune : which being lowing. But nothing was done by them, then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not after- worthy of memory in their Consulship. Nei-Dddddd

ther indeed from this year, which was the fand Afdrubal withdraw himself into Lulita. thirteenth of the present war, until the nia (which is now Portugal) whither the eighteenth year wherein it ended, was Romans had ill means to follow; being althere any matter of importance wrought in together unacquainted in those parts. Mago light; fave only the taking of Locri from the had foon ended his business, and returned Carthaginians by furprile. For Hannibal into Spain: where he met with one Hanno wanted itrength, wherewith to make any (the lame perhaps that had lately been in-great offer: and the Komans had little mind ployed in Sicil) who brought new forces to provoke him; but thought it well that he out of Africk; and came to succeed in was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived place of Afdrubal the Barchine. It is not unof him, that though all about him went to likely that spain was now the better, and ruine, yet in him alone, they thought there more readily furnished with men and all was force enough to hold himself upright. things needfull from Carthage: when that son And furely, very notable are the commen- of Amilear, whose authority had been greatdations given unto him by Polybins, whom est, was thencedeparted. For hereby might Livie therein follows. That making war upon a People, of all other the most war-like, it felf, against that noble race of Warriors; he obtained to many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of fo many fundry Nations, Africans, Spannards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians and Greeks, which were neither in raised of him at home, or whether upon Language, Laws, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another the held them all in fuch good order, that they never fell to fedition among themselves, or against their General. But that which Livie adds hereto, is vet perhaps of greater admiration: That he fustained his Army, without help from other levied above nine thousand men. places from this time forward upon the hungry foil of the Brutians : which when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly tive, as it may seem to the proceedings of fuffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It's therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and he is reported by some Writers to have sent vertue, he kept his Army in such order and part of his forces into Italy, to the affiftobedience, tather than by any greatness of ance of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius the reward and booty; fince after the death of Confuls. But hearing of the levy made by leave him; until he be drawn into Africk by anus got intelligence by some fugitive Celtitain, and lead us unto the end of this War.

ø. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman made entire conquest of Spain.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio Mago faved himself with all the horse, and from the Continent into the Ifle of Gades.

Ago and Afdrubal the fon of Gesco,

the factious diligence of old Hanno approve when it should appear, that things did profper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it wereupon defire to make good fome fuch opinion confidence in the forces that he brought over: Hanno took the field, and led Mago with him; as purpoling afresh to set upon the Romans. So he entered into the country of the Celtiberians, not very far from new Carthage: where, by money and over perswasions, he

P. Scipio in the mean while contained himself in the Eastern parts of Spain: atten-Asdrubal, the son of Amilcar; against whom Aldrubal, he made no invalion upon the Hanno and Mago among the Celtiberians, he wealthier parts of Italy; but held himself still fent M. Syllanus the Propretor, withten among the poor Brutans. Where we must shouland foot, and five hundred horse. 874-Scipio; whose doing will henceforth enter- berians, who became his guides, that their Country-men incamped apart from the Carthaginians in great diforder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neer to these Celtiberians: and falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that Hanno and Mago coming to their fuccour, instead of heartning and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the losold Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten daies journey brought them fafe to Asdrubal. The rest of N took upon them the charge of spain, the Africans were either flain or taken: when Afdrubal the fon of Amilcar depart- among whom, Hanno had the ill luck to be ed thence into Laly. These agreed toge- taken prisoner; though he kept himself out ther , that Mago should make a voyage to of the fight until all was lost. As for the Celtithe Baleares; there to levy a supply of men; berians, they knew better how to make shift;

and faved most of themselves by running relying upon those, that might perhapsa ?-

was much troubled with the danger wherein twenty Towns, had promifed him the last the stood, by the coming thither of Afdru- Winter, to raife three thousand foot and five hat Ten thousand foot, and eighteen hun- hundred horse for his service: he resolved to dred horse he did therefore send out of makeuse of those, and some few others, that spain (as it is reported by fome Authors to might help to make a fliew; and yet not be the defence of his own Country or was per- able to do any great harm, if they would haps, about to fend them: and thereupon re- revolt. So with five and forty thousand home. But when he had word of the great camped. At his first coming, Migo and forethe end of the Summer, then might he him unprepared, whilit he was making ginians. But when it was noised abroad, that the Carthaginians, there were daily skirall which hath followed Afdrubal into Italy, mishes between the horse and light arma-

him on the other fide very doubtful of order at the Hill foot, upon which he

tray him in his greatest need. Yet fince one It could not otherwise be, but that scipio colchus, that was Lord of eight and mained at new Carthage, intentive to the foot, and three thousand horse, he sought necessity and success of his Country-men at out the Enemy; near unto whom he invictory at Metaurus, which fell out long be- Mafaniffa fell upon him; with hope to take well adventure, to take in hand the entire his lodgings. But he laid certain troops of conquest of Spain; which must needs be horse in covert : which, breaking upon much alienated from the Carthagininas, by them unexpected, caused them to fall off. the report of such an overthrow. The spa- | They made at first an orderly retreat : but will Souldierds that ferved under Hannibal, being more hardly pressed, they shortly Sthosethat had been sent over into Africk, betook themselves to plain flight. After this were as pledges heretofore, by whom their incounter, which added fome courage to Country was held obnoxious to the Cartha- the Romans, and abated the prefumption of were fallen into the hands of the Ro- ture, on both fides; wherein was nothing mans; and that Hannibal with his Army done of importance. Afdrubal drew forth his was closed up in a straight, whence he could Army, and arranged it before his Trenches : not get out: then did it greatly behove the like did scipio; each of them to shew spaniards to conform themselves unto the that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any will of the Vectors. That it was the fue- farther. Thus they continued many dayes: cess of things in Italy, which gave such confi- Astrubal being still the first that issued forth dence unto scipiosit was the more probable, in the morning; and the first that, in the because he took not this great enterprise in evening, withdrew himself into his Trenches. hand, untill the Summer was almost spent. The Spanish Auxiliaries were placed on both Astribal therefore used the benefit of the lides in the wings; the Carthaginians were feason; and by disposing his Army into ma- in the midst, with their Elephants before ny garrisons, hindred the Enemy from do- them; and opposite to the con the other side ing any great exploit before winter. So the were the Roman Legions. When they had in very length of way, and the time of the year, this order confronted one another, though caused scipio to return back : without any at far distance, many dayes together : it other matter performed, than that his Bro- grew to be the common opinion; that they ther L. Scipio took by affault the Town of should shortly meet in the same form, and be matched on each part, with the enemies Against the next years danger, Asdrubal long before designed. But Scipio, when he prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, purposed indeed to fight, altered the form of nor travel, in strengthening himself, for the his Army; and withall, came forth earlier tryal of his last fortune in Spain. With than he had been wont. He canfed his men feventy thousand foot, four thousand horse, and horses to be well fed betimes in the and two and thirty Elephants, he took the morning before day: and then fent forth his field: which number I believe, that he could horse and light armature, to train out the hardly have raised, without boldly deny- Carthaginians with their bellics empty:using ing the truth of those reports that came herein the same trick, whereby he might refrom Italy. Scipio thought his Roman Legions member that Hannibal had beaten his Fatoo weak to encounter with fuch a multi- ther in the battel of Trebia. His Roman Legitude. Wherefore he judged it needful to use ons he bestowed in the wings; his spaniards the help of his spanish friends. But the death in the battel. Asdrubal fent forth his horse in of his Father and Uncle, that were cast away all haste, to entertain the Romans; whilst by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made | he himself arranged his men, in their wonted

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incamped.

could not be different which part had the kens to no perswasson. The Camp of Asdrahal better: fince, being over-prelied on either had that day been taken, if a ftorm of rain. fide, they had a tafe retrait unto their foot; which fell violently on the sudden, and bred and one troop seconding another by course, some superstition in the Romans, had not returned to charge. This fight was protra- caused them to give over. Eted by Scipio to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like his men; but caused them, hungry, and to hold out better than the enemy. But over-laboured as they were, to take pains about noon he canfed his wings to advance in fortifying the Camp; wherein he feared to a good pice; leaving their battel of spamards far behind them, that came on lei- have in the strength of his Trenches, when furely, according to direction. The spanish he had lost the hearts of his Spanish fouldiers. Mercenaries that flood in Afdrubalhis wings, One Attanes, that was Lord of the Turdeber, to the Latine and Roman Souldiers that great Band of his fubjects: many followed came against them; for they were fresh Soul- this example; and soon after two strong diers, levied in haltesand fighting only in re- Towns were yielded up to Scipio, and the

incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it by the obstinate passion of fear, which hear-

The same night Asdrubal gave no rest to be affaulted. But little affurance could he were no way comparable, tave only in num- tani, fled from him to the Romans, with a spect of their pay. Being therefore charged Garrisons betrayed. It seems that the perverse in front by the Legions, and in flank, at the fortune of this late battel, whereupon Afdrufame time, by the Roman Velites, and by some balhad set his rest, bred in the Spaniards a cohorts, that were appointed to wheel about disposition, to believe the more easily those for the same purpole, they were sorely pref- reports which they heard from Italy. For fed, and with much difficulty made re- henceforward, they never did good office to fistance. The Carthaginians would fain have the Carthaginians. Asdrubal, perceiving this, succoured them; but that they durst not withdrew himself, and marched away faftir out of their places, because of the Spa- fter than ordinary pace, toward the Ocean rish battel which was coming against them; Sea. Scipio followed the next morning, and though it were as yet far off. Thus the best overtaking the Carthagnians with his horse, part of Asdrubal his Army stood idle, un- caused them so often to make stand, that til the wings were broken. For, had he they were at length attatched by the Roman adventured to meet with the Spaniards, he Legions, Here began a cruel flaughter: for must have cast himself into the open space there was no resistance made, but all fell that lay before him between the Roman to rout, fave only feven thousand that with wings: to the depth whereof when he had Afdrubal himself recovered a very strong arrived, he should have found himself in- piece of ground, which they fortified in closed in such fort, as was the Consul Pau- haste. The place he made shift a while to delus at the battel of Canne. Wherefore he fend:but wanting there necessaries to sustain did only imploy his Elephants; which did, himself long, he was forsaken by some of according to their manner, no greater harm those few, that continued hitherto partakers to his Enemies, than to his friends. When of his fortune. Wherefore he refolved to they were chafed with wounds, they could make thift for one; and stealing from his no longer be ruled as their guides : but ran, | Company by night away to the Sea side, that as chance led them, and troubled both was not far thence, he took shipping; and parts; or those perhaps the more, that were set fail for Gades. When scipio understood the more unwilling to kill them. In pro- that Asdrubal was thus gone, he left Syllanus cess of the fight, the Romans who had well with ten thousand foot, and a thousand refreshed their bodies in the morning, horse, to besiege their (Camp, which was not endured lusty; when the others began to taken in haste, for Mago and Masanissa staid faint with travel and heat of the day. in it) whilest he with the rest of the Army Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they did what was needfull in the Country followed it the more hotly; and gave not abroad. It was not long ere Mago and Majaover, till they had forc't the enemy to niffa followed Afdrubal to Gades: and their change his place, and run from him. Afdru- Army dispersed it self; some flying over to bal did his best to have made an orderly re- the Romans, others taking what way they treat; and afterward again to have caused like. So upon all the Continent of Spain, his men to turn head at the Hill foot. But the there were only three Towns left, Illiturgi, Romans would not fuffer the victory to be fo | Caftulo, and Aftapia, that made continuance of extorted from them: neither was it easie to war against the Romans: of which only caput fresh courage into the vanquished, led sale had a Carthaginian Garrison, consisting

of fuch as had taved themtelves by flight in of which in all likelihood he might eafily be the late overthrows. Hereby it feems that moved to feek revenge. He had also been bethe report of those Historians was ill ground ed, who faid, that Caffulo yielded long fince over a Captain into Africk; who instructed unto the Romans; though Hannibal took a him fo well in marshalling his forces, as he wife in that City. For this was one of the last thereby often became victorious. Upon these three towns that held out on the Carthaginian fide. Illiturgi had sometimes been inclin- to Rome, and made league with the City in able to the Romans; if not altogether at time of great extremity. So that hereby P. their devotion. Yet after the death of the Scipio conceived hope of laying a good fountwo elder Scipio's, following too earnestly dation to the War, which he intended in the Carthaginian fortune, it not only rebel- Africk, upon the friendship of this ill neighled, but with great cruelty betrayed and bour to the Carthaginians. For which cause flew the poor men that escaped thither from he tent over C. Lalius his Emballador, to deal the overthrows. Aftapa was a Town that fill with Syphax: who declaring that the Caradhered to the Carthaginians, and, which thaginians did very ill in Italy, and had nowas worle, had thriven by the spoil of the thing now at all to do in Spain, easily per-Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore swaded the King to take part with those that (though not until the next year) Scipio had the better, and were without question went against these, and took himself Illitur his better friends. Only syphax requested that gi, and Castulo: Illiturgi by assault, and with the Roman General should visit him in pera general flaughter of the Inhabitants; Ca fon, to conclude the League; by which he fulo. by treason of one Cerdubellus. Astapa was to enter into conditions of more imporwas taken by Lucius Marcius; or rather tance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great Scipio condescended; thinking the friendpile of wood was raifed in the Market place: Thip of fo great a King, that was neighbour whereinto was thrown all the gold, and fil- to Carthage, and not far diffant from Spain. ver. with what soever else was precious; the well worthy of the adventure. So with two women and children standing by it under a Quinquereme Gallies he took Sea, and arrifure guard, that should kill and burn them ved in the Kings Port, at the same time with if the Romans got into the Town. This pro- Afdrubal. This would have been very danvision being made, all the Inhabitants that gerous unto him, had he been descryed by could bear Arms, rushed forth desperately, his enemies surther at Sea: but in the Haven and fell upon the Roman Camp; where ftri- they forbear to make offer one upon the ving beyond their power, they were every other. Syphax might well be proud; feeing one flain. Then was the Town forthwith fet at one time, two fuch Captains of two most on fire, by those that had taken charge to do powerful Cities, came to delire his friendit: and many of the Romans confumed with thip. He would have brought them to treat the flame; whilst they rushed over-hastily of peace: But the Roman excused himself, to catch the gold and filver, which they by want of fuch Commission from the Sefaw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but entred into Covenant; which in time of perreturned home to Carthage, with feven Gal-lies: leaving Mago behind him, to wait upon occasion, if any thould be offered. He visited in his way home, Syphax, King of the Mafefili, a people of the Numidians; hoping to Funeral games held by Scipio. A Duel between win him to the friendship of the Carthaginians. But he met with Scipio, as it were with his evil Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the same time, carried syphax quite Cipio returning into Spain, and resting another way. For Scipio having driven the Othat Winter, took vengeance the next Carthaginians out of Spain, did forthwith be- year, upon those of Illiturgi, Caftulo, and think himself, how to finish the war, by put- Aftapa, as hath been said before. The conting them to the like diffres in Africk. Here- quest of the Country being then in a manner unto it seemed that the help of syphax would at an end; he performed at new Carthage, with be much available: a King that had many great folemnity, fome Vows that he had times fallen out with the Carthaginians, and made, and honoured the memory of his Fa-

holding to P. and Cn. scipio, that fent him reasons the Numidian King sent Embassadors nate. He feasted them together : and short-Astrubal being beaten into the Island of ly dismissed Scipio, with whom he readily

# †. II.

two panish Frinces. A digression concerning Duels.

fustained much hurt by their procurement; ther and Uncle, with funeral games, especial-

ly of those that fought at sharp, according only reservee to bravery. In England to the manner of the times. Neither was it there was a great Combat fought between needful that he mould trouble himself with Edmond Ironside, and Canutus the Dane, for preparing ilayes for that spectacle, to hazard no less matter than the Kingdom. Theuse their lives, as was used in the City of Rome: of them was very frequent in the Saxon for there were enow, that either offered, times; almost upon every occasion, great themselves a Voluntaries, or were sent from or small. In the reign of Edward the third. their Princes, to give proof in fingle combat, who fultained the party of Mountfort. of the valour that was in their feveral Coun- against the Earl of hloys, contending for the tries. Some also there were, that being in Dutchy of Britain; there was a fight for contention, which they could not, or would honour of the Nations, between thirty of the not otherwise end agreed to deferr the de- Britons, and thirty English: two of which cifion of their Controversies, to tryal of the English, were Calverlie, a brave Captain; fword, in fingle fight. Among thefe, the and that Sir Robert Knokes is who afterwards most eminent, were Corbis and Orfice; Colen- became a renowned Commander in the germans: that contended for the principa- French wars, and did tigging honour his lity of a Town called ther. Corbis was the blood, whereof the Lord Karller is descendelder, and the elder brothers fon: where- ed. It were infinite to reck in the Namples forehe claimed the Lordhip, as eldeft of of the like, found in English French and Hathe house, after the manner of our Irifb lian Histories. Most of them have been Tampfiry. But the father of Orfus flood lately | combats of bravery, and of gayeté de cour.as feized of the principality : which though the French termit; for honour of feveral himself received by the death of his elder Nations; for love of Miltresses; or whatbrother yet this his Son would not let it go foever elfe gave occasion unto men, desirous back, but claimed to hold it as heir unto his to fet out themselves. But besides those of father, and old enough to rule. Fain would this fort, there are two other natures of Screio have compounded the matter. But combats; which are, either upon accusatithey answered peremptorily, that all their on for life, or upon trial of Title and Inherifriends and kindred had already laboured in trance, as in Writ of right. And of this latter vain to take up their quarrel; and that nei- kind, was that, of which we freak even now. ther God nor Man, but only Mars, their god between Corbis and Orfua. Unto these (me of battel, should be Umpire between them. I thinks) may be added, as of different con-So they had their wills: and the elder, who dition from the rest, the combat upon Wawas also the stronger, and more skilful at his ger; such as were that between David and weapon, casily vanquished the fool-hardi- Goliah, or that between the Horatii and Cu-

ness of the younger. and perhaps more ancient, than any other is adventured upon the head of Champions. kind of fight. We read of many performed Upon an acculation for life there was a combefore the War of Troy; by Thefeus, Her- bat appointed between the Lord Henry of cules, Fellux, and others: as also of two Boulinbrook Duke of Hereford, and Montray Tribes of Juda, and as many of the Penja | fed that he had belyed him, and was there-Roman; were of less importance, as having Rape, or burning of places (offences punish-

ratii, in which without regard of Title, the Such combates have been very ancient; Dominion of Nations, one over the other, more at the War of Troy, the one between Duke of Norfolk. There was a combat per Anan Puris and Menelaus; the other between formed by Sir John Anfley and one Cattring-Kan Heller and Aj. ic. Neither want their ex- ton: whom Ansley charged with treason: and amples of them among the Hebrews: where- proved it upon him, by being victorious, Kan of that between David and Goliah; and The like was fought between Robert of others performed by some of Davids Worthies, against those that challenged them, are between a Navarrois, and one Wells of Herical Control of the state of the st greatly celebrated. Unto the same kind ap Grimsby, whom the Navarrois accused of partains the fight between twelve of the creason: but, being beaten in fight, confesmites. The Romans had many of them : fore drawn and hanged. Whether our tryal whereof that was principal, in which they by battel do determine, that the falle accuventured their Dominion upon the heads of fer, if he be vanquished, shall suffer theputhree brethien the Horatii, against the three nishment which had been due to the offenbrethren, Curatii, that were Albans. The der, if the accusation had been proved; I combat of Manlius Torquatus; and shortly cannot affirm. But we every where find, That after: of Valerius Corvinus,, with two Cham- if he which is accused of treason, or accordpions of the Gauls, which challenged any ing to the customs of Normandy, of Murder,

eth.lofeth only his caufe, not his life. Neither it a matter of no fmall glory, to have it faid. bravery but in Camp close, that is, within Charles the lifth had patiently endured. rails. Now this trial by combat was so or-from this beginning is derived a challenge dinary in France, before the time of S. Lewis of combat, grounded upon none of those and Philip the fair his grand-child, as every occasions that were known to the Ancient. Lord of Fee, Eccles affical or Temporal, For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryal of had power to grant it within his own Jurie Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the diction. And it feemeth, that the French Objection and Refutation of capital offen-Kings, and other Lords, made their profit ces, are none of them, nor all of them togehereby. For in the \* Memorials of the Cham- ther, the argument of half so many Duels, as ber of Accounts, is found an Article to this ef- are founded upon meer private Anger, yea. fect; That if a Combat were once accepted, or upon matter feening worthy of anger in and after, by confent of the Lord, were taken the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these up, each of the parties should pay two shil- daies, wherein every man takes unto himlings fix pence; but if it were performed, felf a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and then should the party vanquished forfeit an appoint perional combats, the giving of the hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this Lye, which ought to be the Negation only custom grew the French Proverb, which in accusations for life, is become the most they use when as any man hath had an hard fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held and unjust judgement; saying, That He was a word so terrible, and a wrong so unpartried by the Law of Loray, or Berne ; on le donable as will admit no other recompence, battu oaye l' amende, where he that is beaten than the blood of him that gives it. Thus gives the recompence. Of these frequent tri- the fashion, taken up in hast by the French als by battel that great learned man Tvo, Bi- Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, shop of chartres did often complain, and is grown to be a custome: whence we have specially against the French Church-men: as derived a kind of Art and Philosophy of appears by \* his Letters to the Bishop of quarrel; with certain grounds and rules. Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Remi from whence the points of honour, and the best Archbishop of Sens, and to others; dependencies thereof, are reduced. Yea, wherein he rebukes the judgement of their there are (among many no less ridiculous) wherein he records the judgethat the judgethat forme for mystical curiosities herein, as that it rings of combat. But this liberty and kind of tryal, is held a far greater dishonour, to receive was retrencht by s. Lewis, and Philip the from an enemy a flight touch with a Cane, fair; fo that no man could decree or grant than a found blow with a Sword; the one it, save the King himfelf. It hath fince been having relation to a slave, the other to a granted, though more sparingly, by the souldier I confest that the difference is pret-French King, as to the Lord of Carogues, a ty: though for my own part, if I had had gainst Jaques le Gris; and to Julian Romero any such lealianated enemy in former times, the spaniard, against Moro his countryman; I should willingly have made with him such wherein Sir Henry Knevet, Father to the an exchange; and have given him the point Lord Knevet now living, was Patron to Ro- of honour to boot, mero that had the victory; and lastly to But let us examine indifferently the ofthe Lord of Chaft. Now in those challenges, fence of this terrible word, the Lye, with their upon acculation of Treason, Murder, or conditions who are commonly of all other other offence deferving death (and in those the most tender in receiving it. I say, that the only ) the rule held, That le defendeur estoit most of these, who present death on the ac tenu de proposer ces deffences par un dementir; points of their swords to all that give it The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by themouse nothing so much in their conversa-

edby death ) be overcome, He shall suffer ment confesser le crime ; filchtly confess the the pains appointed for those crimes. In com- crime. But after such time as Francis the hats for tryal of right, it is not fo : neither French King upon some dispute about breach is the Appellant or Defendant bound to of Faith, had fent the Lye unto the Emberof fight in person, but he may try it by his Charles the fifth, thereby to draw him to a Champion, as did Paramour and Low, or of personal combat; every petty companion in fered to do, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. France, in imitation of their Mafter . made And in this case, he that is beaten or yield- giving of the I permortality it self; holding are the combats upon accusation, or tryal of That the meanest Gentleman in France right, fought in open field, as are those of would not put up, what the great Emperor

giving the accuser the Lye: otherwise it was tion and course of life, as to speak and swear concluded, that the defendant did taifible- failly. Yea, it is thereby, that they shift and

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thuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how I will not deny but it is an extream rudeness few are there among them, which having af- to tax any man in publick with an untruth fumed and fworn to pay the moneys and (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice other things they borrow, do not break their against whom the untruth is uttered: ) But word and promife, as often as they ingage it? all that is rude, ought not to be civillized Nay, how few are there among them, that with death. That were more to admire and are not Lyarsly Record, by being fued in | imitate a French custome, and a wickedone. fome Court or other of Justice, upon breach | than to admire and to follow the councel of of word or bond? For he which hath pro- God. But you will fay that these discourses mifed that he will pay money by a day, or favour of cowardize. It is true; if you call promifed any thing elfe, wherein he faileth; it cowardize to fear God or hell: whereas hathdirectly lied to him to whom the pro- he that is truly wife, and truly valiant. mile hath been made. Nay, what is the pro- knowes that there is nothing elfe to be fearfession of love that men make now-adaies? ed. For against an Enemies sword, we shall What is the vowing of their fervice, and of find ten thousand seven penny-men (waged all they have, used in their ordinary comple- at that price in the wars) that fear it as litments, and (in effect ) to every man whom the, or perchance less, than any profest they bid not good morrow, or falute, other | Sword man in the world. Diligentiffina in than a courteous and Court-like kind of tutela fui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent lying? It is (faith a wife French man, deri- preferver of it felf. It is (faith Ariffotle) a meding therein the Apish custome of his Coun- diocrity between doubting and daring, Sitry un marche & complot fait ensemble, se cut non Martyrem pona; fic nec fortem pugmacquer, menter, & piper les un les autres ; A na, sed causa : As it is not the punishment kind of merchandife, and complot made among that makes the Martyr : fo it is not fighting them, to meck belye, and deride each other : that declares a valiant man : but fighting in a and fo far now-adaies in fashion, and in good cause. In which, who soever shall resoluse; as he that useth it not, is accounted vedly end his life, resolvedly in respect of either dull or Cynical. True it is not with - the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, standing (omitting the old distinction ) that Religion, or Countrey: ashe may justly be there is great difference between these man- numbred among the Martyrs of God; so nerly and complemental lyes, with those may those that die with malicious hearts, which are sometime perswaded by necessity in private combats, be called the Martyrs upon breach of promise; and those which of the Devil. Neither do we indeed take men tife out of cowardize and fear; the lat- our own revenge, or punish the injuries ofter confessing themselves to be in greater fered us, by the death of the injurious. For awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other | the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, stiled the most villanous. But now for of whom we would be revenged, cause to the Lye it felf, as it is made the subject of all repent him : and not to lay the repentance our deadly quarrels in effect, to it I say, of another mans death upon our own con-That who foever giveth another man the scences; Animasq; in vulnere ponere; And Lye, when it is manifest that he hath lyed, to drown our souls in the wounds and blood of doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it our enemies. Hereupon you will again alk to be more hainoully taken, than to tell him, me, if I condemn, in generous and noble spihe hath broken any promife which he hath rits, the defence of their honours, being otherwise made. For he that promiseth any | prest with injuries? I say that I do not, if thing, teils him, to whom he hath promifed, the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nathat he will perform it; and, in not per- ture, which is a branch of the Eternal Law: forming it, he had made himself a Lyar. On and the Laws of all Christian Kings and the other fide, He that gives any man the Lye, States; do favour him that is affailed, in the when he himself knowes that he, to whom it slaughter of the assailant. You will secondis given, hath not lyed; doth therein give ly alk me, Whether a Noble-man, or a the Lye directly to himself. And what cause Gentleman, being challenged by Cartel by havel, if I say that the Sun thines when it one of like quality, be not bound in point doth shine, and that another fellow tels me of honour to satisfie the challenger in pri-I lye, for it's midnight; to profecute fuch an vate combat? I answer, that he is not: beone to death, for making himself a foolish cause (omitting the greatest, which is the Ruffian and a lyar in his own knowledge? point of Religion ) the point of the Law is For he that gives the Lye in any other dif-directly contrary and opposite to that, pute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or which they call the point of honour; The Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. Law which hath dominion over it, which

you will stile those Actshonourable, where what is this honour, I mean honour indeed, the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, fee- and that which ought to be fo dear unto ing the Laws of this Land have appointed us:other than a kind of History, or fame folthe Hang-man to second the Conqueror, lowing actions of vertue, actions accompaand the Laws of God appointed the Devil nied with difficulty or danger, and underto second the Conquered, dying in malice : taken for the publick good? In these he that Ifay, that he is both base and a fool, that is imployed and trusted, if he fail in the peraccepts of any Cartel fo accompanied. To formance, either through cowardize, or this, perchance it will be answered, That any other base affection; it is true that he the Kings of England, and other Christian loseth his honour. But the acting of a private Kings, have seldome taken any such advan- combat, for a private respect, and most comtage over men of quality, who upon even monly a frivolous one, is not an action of terms have flain their private enemies. It is vertue, because it is contrary to the Law of true, that as in times of trouble and com- God, and of all Christian Kings:neither is it buftion they have not often done it; so did difficult, because even and equal in persons our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former and arms: neither for a publick good, but ages, in all important injuries, sue unto the tending to the contrary; because the loss or King, to approve themselves by battel and mutilation of an able man, is also a loss to publick combat. For as they dared not to the Common-weal. brave the Law; sodid they disdain to submit themselves unto the shameful revenge power to save every mans fame and reputathereof; the same revenge (because it dete- tion, as far as reputation may sustain injury fteth murder) that hath declared against a by words, I think no man doubteth. For to common Cut-purse or other Thieves: repent us of any evil words that we have Navlet it be granted that a pardon be pro- given, and to confess that we have done cured for such offenders: yet it is not the man- him wrong, unto whom we have given flaver freed from his pardon. For these two them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as standing; that is, to require justice by Grand that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly he further faith (for I use his own words) point of reputation. Concerning blows, or by Battel, upon that appeal; the man-

can judge it, which can destroy it; except | lands, or of our lives; and I say so too. But

Now that a Marshall of England hath remedies hath the party grieved notwith- may fall out, more than fufficient. For he Affize, or by battel, upon his appeal, which denyes them, or repents himself of them up-(faith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denyed; and on advisement hath the disadvantage in That if the Defendant (to wit, the man- which are indeed not to be given but to flayer) be convinced either by great Affize those that are servile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall apflaver shall die notwithstanding the Princes pear by a notable example of a most worthy pardon. So favourable (faith the same learned Gentleman Monster de Plessis, that was strick-Gentleman ) are our Princes, and the Law of en in France not long fince by a Baron of the our Realm, to justice & to the punishment of same nation. The satisfaction which was blood violently thed. It may further be de- given him by a judgement of the Constable manded, how our Noblemen and Gentlemen and Marshals of France, was this. In the open shall be repaired in honour, where an ene- Court, wherein the Constable gave judgemy, taking the start either in words or blows ment, M. de Plessis was fet in a chair under shall lay on them an infamy unsufferable: the degrees where the Constable and Mar-Isay, that a Marshals Court will easily give shals sate: the Baron, who had given him satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no the blow, did kneel before him on both his difgrace to submit our selves for the recovery knees, holding in his right hand a sword with of our Debts, Goods, and Lands; and for all the point towards himself, and in his left things else by which the lives of our selves hand the like cudgel or bastinado, whereour wives, and children, are sustained, to with he had stricken M. de Plesses, both which the Judges of the Law; because it may be weapons he delivered into Plejis hands, subfelony to take by violence even that which mitting himself to such revenge, as it should is our own : why should we not submit our please him to take with either of those selves unto the Judges of honour in cases of weapons; the Constable and Marshals havhonour; because to recover our reputation | ing formerly left it to the will of Plels, to by strong hand, may be murder? But yet use his own discretion in the revenge of his again, it may be objected, that the loss of own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had honour ought to be much more fearful unto reason to please himself, as one beforehand us, than either the loss of our goods, of our in point of honour, (who struck M. de Plessis

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like a Ruffian coming behind him, and having | wrath of God upon supream Governours. the advantage of company, and his horses than the permission. ready, shifted himself away on the sudden; His Majesty therefore ( which Henry the but being afterwards taken, was taught IV. of France also endeavoured) hathdone to repent himselfin this shameful manner:) a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in or whether Monfier de Fleifis ( of whose Scotland, which the most renowned of all valour no man doubted ) had not far just- his Prædecessors could never do: in beating er cause to rest sat sfied, since he might at down and extinguishing that hereditary his pleasure have beaten or wounded his prosecution of malice, called the deadly fonds enemy, but forgave him: let any wife man a conquest, which shall give him the honour judge. To this if it be faid, That the Ba- of Prudence and Kingly power for everron was constrained to make his submission more. And we have cause to hope, that his that his repentance was enforced, and not royal care shall be no less happy in prayentvoluntary; and therefore no difgrace unto ing the like mischief, which threatens Enghim: I answer, that one may say as well, land, by the audacious, common, and brave. that it is no diffrace to a Thief, when he vet outragious vanity of Duelists. is brought to the Gallows, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, be- of man-flaughter, it must be added. That cause his repentance also is constrained. And each of these are of great Latitude, and it is true, that enforced repentance is no worthy of reproof and vengeance proportigrace in respect of a force, but in respect of onably, more or less, in their several degrees. the fact: which (but for our fins to God) There is much difference between Lies of makes all repentance shameful: because all necessity upon breach of promise, or comforced repentance is inflicted upon us for plemental lies; and fuch pernicious lies, as somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and proceed from fear and cowardize, or are of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance uttered by falle witnesses: the former fort it felf, as it hath relation to men, arifeth ei- being excusable by weakness or levity; the ther out of the fear of the ill that may befall latter being altogether detestable. No less. us, or out of the acknowledgement of our if not more difference there is between kilown weakness. Certainly as wisemen, and ling of a man in open field, with even weavaliant men do rather deride petty injuries pons; and that killing, which the Scriptures or sudden injuries, that are not offered call killing by guile, dolo or per insidias; though from malice fore-thought, than revenge our Laws do not much distinguish them in them: fomen, apt to quarrel, do commonly suspect their own valour; and rather de king his own priviledge, commandeth that fire, that thereby the world thould believe them to be of great daring, than know any fuch resolution in themselves. For he th ... knows himself indeed to be an honest man fcorns to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshals of France have, hath also a is found, between coming presumptuously every mans reputation may be preferred; we without a canfe, upon hope of spoil, after may therefore as well submit our selves to such manner as the net is spread before the the Judge of honour in all disputes of honor, eyes of the Birds. Francis the first, Queen as we do submit our selves in all controver- Mary of England, and the Kings Majesty now fies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of reigning, have given notable teltimony of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution their justice, upon three Noble men, who of this Court of Chevalrie in England, in committed guilful murder. Of the first kind, France, and elsewhere: was no less charita- King Francis upon the Lord of Talard: who ble than politick. For the blood of man, being (faith the French Historian) de hante violently spilt, doth not bring forth hony bees & ancienne lignee, & support de pluseurs as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fin- grandes alliances; who being of high and angers, or the face: but it produceth that mon- cient linage, and supported by divers great strous beaft, Revenge, which hath stung to alliances, of which the Cardinal of Bellay (in death, and eaten up, of feveral nations, fo especial favour with the King ) was one; many noble personages; as there is nothing was notwithstanding delivered over into

Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and punishment. For in the latter, God, forsathe guilful murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither End. 11. is every guilefull murder performed by the fword, nor by overt violence: but there is a guilfull murder alfo, by poyfoning : and by the pen,or by practice. For fuch distinction Marihal of England, or his Deputies: by upon a man, to flay him with guile; and ly Exolin whose judgement in all disputes of honour, ing in wait for blood privily, for the innocent, Property more lamentable, nor more threatning the the hands of the Hangman. 9 Mary, upon a Noble

ny other respects very dear unto her, His Ma- Submerge; A fair lesson to all Judges, to dwell jij, upon a Baron of Scotland; whose almayes in themselves, and not to suffer their house was no less ancient and faithful, than consciences to float upon the waves of imaginasimfelf valiant, and greatly friended both ry favour, which in the end overwhelms them. at home and abroad. Of killing guilfully And as for the Admiral, though it might by poylon, and of punishment following have been answered unto his friends, if any fuch wicked Artifans, every age hath had bewail his calamity as undeferved, That he too many examples. Of killing guilfully by was tryed, according to his own defire, by the pen ( that I may not speak of any Eng- the Laws of his Country, and by the Judges ... life Judge ) the Author of the French Re of Parliament ; yet the Kings justice, turcherches gives unto us two notable instances: the one of des Fshars, who (faith Pasquier) fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion celuy dont il estoit lors idolaftre ; & Dien permit que depuis il fut pendu & estrangle; Who caused Montaigu great Mafter of France to die to content his mind (to wit the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Ethars worshipped as his Idol; but Godpermitted, that be himself was soon after hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first, upon his Chancellor roget: who to fatisfie the Kings passion, pra- fell dangerously tick, in such fort that the tifed the destruction of the Admiral Cha rumour of his death ran current throughbot; a man most nobly descended, and of great out Spain. This encouraged Mandonius and fervice. For as in other men, fo in Kings Indibilis, petty Kings, that had for faken the the passion of love grows old, and wears Carthaginians, and followed Scipio a while out by time. So the Kings affection being before, to take arms against the Romans. changed towards the Admiral, he charged They were vainly perswaded, that after the him with some offences, which he had for | Carthaginians were driven out; they themmerly committed: The Admiral prefuming lielves should become the mightiest in all upon the great good service which he had Spain. But seeing now, that things were no done the King in Piemont, and in the defence way answerable to the greatness of their of Marfeilles against the Emperour, gave the hopes; they thought it best, to take the pre-King other language than became him; and lent advantage, and hammer out their own desired nothing so much, as a publick trial. fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the Suesse-Hereupon the King (it being easie to pro- tani and Sedetani, confederates of the Rovoke anill disposition) gave commission to mans; and wasted their Country. Part of the the Chancellor, as Præsident, and other Roman Army lying at Sucro, instead of mak-Judges, upon an information of the Kings ing head against these Rebels, grew to be af-Advocate, to question the Admirals life; The fected with the like distemper. They had not Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large repedfuch profit of the Roman conquests, as conscience, (which is not rare in men to- might satisfie their desires; or as they thought wards the law hoping highly to content the ealie to be gotten if they might be their King; wrought with some of the Judges with own Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of fo great cunning; with others with so sharp Scipio was reported, they thought that the threats; and with the rest, with so fair pro- time served very well, to enrich themselves mises; as albeit nothing could be proved with the spoil of the Country. Many outrages

Noble man of her own Religion, and in ma- | d'une imaginare faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le mounting all other his passions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Estate.

# +. III.

The last Acts of Scipio in Spain, His return to Rome, where he is chosen Conful.

He last business that troubled Scipio in Spain, grew by the rebellion of the people, and mutiny of his Souldiers. He against the Admiral, worthy of the Kings di- they committed: and, which was greatest spleasure, yet the Chancelior subscribed, and of all, driving away their Colonels, that got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of should have bridled their fury ; they chose his Estate, Offices, and Liberty, though not out of their own number two base fellows, able to prevail against his life. But what was Albinus Calenus, and Atrius Umber, to their the Chancellors reward ( the King hating Commanders. These took upon them all the falshood in fo great a Magistrate) other than Ensigns of Pro-consuls, or Pro-pretors; as his own degradation, arraignment and con- if this their election had been like to that, demnation? Belle les on certes (faith Pajquier) a wherein Lucius Marcius was chosen by the tout Juge pur de-meurer toussours en soy, & ne Souldiers after the death of the two Scipio's: laisser stuttuer sa conscience debans les vaques But whilest they were devising what ex-Eeeeec 2

(HAP. III.

ploits they might do, for the enriching of came directions from Carthage, that letting themselves, in a time of such combustion as all care of Spain alone, he should thence dewas expected, there arrived more certain part from his fieet into Italy; and there wage news, that Scipio was both alive, and in good an Army of Gauls and Ligurians, to joyn health. There came also new Colonels, sent with Hannibal. For this purpose, was mony unto them from their General: who mild- fent unto him from Carthage; and he himself ly rebuking their want of confideration, and laid hold upon all that he could find in the feeming to be glad that they had no further Town of Gader; without fparing either priover-shot themselves; led them to cartha- vate men, the common treasury, or the Tem. gena, there to receive their pay. Before their ples. In this voyage thence, he landed at coming, Scipio had resolved to do exempla- Carthagena; hoping to have taken it by furrv inflice on the principal offenders; and to prife. But he failed in the attempt, and was put the whole multitude of them in fear of lo beaten to his ships, that he returned back what they had deserved. Therefore he to repose himself a while at Gades. The Gacaused Syllanus to make ready their Compa- ditanes, offended with the robberies and nies which lay before in the Yown, as it were spoil that he had made at his taking leave of to make an Expedition against Mandonius them, would not suffer him again to enter and Indibilis: he caused Albius and Atrius into their City. By thisheforesaw, that it with some thirty other of their Complices, would not be long ere they became Roman. to beferretly apprehended in their lodgings: Wherefore fending Meffengers into the he called the Mutiners to affembly 3 and hav- Town, to complain of this uncourteous deaing them unarmed as they were, encircled ling, he allured their Magistrates forth unto round by Syllanus and his companies, pre- him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse pared for the purpose; he bitterly inveigh-ed against them all as Traitors. This done, ed. This done, he followed his former in-Albius and Atrius, with the other prisoners tended voyage; bidding Spain farewell for were haled to the stake, where they were ever. whipt and beheaded, as was the Roman cuftome toward such offenders. The rest of to the Romans, presently after the departure the Souldiers, to the number of eight thou- of Mago. Then did Scipio deliver up the Profand, were caused to take their oath of obe- vince, to those that were fent from Rome to dience anew; and received every man his succeed him therein: & himself with ten ships pay when he was fworn.

arms: notwithstanding that they had certain it was denied him: for that it had as yet been word of Scipio his life and health. Well they granted unto no Proconful, excepting to could have been contented to be quiet:but fuch, as received that dignity after a Conby the severity used to the Roman Souldiers, Sulfhip, as it were by prorogation. Butto they stood in fear, as being spaniards, and make amends for this repulse, the election greater offenders, of harder measure. Scipio of new Consuls being then in hand, by genewent against them, and found them in a val- ral voice of the City, P. Cornelius Scipio was ley, that was scarce large enough to hold chosen Consul, and P. Licinius Crassins joyned all their Army. In the entrance thereof he with him. This Craffus, being high-Priest, or fought with them : and fending Lelius with Bishop of the Romans, might not by the cuall his horse, to setch a compass about the stome of those times, go far from the City; hills, and charge them in rear, he overthrew as being to intend the matters of their fuperthem. Indibilis and Mandonius had after this, fittion: though Cafar, and others, who in ages no hope remaining to preferve themselves following held the same office, were stayed and their estates, otherwise than by making by no such religious impediment, from befubmission. Mandonius therefore came to ing far and long absent. Hereby it came to Scipio: and humbly craving pardon, both for pass, that Scipio, desiring to have the war himself and for his brother Indibilu, obtain- transferred into africk, was in no danger to acknowledge themselves less free Princes chance of lot, in the division of Provinces; than formerly they had been.

Afterwards Scipio went toward Gades: and was met on the way by Masanista; who fecretly promifed to do him all fervice, if the people of Rome would fend him to make war in Africk. Unto Mago that lay in Gades,

The Isle and City of Gades, was yielded returned home. At his coming to Rome, he Mandonius and Indibilis continued in made fuit for the honour of a triumph. But ed his request; yet so, that they were taught to lose that honourable charge, by any misfor that his Colleague was not capable of employment fo far off.

5. XVIII.

# 6. XVIII.

drubal and Syphax.

meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: year a Province; which the Conful neverwhere it was decreed, that scipio should theless propounded in such wise, as if it were he allowed, to bestow part of the money a matter already concluded, and no longer which he had brought out of spain into the to be argued. Scipio on the other fide, infiftrreasury; upon the setting forth of solemn ed upon this one point; that it was better to playe, that he had vowed to make whilft he make an offensive, than a defensive war, espeheintended to make in Africk. To the same doubted not, but P. Licinius his Colleague purpose, did the spanish Embassages avail would be as well able to discharge it now as much in the Senate; especially that of the others had done in times of greater danger. against the purpose of the Consul; whereof found it expedient. the chief were that the Treasury was unable drubal to passinto Haly: shewing that it was victories; and made the unsteady Gauls rea-

greatly to be feared, left the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwith-Scipio obtains leave to make war in Africk. Itanding the good success of Scipio, (ifit His preparations. Of Malanissa who was hapned to be good) might be sent from Carjorned with Scipio. The victories against Af thage, to the utter endangering of Rome . whilest the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged. P. Cornelius Scipio, and P. Licinius Graf was, that neither the Senate had ordained, man, entring into their Confulship, held a nor the People commanded, Africk to be that was busied in his Spanish wars. This helped | cially against such as the Carthaginians, who well to revive the memory of his victories al- being ill provided of able men at home, did ready gotten; and to give hope unto the furnith themselves, by help of mony, with le-People of greater victories in the war, which | vies made abroad. As for the care of Italy, he Saguntines: who magnified his actions high- So promifing to draw Hannibal into Africk. lyand defervedly; Taying, that they were for defence of his own home; and taxing as the most happy of all their countrymen, since | civilly as he could, the envy of Fabius, which they being present, had seen him chosen Con- withstood such a gallant enterprise, he proful, and should carry home such joyful news. | posed the matter again to the Senate. Much The Saguntine Embassadors were lovingly altercation there was about the manner of entertained by the Senate: as their faith to his proceeding: for a much as it was notifed Rome ( though costly it were both to them | abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate and to the Romans) had well deserved. Ne- to his mind, he would carry it by the people. vertheless, when Scipio proposed, that Africk | This offended many of the ancients: who remight be decreed unto him for his Province, | fented in this honourable man, a little spice there wanted not many, even of the princi- of that arrogancy, which in following ages pal men, that vehemently gainfaid him. Of grew to be much hotter, in those that had these was Q. Fabius Maximus the chief: who commanded long abroad. But in conclusion. feens to have been troubled with that di- | Scipio referred himfelf wholly to the Senates feafe, which too often caused men, renowned good will and pleasure; whereby he obtainfor long approved vertue, to look afquint up- ed thus much, That the Isle of Sicil might on the actions of those, that follow them in be appointed unto him for his Province; the same kind. He alledged many reasons with leave to pass over into Africk, if he

Want of money, and no great liking to his to fultain the charges of a war in Africk; and voyage, made the Roman Senate have little that it was extreamly perilous to hazzard care to furnish out Scipio to the war, by him fogreat forces, where they could not at plea- intended upon Africk. Herewithall it fell fure be recalled unto the defence of Romeit out, that Mago, coming on the fudden self, if need required. Hereunto he added ma- from the Ealeares to Genna, and winning the ny words concerning the danger wherein | Town, bred a fear of no less terrible invasion Haly stood, not only of Hannibal, but of Mago upon Italy, than that which Afdrubal had his brother, that was arming the Ligurians: lately made. He could not indeed raise any as also concerning the honour of the Conful; great Army of the Ligarians; for that he which would (he faid)be greater in setting found them distracted with civil wars. Italy free from enemies, than it could be in Therefore he was driven to make choice of doing any harm to Africk. Neither did he his party; and to help those whom he forget, both to elevate the spanish wars, as thought fittestfor his turn, against the others. of less moment than the intended voyage | This troublesome business, though it occupiagainst Carthage, nor withall to lay great ed more of his time than he could willingly blame upon Scipio, for having suffered of have spared: yet it got him reputation by his

feerfed Legions of the Romans, that under felf upon the advice of many, shall often Proconfuls, and Prators, lay ready to be em- find himself deceived: the counsel of those ployed where need should require; were di- many being wholly directed by the Empire rected unto the borders of Lomburdy and of a few, that over- sway the rest. 2. Fabius Liguria, there to make head against Mago. was accounted the Oracle of his time : for But all his menaces passed away in vapour. his wary nature forted well with the busi-For a fleet, either coming to his aid from ness, that fell out in the chief of his employ-Carthage, or by him fent thither (the report ment. Unto him therefore 2. Fulvius adis uncertain) loaden with the booty that he hered; with other of the Senators, that were had taken, fell into the hands of the Roman grown old in following one course; from Prætor, that governed in Sardinia. This did which they could not shift, as the change of much disable him : and though after a time required. But the People (who though while, there came letters from Carthage, to- they could not well advice, and deliberate. gether with store of money, heartning him in yet could well apprehend ) embraced the his proceedings; yet some impediments needful resolution of Scipio: in such fort, which he found, and that fatal voyage of that belides his Roman forces, he had from scipio into ofrick disturbed all; and made divers parts of Italy about seven thousand him be re-called home.

year Neither was any thing done by him, of Axes, Beed-hooks, Hand-mils, and the like which the Roman Hiltorians have been plea- implements; Firre for building of thips, fed to take notice. Only it is faid, that he many thousands of Targets, Helmets and fpent his Summer by the Temple of Juno La- | Spears of all kinds: every place furnished cinia, where he railed an Altar, with a huge him with that commodity, which it best Title of all that he had performed, graven could afford. in Funick and Greek letters. Such account of winnings past, is common iy in Gamesters that ligence of Scipio was correspondent. In the are at the height of their fortune, a cause of compass of five and forty dayes he had both remission and carelesness; in those that are fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched twenty upon the lofing hand, a cause both of the Trireme, and ten Quinquereme Gallies; wherefame for the present, and shortly after of de- with he transported his Army into sicil. In jection, when they find a notable change. A Sicil he found, besides other forces, two Legreat pestilence insesting both the Carthagi- | gions, that had served at Canna: which were nian and the Roman Camp, is said to have old Souldiers, and (as he himself well knew) been the occasion of this years idleness; not guilty of the overthrows for which they which fell out not much amis for the City of had long undergone a heavy sensure. They Rome, that was marvelously impoverished by had served under Marcellus and Lavinus, at this war; and had already tryed the utmost the taking of many Cities and strong pieces: way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessity, it was well thought upon, that a great part of Campania (not many years fince confifcated) should be sold, or iet out: in which bargain, that the City might receive no loss, the and such as loved well their ease. These heaftenth part of the fine was ordained, as a re- terward discharged from the War, highly to

to Scipio. Neither was he allowed to make to as many Roman Gentlemen, which he press of Souldiers for his African voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtain Whilest he was providing to have things in it. That which the Senate refused, the people a readines for Africk, the banished Locriums, did for him : or rather they did it for themfelves; that were therein wifer than the Senate. It is usually found in Councels of estate, that the busic, or obstinate heads of a few crasts-men, that wrought for the Carthaginito the wisdom, that hath gotten it felf a by the Romans, promised to betray the place, name, by giving happy direction in troubles if they might be ransomed and rewarded.

dy to enter into his pay. Hereupon the di- forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth him.

Voluntaries. He had also provision from the Against Hannibal was nothing done this several Towns: Corn, Iron, Canvas for fails,

Unto this willingness of the people, the diin which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in Africk, where would be Itore of fuch employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthy young men, ward unto the detectors of lands concealed. their contentment: but with condition; that Of this, or other mony, none was given they should deliver their Horse and Arms, brought over with him for the purpole. that followed the Roman fide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handido carry all the rest. And many times men ans in one of the Citadels of Locri, (forthere make a furrender of their own judgements, were two in the Town)being taken prisoners

schio being advertised of this gave order high commendations at their return. to have the attempt made by night : which happily succeeded, and that Citadel was furprifed. The other Citadel was ftrongly de-Hannibal out; whom the comming of Scipio caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the Carthaginian Garrison to abandon the other Citadel. Many outrages were commitwith the Prætor appointed for that Illand;

Scipio had already employed Lelius in Africk; rather to make discovery, than to work any other great effect of war. He took fended by the Carthaginian Garrison, which a great booty: and struck no little cerror infent to Hannibal for aid. The Romans in like to the Carthaginians; who faw their affairs fort, fearing lest that their paucity should to be upon terms of change. But the greatest make them too weak for Hannibal, craved fruit of his journey was, That speaking help of the Consul Scipio. The Towns-men with Masanissa, he well informed himself of were doubtfully affected: but the best, and the state of Africk; and knew what was to most of them inclining to the Romans, kept be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to joyn with the Romans at their landing.

Concerning Mafanisfa his revolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made underted by the Roman Souldiers, that were left hand with the Romans, Livie doth profes, Livilly, 20 by Scipio in custody of the Town. Where- That there was no such evident cause therefore a vehement complaint was made by the of at the prefent; but that the long continu-Locrians unto the Roman Senate; not only ance of his faith and contrancy; in following against those of the Garrison: but much times, must help to prove, that this his more against Pleminius the Captain, who change, was not without some good cause. gave bad example, and was worse than all But Appianus (an Historian far inferiour to the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Livie, both in worth and time) gives one Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of reason so probable of this, and many acci-Proferpina, that had a great fame of fanctity, dents thereto belonging, as that it carryes was spoyled by these barbarous Thieves. with it a great appearance of necessary truth. The Locrians therefore advised the Senate Only the doubt is, How it could any way tomake present amends to the goddess for come to pass, that the knowledge of such a this facriledge: faying that the like had ne- matter should have escaped the diligence of ver been committed, without notorious re- Livie, if it had been true: unless we should venge by her taken upon the Authors. The believe, that he wilfully forbear to rehearse Senate gave good ear to this complaint, a Tragedy; the forrow whereof would cause comforted the Locrians, and redreffed the men to think amifs of Scipio. Howfoever it iniuries done unto them; fent for Pleminius, was thus \* Appian tells it: and many circum- Apiac, injuries done unto them they it ances of things done, confirm it. Afterbal Misses de with other principal offenders; whom they it ances of things done, confirm it. Afterbal Misses de Bill. Parile cast into prison, and used according to their the Son of Gesco, had a fair daughter, whom deserts: as also they restored unto Proserpina both King Syphax and Masanisa loved. Maher money twice told. But old Q. Fabins was Sanifa, being brought up at Carthage, and benot herewithal contented. Helaid much of ing withall a goodly Gentleman of person; the blame upon Scipio, that had placed such and excellent in qualities, was chosen by a man in Locre; and had not carefully Afdrubal to be his fon-in-law. When the Virhearkned to the complaints made against gin was betrothed unto him, he went into him, but suffered him to run on in these his Spain, and there did great service. But afterwicked courses. By the tharp invective that wards, the Carthaginian Senate thought the Fabius made, others took courage to speak marriage of Asdrubals daughter to be a matwhat they pleased, as well against the de-ter of State: and bestowed her upon symeanour of Scipio, as against the dissolute- phax, without standing to acquaint her tanels of his Army; which lay, as they faid, idle ther or Masanissa therewithall: This they in Sicil, neither mindful of any service to- did, for that syphax was the more mighty ward, nor fit for it if need should require. Prince; and for that the indignity of the re-Finally, things were fo far urged, that ten pulse, had made him become their enemy. Legates were sent over into Sicil, together Hereof Majaniffa was advertised; and forthwith entred into intelligence with scipio, fetwoof the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; cretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but who should examine these matters; and ei- some notice was taken of it : which would ther cause the General to return into Italy, or have cost him his life, had he not with great continue him in his charge, as they thought circumspection conveighed himself home, it. The end of all was, they found him fo into his fathers Kingdom. Thus far forth well prepared against Carthage, as that they we may believe Appianus: all thenarration haltened him on his journey, and gave him well cohering with things palt, and follow-

nisha, the daughter of Afdrubal, was pro- pleafing unto Scipio. He excused himself of mised by the Carthaginians unto syphax: his promise lately made: and fignified his yet fince this their courtesse proceeded from alliance with the Carthaginians; adding, tear, he thought it wisdom to continue and That he could not chuse but fight for the increase the same their fear, by making fair defence of Africk, wherein he was born and 1 . . . . promises to the Romans, untill Afdrubal had reigned; and for the defence of his beloved fent for his daughter from Caribage, and the wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevermarriage was confummated. In other mat-the lefs he promifed to remain a Neuter. fo ters concerning the war it felf, wherein sp. long as the Romans and Carthaginians held pian differs much from Livie, and from Po- war abroad, far enough from Africk, ashilibiur, whom (as appears by the broken thereo they had done. This meffage haftened pieces of his works remaining ) Livie did Scipio in his expedition, much more than heed unto his reports.

Numidians: whose father dying, the Crown the assente, and the forwardness descended, by order of the Country, unto of many adventurers. Lest therefore the Defalces the brother, not unto Mafanissa the failing of this hope, should work too great fon. But this Uncle of Mafaniffa thortly dy- a change in common opinion, He thought it ed: and his elder fon, who took poffession the best way to prevent all discourse, and of the kingdom, was vanquished, and slain fet the war undertaken immediately on foot. in battel by a Rebel, that made himself Pro- The Embassadors he dismissed in haste, tector over the younger which was a child. with letters to their King: wherein he wil-The Traitor fortified himself against Masa- led him to consider, that what he had pronissa, whose return he feared, by Alliances mised, he had also sworn; and therefore with the Carthaginians and Syphax. But all should do well to make it good. Having sent would not serve: He and his Pupill, were them away, He called his Souldiers togedispossessed of their Estates by Majanisa; ther; and bade them make ready for the that was a skilfull Warriour, and well belo- voyage, which he intended no longer to ved for the memory of his father Gala. The defer. For, faid he, Masanissa hath been with Carthaginians in reason would have been Lalius: and Syphax hath newly tent to glad, that Masanissa, who had done them me; greatly wondring upon what I should notable service, was thus confirmed in his thus stay; and saying, That they will Estate, had they not been guilty of the inju- provide for themselves, if I fail their exry by them done unto him; whilest his Un-pectation by tarrying any longer. This fine cle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlike- tale prevented all further inquisition, that ly to stand them in any stead But syphax, by might else have been made concerning the their procurement, and perhaps by his own message of these Embassadors: whose folmalice, towards his Corrival, warred upon lowers had been feen walking up and down him; and over-charging him with numbers, Syracufe. And left any thing should after drave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheles wards break out, that might hinder the bull-Majaniffa, still retained the hearts of his peo- uefs, Scipio immediately fent about his fleet ple; and thereby remained strong enough, unto Lylibaum: and requesting by letters to infest both syphax and the Carthagini- M. Pomponius, that was Prætor in Sicil, to ans; though he was often put in diftress, by meet him there; hafted thither with his Argreat forces that were fent against him. He my At Lylivaum he agreed with the Prator, therefore keeping much about the leffer syr about the division of the Legions between tis, between the borders of the Carthagini- them, which to leave behind for defence of ans, and the Nation of the Garamants, expe- the Island; and which to carry with himincted the coming of the Romans: yet fo, as to Africk. What numbers he transported, itis he made long roads over all the Country, not certain: some Historians reckoning even as far as Hippo; and when Lalius arri- only ten thousand foot, and two and twenty ved thereabouts, exhorted and encoura- hundred horse; others increasing them to ged him to halten on Scipio to the invalion five and thirty thousand, horse and foot.

cour was reposed more hope of good success, I hold it needless to set them down: fince than could be expected from the good will they were points of ordinary care, and of poor Mafaniffa, sent an Embassage into which it is like that neither he, when he

Only it feems, that howfoever Sopho- | Sicil about the same time, which was little follow; it will be no offence, to take little any perswasion could have done. For the promifed affiftance of syphax had not a little Masanissa was the son of Cala, a King of the advanced his enterprise; in procuring both Concerning his directions for embarquing, But syphax, in whose great aid and suc- and other matters belonging to their course, took his voyage into spain, nor othersupon | better advise them to set sail for Vin like occasions, have omitted; they being al- make war upon the Enemies at their fo word for word fet down by an Historian, doors. who borrowed them from Livie, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

a fore-land then called the fair Promonterie: which how far it was from Carthage. or toward what point of the Compais, I Carthage beyond the River Bagradas: it may fturb his landing; and flain Hanno a young rather feem, that he landed within the Pro Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had montory of Apollo; whence the way to Otica also taken and sacked a Town of the Carthawas not long. This is also strongly proved; ginians: wherein, besides other booty, he for that out of Carthage were fent, the next took eight thousand prisoners; all which he day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his conveighed abourd his Hulks or Ships of difembarking. Neither was it so hard for burden, and sent them back loaden into si-Masanista, that roved about the Contry cil. He took likewise a Town called salera. with a troop of horse to find out the Roman, which he held and fortified. In Salera lav though they landed far from the place to the another Hanno, with four thousand Numidihad met with Lelius at Hippo that was far- field, than for defence of walled places, with his Army & Carriages, to overcome the their Leader, that had thus housed them. trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great | Wherefore he fent Mafaniffa before him: who compass to Otica, by Land; when he might rode up to the gates; and, by making a have disembarqued nearer unto it. Never- bravado, trained out the improvident Hanthelessit may pass as a conjecture. That Sci- no so far, that he drew him unto a place. pio came first of all to Emporia, a plentiful where the Romans lay in wait for him. The charge to the Masters of his ships, at the taken or slain. With those that fled, the fetting forth from Lilybaum, to shape their Romans entered pell-mell into the Town, course for that coast. The Countrey there- which presently they made their own. about was very rich, and fit for fullenance Thence went Scipio to Otica, a City of great of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants importance, of which mention hath been forfignified unto Lalius, when he spake with by Land and Sea, and using all his engines howfoever they made brave promifes, would in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the

The Carthaginians had at time neitner any Captain of great worth at home, nor This Roman Army landed in Africk, near to better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in hafte. Afdrubal the of fon Gefco, the same that had lately been chased out of Spain by scipio, was their cannot precifely affirm; because it is uncer- best man of war. And good enough pertain, whether it were that Cape or Head- haps he was thought by Hanno and his felland which bore the name of Mercury, and lows, of whose faction he was : or if ought lay to the North-east of Carthage; or whe- were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nother that of Apollo, which lay Northerly bility, together with the affinity of King Sifrom Carthoge, and by West. The coming of phax, made him passable. He was then with Malaniffa unto Scipio at his first arrival, helpt the King his son-in-law, working him no to confirm the opinion of Xylander, who doubt against the Romans: when letters thinks the fair Promonter; to have been the were brought from Carthage both to Syphax fame. that was also called Mercuries Cape, and to him, informing them of the Invasion: fince with little difficulty Mafaniffa might entreating the one of them to give affiltance. come thither from the leffer Syrtis, where- and commanding the other to make his reabout was his common abiding. But foraf- pair unto the City , where he was chosen much as without any memorable impedi- General. But ere these could be ready, seiment soon after his arrival, Scipio encamped pio had beaten the troop of Carthaginian before Utica, that stood Westward from horse, that were sent out of the City to diwhich he usually reforted, like as before he | an horse: whose service being fitter, for the ther off; as it would have been for Scipio, made Scipio to perceive the unfkilfulness of Region about the leffer syrtis; fince he gave victory was eafily gotten, and Hanno either warlike, or well provided to make refi- merly made and fate down before it. Forty stance. Thus much perhaps Masanisa had dayes he spent about it, affailing it toth him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was not come strong enough to fight at head. But Summer was quite spent : so that it was time when he saw their Fleet and Army to be for him to choose a place, and fortifie his fuch, as not only served to invade the lands Winter-Camp, which must be well stored of Carthage, but threatned a conquest of the against the year following. Whilest thus City and whole Estate : then might be necessity urged him to leave Utica: and

nisha, the daughter of Afdrubal, was pro- pleasing unto Scipio. He excused himself of mised by the Carthaginians unto Syphax: his promise lately made: and fignified his vet fince this their courtesie proceeded from alliance with the Carthaginians; adding, tear, he thought it wisdom to continue and That he could not chuse but fight for the increase the same their fear, by making fair defence of Africk, wherein he was born and 1: The promifes to the Romans, until Afdrubal had reigned; and for the defence of his beloved fent for his daughter from Carthage, and the wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevermarriage was confummated. In other mat-the less he promised to remain a Neuter, so ters concerning the war it felf, wherein sp. long as the Romans and Carthaginians held pian differs much from Livie, and from Po- war abroad, far enough from Africk, ashilybius, whom (as appears by the broken therto they had done. This mellage haltened pieces of his works remaining) Livie did Scipio in his expedition, much more than follow; it will be no offence, to take little any perswasion could have done. For, the heed unto his reports.

Numidians: whose father dying, the Crown the assent of the Senate, and the forwardness descended, by order of the Country, unto of many adventurers. Lest therefore the Desales the brother, not unto Masanissa the failing of this hope, should work too great fon. But this Uncle of Masanissa shortly dy- a change in common opinion, He thought it ed: and his elder fon, who took possession the best way to prevent all discourse, and of the kingdom, was vanquished, and slain fet the war undertaken immediately on foot. in battel by a Rebel, that made himself Pro The Embassadors he dismissed in haste, tector over the younger which was a child with letters to their King: wherein he wil-The Traitor fortified himself against Masa- led him to consider, that what he had promissa, whose return he feared, by Alliances mised, he had also sworn; and therefore with the Carthaginians and Syphax. But all should do well to make it good. Having lent would not serve: He and his Pupill, were them away, He called his Souldiers togedispossessed of their Estates by Masanisa; ther; and bade them make ready for the that was a skilfull Warriour, and well belo- voyage, which he intended no longer to ved for the memory of his father Gala. The defer. For, faid he, Masanissa hath been with Carthaginians in reason would have been Lalius : and Syphax hath newly tent to glad, that Masanissa, who had done them me; greatly wondring upon what I should notable service, was thus confirmed in his thus stay; and saying, That they will Estate, had they not been guilty of the inju- provide for themselves, if I fail their exry by them done unto him; whilest his Un- pectation by tarrying any longer. This fine cle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlike- tale prevented all further inquisition, that ly to stand them in any stead But syphax, by might else have been made concerning the their procurement, and perhaps by his own message of these Embassadors: whose folmalice, towards his Corrival, warred upon lowers had been feen walking up and down him; and over-charging him with numbers, Syracuse. And lest any thing should afterdrave him out of his Kingdom. Nevertheles wards break out, that might hinder the buff-Mafaniffa, ftill retained the hearts of his peo- uess, Soipio immediately fent about his fleet ple; and thereby remained strong enough, to infest both Syphax and the Carthaginians; though he was often put in diftress, by great forces that were fent against him. He my At Lylibaum he agreed with the Prator, therefore keeping much about the lefler Syr tis, between the borders of the Carthagini- them, which to leave behind for desence of ans, and the Nation of the Garamants, expe- the Island; and which to carry with himincted the coming of the Romans: yet fo, as to Africk. What numbers he transported, it is he made long roads over all the Country, not certain: fome Historians reckoning even as far as Hippo; and when Lalius arri- only ten thousand foot, and two and twenty ved thereabouts, exhorted and encoura- hundred horse; others increasing them to ged him to haften on Scipio to the invasion five and thirty thousand, horse and foot.

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enterprise, rather than any hope of better little entreaty to withdraw himself home fuccels, caused him to stay there: Asdrubal into his Kingdom, and rest a Neuter. But it and Syphax gave him the honour of a fair is not unlikely, that such a friend as this pretence to leave the fiege. Afdrabal had King, had been highly entertained and homade a levy of thirty thousand foot, and noured in the City of Carthage, which was three thousand horse: yet adventured not near at hand, as often as during this Winter with this ill-trained Army to draw near un- it had pleased him, or as he had been invito the Romans, before the coming of syphax. ted, to make a step thither and repose him-Syphax brought with him unto Carthage fifty felt a while : his wife Queen Sophonisha lythousand foot, and ten thousand horse: ing also there at the same time, to cherish which joyning unto the forces of Afdrubal, him in his resolution. Howsoever it were. whey marched bravely toward Scipio; who Syphax did only make an overture of peace: thereby took occasion to dislodge. He propounding it as reasonable, That Hannichose for his Winter-Camp the banks of bal should be recalled out of Italy by the an In-let, that had good harbour for his Na- Carthaginians: and that the Romans in like vy. His foot-men he lodged on a Promonto- fort should quietly depart out of Africk. and ry, joyning to the Continent by an arm of so make an end of the war: wherewith now Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon both Africk and Europe were disquieted. lower ground, on the other shoar: in the Unto this would not Scipio at the first give bettom of the Creek he mored his ships; and ear: yet being pressed earnestly by many there he quartered the Mariners, with all messages from Syphax, and desiring to conthat belonged unto the Fleet. The whole tinue the intercourse of Embassadors; he camp he strongly fortified, and so attend- began to make shew, as if he would consider ed the season of the year, when it should of the motion. He was given to understand ferve him again to fight. Of cattel and by those whom he had sent unto the King. other booty Masanisa had brought in great, that the Enemies had their camps without ftore, by driving the Country, before any great defence of earth, full of wooden the coming of Aldrubai and syphax. Corn Cabins, and covered with boughs: and that was fent him from Scieil and Sardinia. Syphax, used coverings of Mats and Reeds; Likewise apparel for his Souldiers, was sent others that came later, had thatched their from home, or from Sardinia: though lodgings with dry boughs and leaves: under scarce enough to serve turn, for that it was which they lay carelesly without their a matter of more cost. The ships that Trenches. Upon this advertisement hebepaffed without action.

ety of his wife, who had caused him to enter ed as much as he desired : upon the

thame of taking the repulse in his first great | into this war : he might be moved with a also he had gotten some: and great store the Numidians, such of them as came first with brought these things, he fraighted home- thought himself, That it would not be hard wards with such part of his booty, as he for him to set their camps on fire, and therecould best spare: especially with captives by give them a notable overthrow. Withto be fold for flaves. Afdrubal and Syphax out help of some such stratagem, he foresaw encamped near unto Scipio: not so strongly that it would be a work of great difficulty fortifying themselves, as did the Romans, for him, to proceed in his wars when time either for that they wanted the severer insti- should ferve. It was a plain open Country tution, which the Romans used in the disci- wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great pline of war, or for that they prefumed up- advantage of him in number, especially in on their multitude, against which they horse; which upon such ground could not found in Scipio no disposition to issue forth be resisted by the Roman Legious. Thelonof his strength, and fight. So the Winter ger therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needful he found it for When Spring drew near, Scipio thought himself, to make some sudden attempt upit good to allay his old friend the Numidian on their Camp. To this end he fent many King, if perhaps he might be won by per- Embaffadours, under pretence of treating swalions to forsake the Carihaginians. It about the Peace; but indeed of purposeto was confidered, that those Barbarians were discover all that might concern the intended naturally unconstant ; and particularly, surprise. With these Embassadours he sent, as that Syphax had given proof before this of Attendants, many old Souldiers, difguifed his much levity. It might therefore be like flaves; that wandring (as it were) hoped, that having wearied himself by idle up and down the Camp, might observe lodging a whole Winter in the Camp: and the wayes and entrances, with whatfobeing peradventure no less weary with sati- ever else was needful. When he had learn-

findden he fent word to Syphax, that it was have taken by calualty upon the Numidians

vain to hold any longer treaty, forasmuch that lay farther off, whereas if it first apas he could not get the consent of his Coun- peared in the camp of Afdrubal, it would be cil of war; whithout whose approbation, suspected as the doing of enemies, and give all that himself could do, was no more, than Syphax warning to look to himself. To this the good will of one man. This he did, to end therefore Scipio marched fair and foftthe end that, without any breach of faith, ly; that Lalius and Masanisa, who had a lonhe might put his design in execution. The ger journey, and were to fetch a compass Truce being thus cut off, Asdrubal and sy- about for fear of being discovered, might phax were very pensive: as having lately have time to get before him, and do their perswaded themselves, that their trouble was seat. It was about two or three a clock in the almost at an end. But since it could be no morning, when the camp of syphan began to hetter, they began to devise, by what art blaze: which not only the Numidians, but they might draw Scipio out of his Camp, their King himfelf, imputed unto calualty; and provoke him to battel in those Plains. as thinking themselves safe enough from This if they could do, they hoped to make enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay inhis Council of war repent as greatly the re- resposed between them and the danger. fusal of peace, as did Marcus Atilius after Wherefore as if there were no more to do, the like presumption. But if he should re- some starting half asleep; and others that fule to come forth of his Trenches, what elfe had fitten up late at drinking, ran out of remained than to befiege him? Which they their Cabbins to quench the fire. But fo themselves were well able to do by land; great was the tumult, that they neither and the Carthaginian Fleet should do by Sea, could rightly understand in what case they that was making ready for the purpole. were, nor give any remedy to the mischance By such discourses these two comforted as it was supposed. Many were smothered themselves; recompencing (in conceipt) the and burnt in the flame, which grew grealoss of their hopes past, with that victory to ter and greater: many, leaping into the Trencome. But herein they were extreamly and ches for fear of the fudden mischies, were worthily disappointed: for that consulting trampled to death by the multitude that fol-about the future, they provided not against lowed them. They that estaped the fire fell present danger, but continued in the same upon the enemies sword, which was ready negligence, which was grown upon them to receive them. Especially Masanilla, that by the long discourse of peace. As for Scipio, best knew the Country, did great executihe was not idle; but made preparation on upon them: having laid all the wayes, by out of hand, as it were to do somewhat which he foresaw that they would seek to against Otica. Two thousand Souldiers he escape. The Carthaginians perceiving this had made ready, and appointed to take the fire, thought none other than that it was a fame piece of ground, whereon he lay pittiful mischance : so that some ran out to against Otica before. This he did partly to help the poor Numidians; carrying only keep secret that which he had in hand, lest what would serve to quench the fire. being suspected by his own Souldiers, the Others ran up to the Rampart: where fear-Enemy might happen to have notice of it; less of any danger toward themselves, they partly to hinder those of Utica from setting stood beholding the greatness of the flame, upon the few, that he purposed to leave be and lamenting the missortune. This fell hind him in his Camp. He caused his men out right as Scipio would have it. Hetherethat night to sup well, and betimes that they fore lost no time: but setting upon those might be ready for the journey. After sup- that were running towards the Numidians, per, he appointed such Companies as he he killed some, and pursued the rest back inthought fit, to the defence of his Camp; all to their camp, which in a little while he the rest of the Army he led forth, about nine made to burn as bright, as did that of \$50 of the clock at night. The Carthaginians phax. Asdrubal seeing this, and knowing that lay from him feven miles and an half: whom the Ramans were there, did not stand to he purposed to undertake himself with the make resistance, but shifted only for himself, one half of his Army; the other half he and escaped with a few of his horse about committed to Lalius and Masanisa, whom he him If Hannibal, or any of the Barchine factifent before him to fet upon the camp of sy on, had been taken in fuch a manner : it is phax, that was farther off. It was his mean, more than probable that old Hanno would ing, that the camp of Sypher should be have judged him worthy to be crucified. It on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the would then have been faid, that with less Carthaginians. For the fire might feem to than one half of 30000 men, he might at

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least have given some bad recompence, to loss. The two next Towns adjoyning would them that were taking pains in kindling needs be valiant, and make countenance of these fires, had he not been only careful war: but their strength not being answerahow to fave his own fearful head. Ne- ble, they were foon taken by Scipio, who exten e verthelels Polybius acknowledgeth, and it is abandoned them to the pleasure of his Soul-Tobs. 144 most likely to have been true, That if diers. This being done, he returned to the Aldrubal, or any of those about him, would siege of Utica. have firicken to fnew valour, when the Camp was once on fire: He should not they had good reason, when instead of eithereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearful thing it mentable overthrow. Necessity enforced was, to hear the cries of fo many thou- them to make halty provision for the fufands that perished by fire and sword, or ture: but how to doit, few of them saw to behold the cruel flame that confumed any means. Some gave advice to crave peace them ; which (as Polybine affirms ) none of scipio: others to fend for Hannibal out of that hath being is able to describe. It is Italy; but the most, and they which finally enough to fay, That of those many thou- prevailed, were of opinion, That notwithfands, very few did escape; which accompa- standing the loss of this Army, they might nied Afdrubal and Syphax in their feveral well defend themselves against the Romans. wayes of flight. Belides there also there by raising new forces: especially, if syphax were some scatterers, especially of the Numidians, that faved themselves in the dark : cluded, that they should bend all their care but they were not many, as after shall ap this way, levying in all haste another Army; pear. Surely it must needs have been very and sending Embassadours to deal with hard to tell, how many were bunrt or other- syphax, who lay then at a Town called Abba, in the dark of night. Wherefore Livie, who diately the same their unfortunate Commanin the rest of this relation, as often else- der, Afdrubal the fon of Gesco, was employ-

were in thesetwo Camps.

The Carthaginians were fore troubled, as ther Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard news of such a lawould not leave them. It was therefore conwise made away, and what numbers escaped not passing eight miles from Carthage. Immewhere, doth follow Polybins, may feem to ed to make new levies of men : and Queen have followed some less worthy Author, and Sophonisha went forth with Embassadours him no good Arithmetician, in casting up to her husbandssphax, who having gatherthe fumm. For he reckons only two thou- ed together as many as he could of his subfand foot, and five hundred horse, to have jects that had escaped from the late slaughescaped; forty thousand to have perished ter, was thinking to return into his own by fword or fire: and above fix thousand Kingdom. Sophonisha laboured so with her to have been taken prisoners: the whole husband, that at length she won him to number of all which together, is far short her own desire. And it fell out at the same of fourscore and thirteen thousand, which time, that four thousand Spaniards, waged by the Carthaginians, were brought over to Afdrubal, putting himself into the next serve in Africk. Of these were made such Town that was very strongly fortified, brave reports, as if their courage, and the thought there to find the Romans work, un- Arms which they used, were not to be retil the Carthaginians at good leifure might listed. Even the multitude within Carthage repair their Army. He had with him no believed these tales, and were more glad more than two thousand foot, and five hun- than they had cause to be; which is great dred horse: which he thought sufficient to wonder, since in one age, the whole coundefend the Town; if the Towns men would try of spain had been twice conquered; first, not be wanting to themselves. But he found by the Carthaginians themselves, and after the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in by the Romans. But with Syphax these tales contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yield. Unto this disputation, he well Embassadors helped with a lye, saying, That foresaw, that the arrival of scipio would soon there were come ten thousand of these tergive an end. Wherefore, left they should lay rible Spaniards. Upon this confidence, the hold upon him, and feek the Victors favour people of Carthage and their friends gatherby delivering him up: he shrunk away ed such spirit, that in thirty dayes they betimes and made all haste to Carthage. As made up an Army, confisting well-near of for the town which he left ; it opened the thirty thousand men, reckoning the Spaniards gates to Scipio, at his first coming: and there- and Syphax with his Numidians in the numby preserved it self from all manner of ber. So they incamped in a Region called, CHAP. III. The great Fields, about five dayes journey and Scipio stayed behind, carrying the war mediately followed him.

about him: and that Majaniffa, with his Numidians, and Lalius, with some of the Ro-Numidians; and what good might be done forthwith to embarque them elves for Italy. among them, by the reputation of a victory. In this their trepidation Scipio came to

from Vica. Scipio hearing of this, came from town to town. Many places vielded from Otica thither, to visit them : leaving be- for fear ; many were taken by force ; and hind him his impediments, with some part all the subjects of Carthage wavered in their of his Army, to make a shew of continuing sidelity, as if the time were now come, the fiege. Two or three dayes, after the meet- wherein they might take notice of those uning of both Armies, passed away in skirmish, reasonable burdens, which their proud Mawithout any great thing done. It had now sters had laid upon them, for maintenance heen time for Asdrubal to follow the exam- of the war in Spain and Italy. What to do in ple of the Roman Fabius, and feek to weary this case, the Carthaginians could hardly reout the Enemy by delayes. But either folve. Fortune was their enemy; they had (which is likely) he was a far worse Com- lost their Armies and many of their Towns: mander, or elseit was not in his power, to neither durst they make bold to trouble give such directions as best pleased himself. their own subjects with any violent exacti-The fourth day the Armies met in battel : on of men or money ; who nevertheless of wherein the Romans were marshalled by Sci-their own free will were likely to give little pio after their wonted manner, having their help. Very much it grieved them to fend for Halian horse in the right wing; and Masa- Hannibal out of Italy: yet since there was no nilla with his Numidians in the left. On other hope remaining, than in him and his the contrary side, Aldrubal and his Carthagi- good Army; it was decreed, That Embassanians had the right wing; Syphax the left; dors should be forthwith sent to call him and the Spaniards, the battel. The victory home. Some there were that gave advice, to was gotten without many blows: for the fet out a fleet against that of Scipio, and untrained followers of Syphax and Astrubal, rode before Otica, weakly manned, that could not sustain the first charge of the Ita- easie to be taken, whilest Scipio himself was lians, or of Masanisa. Only the spaniards busied in the Island Countrys. Some were of fought along time, even untill they were all opinion, that it should be their principal in a manner flain: rather as men desperate, care, to fortifie by all means the City of and not hoping for mercy, fince they were | Carthage: upon the fafety whereof they faid thus come over to fight against scipio, who all depended: adding, that whilest they had otherwise deserved of them, than upon were true, and at unity among themselves, any likelihood or conceit of victory. This they might well enough subsist, and expect their obstinacy was beneficial to those that those opportunities, with which Fortune fled; for that it hindred the Romans from (doubtles) would prefent them. These counmaking any great pursuit, Hereby Asdrubal, fels were not rejected; but order was forthand Syphax escaped: Asdrubal, to Carthage; with taken, both for all things concerning and sphax home to his own Kingdom: whi- the defence of the City, and for the attempt ther his wife was either gone before, or im- upon the Roman fleet at Utica. Nevertheless, it was confidered, that thereby they should Scipio, having thus gotten the mastery of only protract the war; without any advanthe field, took counsel about the prosecuti- cing their own affairs towards likelihood on of the war. It was resolved upon as the of victory, no, though it should fall out, best course, That he himself, with part of that all the ships at Otics might be taken, or the Army, should attempt the Cities round destroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning Hannibal, that he should immediately come over into Africk, as the man Legions, should follow after syphax ; last refuge of Carthage. The Council was no not permitting him to take rest within his sooner broken up, than all the Senators beown Kingdom, where easily else he might took themselves to the execution of that repair his forces, and put them to new trou- which was decreed: some, to the fortificable. This advice, it feems that Mafaniffe tion of the Town: fome, to make ready the gave: who knew best the quality of the Fleet; and some, appointed thereunto,

The least that could be expected, was his Tunes, a City in those dayes very strong, and restitution into his own Kingdom, usurped standing in prospect almost of every part by sphax: which to accomplish, it no less of Carthage. This place, or rather some deconcerned the Romans at the present, than it fensible piece adjoyning, he easily took; did himself. According to this order con- the garrisons for saking it, and running away, cluded, Lelius was sent away with Masanissa: as soon as he drew near. But whilest he

was about there to incamp, and fortifiehim- one occasion of that small loss that followfelf against the City, he might perceive the ed. They that stood upon the Bridge were Carthaginian Fleet fetting forth, and making neither able to relieve them, nor yet could towards Vtica: What this meant, he readily freely bestow their weapons among the Carconceived; and stood in great fear, lest his thaginians, as before; for fear of hurting own thips that were very ill prepared for these their friends, that were intangled and Sea-fight (as being heavily loaden with on- mixed among the enemies. The Carthaeim. gines of battery, and wholly disposed in such ans had brought with them grappling hooks order, as was most convenient for assaulting hanging at Iron chains. These they threw upthe town ) should make bad resistance, on the masts & yards, which served as arches against a fleet appointed for that special fer- to joyn the bridge together : then rowing vice. Wherefore he halted away towards backwards, they tore all afunder; in fuch Utica, to affist with his presence in this need- fort, that one ship followed another, and all ful case. It fell out well, that he had sent his the first rank was broken, or defaced. The carriages, and all the great booty which he Defendants had no other way, than to fave drew along with him, thither before, at his themselves as hastily as they could, by shiftgoing to Tunes. For had not he now made ing into the next rank of ships, that lay begreat expedition, he should have come too hind them untouched. Neither did the Carlate. Neither could he indeed have been thaginians trouble themselves thy further there in due time, if the Carthaginians had in this laborious work : but having haled used such diligence as was convenient. But away six ships of burden, and towed them they rested one night in harbour by the out of the Haven, returned home to Carthage. way; and at their coming to Utica, they tar- Their welcome was greater than their viryed a while to make a bravado; presenting ctory; because among so many grievous themselves in order of battel, as if the Ro- losses, only this exploit had succeeded well, mans would have put forth to Sea against though it were of small importance. them. But scipio had no fuch intent: he Whilest things thus passed about Carthought it would be sufficient, if he could thage, Lalius and Masanisa, in their journey preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of against syphax, found as good success as could their bravery at Sea; it should little avail be defired. The fame of the victories althe Carthaginians, if they got nothing by it, ready gotten restored Masanissa to his Kingand loft their whole estate by Land. Where- dom, without farther contention: the Mafore he took his ships of burden, and fastning fastlining fastlining subjects, joy fully receiving him, and them together with cables, in four ranks, one forfaking the usurpers. But here they stayed behind another, made a four-fold bridge not : neither indeed would syphax permit over the channel of the Haven; whereon them to be quiet. He had fuch abundance he placed a thousand of his choise men, with of men and horses, that he felt not greatly store of Darts, and other casting weapons, the losses past: and therefore being solicited to make defence. Some other spaces heleft, by Asdrubal and sophonisba, he prepared whereat his Frigots, and other small Vestels, again for war. But beside the instigation might run out and back again upon any ad- of his beloved wife the loss of the Mafeffli vantage or need : but these he covered with | would let him take no rest: neither was it planks, using the masts and yards of his the purpose of Lalim and Masanisa, togiveships instead of rafters, to joyn all together, him any breathing time. It is common in that his men might help one another, and men, to depart no less unwillingly from that the bridge it self not be torn afunder Scarce which they have gotten by extortion, than was this work finished, when the Carthagini- from their proper inheritance; but to think ans, seeing none issue forth against them, came all alike their own, whereof they are in into the Haven. The fight between them poffession, be the title unto some part never and the Romans that were in the Hulks was fo unjust. Hereunto alludes the fable of rather like to the affaulting of a wall, than the young Kite; which thought that the to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon had vomitted up her own guts, when it was the bridge, had fure footing, and threw their only the garbage of some other fowl, that strength and violence; which the Carthagi- to digest. But whether or no, syphax, like

weapons downwards, with their whole the had hastily swallowed, and was not able nians out of their Gallies, that were lower the young Kite, believed the Kingdom of and uniteady, could not do, but the Koman the Masaffli to be part of his entrails : Leli-Frigots and long boats, adventuring forth w and Masanisa will shortly give him some from behind the bridge, were greatly over- what that shall make him cast his gorge. born by the force of the Gallies; and were For to this purpole chiefly are they come profecuting his hope of victory: fome Ro- in the Kingdom. it sufficed, that they forsook the place, as she had done of syphax. It was not long,

for far. It concerned the Romans to dispos- | and fled, and that their King, upon whom all less (if it might be) the King, whose false depended, was in the Romans hand. Masunifand hollow friendship towards them, had fa told Latins, that this victory should make and none converted into strong enmity; as al- | an end of the Numidian war, if presently foto fet in his place another, who might do they hasted away to Cirta the chief City of shem fuch good offices, as syphax had lately the Kingdom; whither he himself defired done unto the Carthaginians. How eafily this to be fent before with the Horse, carrying might be effected, Masanissa knew bost, as Syphax along with him. Hereunto Latine being well acquainted with the nature of agreed. Mafanissa coming to Cirta, before those Countries; wherein, even to this day any news of the Kings milchance was there though there be many strong Towns, yet the arrived, called out the chief of the City to fortune of a battle is enough, to translate parlee: wherein by many fair promises and the Kingdom from one Competitor to ano- threats, but especially by shewing unto them ther. So they met with spphax, who came spphax bound, he prevailed so far, that the against them with no less an Army, than his gates were forthwith opened unto him; and former, and marthalled in the Roman order, according to the skill, which he had learn like to be their King hereafter. Among the ed of the Roman Centurion, long ago fent rest, Queen Sophonisha yielded her felf inunto him out of spain from Cn. scipio. But to his hands, and vehemently befought him, though he could teach his men how to that she might not be delivered up unto the march in orders yet could be not teach them Romans. Her youth, and excellent beauty, fo to fight couragiously. They were a rabble commended her fuit, that M. Janissa forthof all forts, gathered up in hafte : and few of with granted it; and to make good his prothem had feen war before. Encamping neer mile, marryed her himself that very day; unto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, thereby to prevent Lelius and Scipio from that some small troops of horse on both determining otherwise ofher, since she was fides, encountered one another in the mid- his wife. But Lelius, when he came thither. way: and they that had the worlt, were fe- took the matter hainoully, fo that at first he conded by other of their fellows. By conti- would have haled her away, together with nuance of the skirmish, more and more were syphax and other prisoners, and have sent drawn out from either Camp: fo that at her unto scipio. But being over intreated length Sphax, unwilling to dif-hearten his by Mafaniffa, he fuffered the matter to rest men by taking any foil at their first meet- a while as he found it, and referred all to ing with the Enemy, came up with all his scipio's discretion; to whom he sent away horse, which were the best part of his forces, syphax and other captives immediately; and therewith over-charged Masarisa, whose following shortly after himself with Masanumbers were far less. But whilest he was nissa, when they had done what was needful

man foundrons of Foot came against him At the coming of Syphax, there was through their own troops of horse; which great joy in the Roman Camp: the mighty fell to the fides, and made a lane for them. Armies which he had lately brought into So their battel standing now more firm, than the field; and his entertainment of Scipio a little before; Spphax was unable, though and Asdrubal, both at one time, when Rome he laboured much in vain, to make them and Carthage together fought his friendship; give ground. Masanissa likewise, and his with such other commemoration of his past troops grew confident upon this affiltance: and present fortune, ministring to every and charging afresh the Enemy, that could one a large argument of discourse. Scipio not make way forward, caused him to give demanded of him, what had moved him, not back Herewithal the Legions came in fight : only to for fake the Roman friendship, but to which terrified so the Numidian horse, that make war upon them, unprovoked. He they began presently to dis-band. Fain briefly answered, That his wife had moved would Syphax have stayed them from him so to do; calling her a Fury, and a peflight: and to that end made head in per- stilent creature: and saying, that Masaniffa on against the Romans; with hope, that was no wifer than himself, since he had his men would be ashamed to leave him. now taken the same woman to his wife, But it fell out unhappily, that he was cast who would shortly draw him to the same from his horse, which received a wound, courses. Hereat Scipio was greatly troubled: and so taken prisoner. Of others that were and stood in great doubt, lest this perilous flain or taken: the multitude was not great. woman should deprive him of Masanisa,

ere Mafaniffa and Lalius came unto him: | and challenged her, as a part of the booty both of whom together he lovingly welcom- belonging to the Romans, Masanista faid, the ed; and highly commended in publick, for was his own wife, and unto him betrothed their notable fervice in this Expedition. many years before. But Scipio would not hear Then taking Majaniffa apart, he brake with of this: or if it were true, yet he faid it was him, as touching Sophonisba: letting him no reason, that Masanisia should keep her in understand that the Komans had title to her possession, as long as it was disputable, unan head, and that the was a mischievous enemy whom the might appertain. Whereforehe of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to willed him first of all to produce her, and moderate his affections: and not to deface then afterwards to make his claim unto her. the memory of his great fervices already wherein he should have no wrong. Heredone ( for which he should be highly re- | withall he sent to fetch her away : and Mawarded to his own contentment ) by com- fanisa accompanied the messengers, as it mitting a great offence upon little reason. were to deliver her: but making her ac-Masanija blusht, and wept: and finally pro- quainted with the necessity, gave unto hera miled to be governed by scipio, whom he cup of poilon, wherewith the ended her life, nevertheless intreated, to think upon his before they came that should have apprefaith given to Sophonisba, that the should hended her. So he shewed unto the Romans not be delivered into the Romans power. So her dead body, which he royally interred. he departed to his own Tent, where, after The sudden violence of Masaniffa his love, fome time front in agony, he called unto him and the ready confent of Sophonisha to mara fervant of his that had the custody of his ry with him, add not so much credit unto poyfon (which Princes used then to have in this relation of Appian, as doth the want of a readiness, against all mischances that might all other evident cause (which Livie notes) in the make them unwilling to live: ) and temper- of the sudden falling out between him and ing a potion for Sophonisha, fent it unto her the Carthaginians, under whom he had been with this message; that gladly he would trained up, and done them great service. have had her to live with him as his wife : Howfoever it were; scipio, hearing of this but fince they who had power to hinder him tragical accident, fent for Masanifia, and comof his defire, would not yield thereto, he fent | forted him as well as he could, left his meher a cup, that should preserve her from fall- lancholy should lead him to some inconveing alive into the hands of the Romans; wil- nience. Having therefore gently rebuked him ling her to remember her birth and estate, for his rashness, he brought him forth in preand accordingly to take order for her felf.

At the receit of this Message and Present, the only faid; That if her husband had ferved of the City of Rome, he proclaimed no better token to fend unto his new wife, him King, and gave unto him a Crown of she must accept of this; adding, that she gold, with other Royal ornaments. This might have dyed more honourably, if she was indeed the ready way to divert his had not wedded so lately before her funeral. thoughts from the sad remembrance of that And herewithall she boldly drank off the which was past, unto the more chearful poison. Thus Livie reporteth. But Appian contemplation of good fortune, that began varies from this; and fets it down agreeably to smile upon him. to that which hath been spoken before, concerning the præcontract between Masa. took upon them to create or proclaim a nissa, and Sophonisba. He saith, that after King. Which honour though Masanissa well the taking of Syphax, Embassadours from deserved: yet would not the Title havere-Cirta met with Lalius and Masanisa upon dounded unto his great benefit : neither their way thither, yielding up their City, should he have been much beholding to and the Kings Palace: and that sophonisba, them for it, if he had not by their means for her own private, sent messengers to ex- recovered possession of his Country, togecuse her marriage with Syphax, as made ther with the greatest part of Syphax his against her will, by compultion of those in Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that whose power she was. Majanisa readily ad- had he remained a Nester in these wars, and mitted this excuse; and accepted her to sustained himself with his troop of horse, wife. But when Scipio had received informa- in such fort as he did before the coming of tion from Syphan, how cunning in perswasion the Romans; he might nevertheless have sophonisha was: and that all her thoughts recovered his proper inheritance, by the laboured for the good of Carthage; he fell love of his own subjects without other

sence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had de-

This was the first time that the Romans out about her with Masanissa at his return, help, when syphax had once or twice been . vanquished.

felves 5 neither could they have wished a and of those that sat in Councel with him. Extrapte fitter opportunity, than of fuch a man upon istign bravely, That it was not their custome to jectunto their power, for they would not State; and in process of time grew so proud advantage. of this their imaginary prerogative, that It was not unknown to Scipio, or to his they imputed as a singular benefit unto Kings assistants, in what poor case the City of Rome that no way depended upon them, the falu- then was; and how unable to defray the tation by\*that name, though it were not ac- charges of continuing the War. Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the thence redounding.

ø. XIX.

calamity, that was befallen their good friend while held out against Scipio, and could not sphaz, and understood that Masanissa yet be forced by him and his Army, though their mortal enemy, had got possession of so often victorious in the field. Scipio therehis Kingdome. To increase their fear, fore accepted their submission, and told Scipio returned again to Tunes in view of them, That though he came into Africk, to their City: where he made an end of that make a conquest, and not peace: yet having Fortification, which he had begun at his the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would last being there. The Carthaginians had not deny to grant them the Peace which neither forces, nor courage, to withstand they defired; for thereby should all Natihim : but their hearts to failed them , ons understand, that the people of Rome did that they fent forth unto them thirty Em- follow the rule of Justice, both in making baffadours, Princes of the City, which were war, and in concluding it. The Conditions

vanquished. As for the inlargement of his their Privy Councel, to make suit for peace. Kingdome, it was not more than he deserv- These being admitted into the presence of ed: neither were the Romans then in case, Scipio, did not only prostrate themselves to make a conquest of Numidia for them on the ground; but kissed the \* feet of him \* External

Answerable to this base adoration was Liv. 1, 30 whom to bestow it, that was their affured their speech that followed. They confessed friend & pallable withall among the Numidi- themselves to have unjustly broken the ans as being (for the Masassia were a Numidi- Peace between them and Rome; and to have an Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. deserved what soever punishment it should Yet this liberality of the Romans, was noised please the Romans to inflict upon them. Yet abroad as very glorious : and the Romans they humbly befought Scipio and the reft. themselves, in a politick fort of gravity, took that in common regard of those missortunes highly upon them; as if even their faluting whereto all men are subject, they would him by the name of King, had been a matter thew mercy unto the City of Carthage, and of great consequence. He thrived indeed let it remain, as a monument of their clewell after it: & by their maintenance waxed mency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, mighty in times following, incroaching upon had now twice deserved to be overthrown. his neighbours on all fides; but most of all Herewithail they did not forget, to lay the upon the State of Carthage, whereat they were blame upon Hannibal: who without their little displeased. Hence it grew that Vermina appointment had begun the War ; and was the fon of Syphax (of whom we shall shortly maintained in his doings by a Faction, with-(neak more ) which held some pieces of his out the good liking of the whole City. By fathers Kingdome, desiring friendship of the this it appears, that these Embassadours were Romans, and promifing by all means to de- no Barchines: but rather, that they were Hanferve their love, requested therewithall, that no, and the choice of his company; who had they would call him King. But though it now their long defired work in hand, of fuwere for that never any before him had made ling unto the Romans for peace. What soever this a matter of fuit: yet the Roman Senate they were, it must needs be that they were was Puntilious herein, and answered very most insolent men over those that were subgive the honour of that appellation, fave on- have made fuch adoration to the Romans in y unto fuch Kings, as had greatly deserved of their own necessity, unless they themselves their City. Thus they made it a matter of had expected the like, wherein they had the

loss of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately been. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a City far stron-The Carthaginians desired Truce, and break it. | ger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution: and "He Carthaginians were extreamly dif- therefore distrusted the walls of Carthage ; mayed, when they heard of the great though Vica, a weaker City, had all this which

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which he imposed upon them, were these ; of Italy, either to chase the Romans out That they thould render up unto him all the of Africk, or to obtain peace for Carprisoners that they had taken, together with thage, by terror of their great Names and all Renegadoes and fugitive flaves: That they Armies, upon more easie conditions should withdraw their Armies out of Italy Wherefore they made an idle discourse of and Gaule: That they should not meddle in the League, that was concluded between spain, nor yet in any Island between Italy them and Luctatius Catulus, at the end and Africk: That they should deliver up all of the former war. This League they said their thips of war, fave twenty; and that all things well confidered, did still remain they should pay a great summ of mony, with in force : neither had there since been any certain hundred thousand bushels of wheat war at all, between the people of Rome and barley. To consider of these Articles, and the Carthaginians. For it was only Hanhe gave them three daies: and when they | nibal, that without any leave from Carhad approved them, he granted a Truce; thage, had of his own head believed and that they might fend Embailadors unto the razed the Town of Saguntum: and after Roman Senate.

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went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had done (the quiet of Italy. This being fo. had been already at an end. Syphax was a their Message was none other than to delittle before feut with Lalins unto Rome : fire, that the League before spoken of made where the fame of these victories filled men in the time of Catulus, might hereafter stand with joy, and gave hope, that the long en- in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and dured miseries would be shortly at an end. ought to do. The Senators had cause to Wherefore all the Temples were fet open, wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassaand an holy day appointed for thank (giving dors make (asit were) a jest of war, that and supplication to their Gods. Lelius was had been so terrible. Wherefore they asked accompanied with Embaffadors from King them a great many questions, concerning Majanisja: who gratulating the happy fuc- that peace made by Luctatius, and other cels of the Romans in their African war, and passages following between the two Cities. giving thanks unto the Senate for the be- But they excused themselves, by their age: nefits done by scipio unto their Master, made ( for they were all young men) and said, request for the Numidians, such as were | That those things were beyond their knownow his Subjects and prisoners in Rome, that | ledge and remembrance. Forthwith it apthey might be beltowed upon him, who by peared, That all was but collusion, and that rendring them to liberty, should do an act they sought no other than to gain time, very plaufible, that would make him graci- untill they might repair the war. Wherefore ous among his people in the beginning of they were fent home, in company of Lalins, his reign. The Roman Senate were not be- without any conclusion at all of peace, and hind with Masanissa in complement : but in effect, without answer. This notwithstandthewing themselves to be highly pleased with ling, we find in Polybius, That the Senate reall that Scipio had done, and should do for ceived dvertisement from scipio, of that him, they called him King again; released his which had passed between him and the Numidians that were captives; and fent him | Carthaginians in this Treaty of peace: aptwo purple Caslocks, that had each of them proved the Conditions by him propounded, one gold button, with fuch other prefents, as and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed in time of their poverty might ferve to testi- unto Conclusion. This may with good reafie their good will. Scarcely were these and Lalius gone from Rome, when the news came, that Embaffadors from Carthage were hopes must rest upon the most uncertain arrived to defire peace. These Embassadors listue of one battel between Hannibal and were not admitted into the City, but were Scipio: wherein if fortune should be averse lodged without : untill Lalius being fent to them, their forces in Africk were no betfor came back from Ofia, to be present when ter than quite loft. their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of Bello- the Carthaginian, Embaffadours came back na; that stood in the Suburbs, Theerrand from Rome, a Fleet out of sicil, wherein were of these Embassadors, was peace, but the two hundredships of burden, and thirty meaning of them and of their City was on- Gallies, being bound for Africk, to victual ly to win time, and get respite for war ; the Roman Camp ; was jower-taken by

that adventured in like fort, without Com-This done, Masanissa was dismissed, and mission, to pass the Alpes, and trouble (as he on be believed, fince it was not unknown that if the war continued, all these goodly

Matters thus hanging in suspence, before until Hannibal and Mago should come out foul weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wrak, was dispersed, and driven aground | tians ; where he is in a manner believed, and Pett up in a corner of Italy, among the Bru- took this in ill part; not as fearing any dan-

in divers parts of the Bay of Carthage, even unable to fir : so that ye are like to find his in view, and under command of the City. help wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be There was at that time, as we find in Appian, Supposed that he were now in Africk, and ready and may gather out of Folybins, a great to give us battel : yet should it well agree with dearth of victuals in Carthage, which caused your wisdome to doubt what might befal, rethe people to cry out upon their Magi- membring that he is aman, and not invincifirates, that they should not let such a boo ble. Now if it should happen that be were ty escape them, saying, that the danger offa- overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your mine was greater and worse, than of break- selves against hereaster ? What gods will ye ing Truce. Whether it were fo, that hunger either swear by, to be believed, or call upon in urged them, or that they yielded to their your mifery? What words, and lamentable unger than, or that the multitude in Car- gesture will ye beneeforth use, to move compag-thage understood (as it seems) that all this som? Surely ye have already wasted all your discourse of Peace in hand, was no better force of persuation, and shall not again deceive than meer mockery, and therefore cared us, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this prenot for observation of particular points, fent ye are capable. It is no marvel though when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the Garthaginians were angry, when they the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alex- heard themselves upbraided with the base andria, for all the rafcality, together with demeanour of their Embassadours. For it was women and boys, to be medling in uproars : not the general opinion of the City, that the the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults | Truce was broken by themselves: though it, no less violent than of the men. Wherefore had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his fait is no marvel, if little regard were had of ation, to gratifie the Romans with all manner reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. of submission; and to renounce not only A Fleet was fent out under Afdrubal, to ga- their hope of the future, but all justification ther up the dispersed Roman ships of burden of matters past. And indeed it seems, that the (for the Gallies, by force of Oars, recovered Roman Embassadors were very much delighthe station whereto their camp adjoyned) ted, in the rehearfal of that point which and bring them into Carthage; which was was yielded unto them, as knowing that done, Scipio was hereat much offended: not thereon depended the justice of the quaronly for the loss; and for that the Town rel. But the Carthaginians took this in foill was thereby relieved: but for that by this part, that hardly they could refrain from breach of Truce, he forefaw the intention of doing violence unto the men, who had used the Carthaginians to renew the war, and put unto them such insolent speeches. Yet the him to more trouble. Wherefore he fent Em- fury of the multitude was in some fort apbaffadors unto them, both to require fatis | pealed; either by Hanno, whom Appian, faction for the injurie done; and to deterr (I know not why) calls Hanno the Great: or them from entertaining any other hope, by the very reverence, due unto the place of thanin the peace which they had so much those that had uttered such liberal words. defired Thefe gave the Carthaginians to un- So they were dismiffed in friendly fort, alderstand that Letters were come from Rome though it were without answer to their unto Scipio, with allowance to conclude Proposition. There were also two gallies apthe Peace; upon those conditions which he pointed for their fafe convoy home; though had propounded. But (fay they) we hold it with little intent of good unto their persons. france That ye, who o letely have caff your selves Adrubal was then in the mid way, as men to be ground before us, and kiffed our feet failed from Carthage towards Utica. He, effect on nousellal manner of bumilies, confest whether only definous to please the multi-log sone, solves to beaue periodossity broken, the tude, of whose disposition he was informa-league that mee between me, and thereby to ed, or whether directed by publick order have deserved such punishment as is due unto to cut off these Embassadours in their way Rebeli ; Should so soon forget what ye then ut- homeward, lay waiting for them behind a fered, and run beadlong again into the same Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of crimes for which se acknowledged your selves the River Bagradas. Their Convoy having morely to be delroyed, having only recourse brought them on the way, as far as to the line of the delroyed, having only recourse brought them on the way, as far as to the line of the delroyed, having only recourse the mouth of Bagradas, withed them a good voy-like confidence which is report in Hannibal, age; and so took leave of them, as if they had been then in lafety, fince the Roman that he should be so that he was even in fight. The Embaladors are from the confidence who long be hath been

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much neglected, forafmuch as their atten- mins, were earnestly bent to have done fomedants did fo abruptly leave them. But no foo- what: but their diligence was in a manner ner had they doubled the Cape, than Afdru- fruitless. In some skirmishes with Hannihal hal fell upon them, in fuch manner, as they they had the better; in some the worse: might well discern his purpose: which was and a few poor Towns they got from him to have stemmed them. They rowed hard as it were by stealth; his care being more therefore: and being in a Quinquireme, to preserve his Army, than to keep those that had more banks of Oars, than had any places that were weak. Galive of Aldrubal, they flirt away, and made him over-shoot himself. Yet he gave great pieces of work in hand, that their chief them chase, and had well-near surprised enemy was become not the chief part of them. But they discovered some Roman Com- their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent panies on the shoar over against them, and upon Africk, wherein they were at no small therefore adventured to run their Vessel charges to maintain the Army, which as was aground: whereby they faved their own hoped ) should bring the War to a short and lives, though a great part of their company happy conclusion. They stood neverthelesin were flain, or hurt. This practice of the Car- much fear of Mage, the brother of Hannibal theginians was inexcufable; and for the fame | who took exceeding pains among the Lieucause perhaps were the Citizens heartned rians and Gauls to raise an Army, wherein fuch a dishonourable attempt, by those with to kindle anew the War in Haly, that that were defirous to continue the war; that | began to wax cold. Mago folicited also the thereby they might be driven to frudy no- Hetrarians, and found them fo ready to fire thing elfe, than how to get the victory, as in his behalf, that if he could have entred having none other hope remaining. Yet their Country strong, it might have proved likely it is, that the same fear, which had caused them to make such earnest suit for of Africk, than shortly it was for Hannibal peace, would also have caused them to be to make speed unto the defence of Carthage. better advised, than thus to abandon all hope These dangers caused the Romans to imploy of Treaty; had they not been given to un- one of their Confuls or Pro-confuls with an confidence, but verily perswaded themselves, Ligurians : forasmuch as it was uncertain, that he would change their fortune, and upon which fide Mago would break on: were those that Scipio, in the pride of his any great power. fortune, had of late propounded.

# 6. XX.

parture.

Ver fince the loss of that battel at his iffue. Wherefore Quintilius the Prattor tak-taurus, Hannibal remaining in the Counting unto him all the Roman Horfe, thought try of the Brutians, waiting for another to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Supply from Carthage. The Roman Con- Legions at the same time gave a loud hout: fuls that succeded unto Claudius and Livi- and Strained themselves hard, as if at that w, by whom Afdrubal was overcome and brunt the victory should have been carried

ger toward, but thinking themselves too | Cn. Servilius Capio, who followed Sembra-

The Romans had at this time fo many derstand, that Hannibel was already landed Army, among the Hetrurians; another in Africk, in whom they reposed no small among the Gauls; and a third among the teach the Romans to hold themselves con-Being thus busied, it is no wonder though tented with more easie conditions, than they forbore to overcharge Hannibal with

As for Mago, when things were in lome readiness for his setting forwards, he met in the Country of the Infubrians, which is about Milan, with M. Cornelius the Roman Procon-In what fort Hannibal frent the time after ful, and P. Quintilius Varrus one of the Pra-the Estile of Metaurus: The doing of tors. With these he fought a battel, where-Mago in Italy. Hannibal and Mago in though his vertue shewed it felf worthy called out of Italy. How the Romans of his Father and Brethren: yet his fortune were diversly affelled by Hannibal's de- was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubtful; in such fort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the flain, were contented to be quiet all their before them. But Mac opposed his keyear. Neither did Licinius the Colleague phants to the Horse, the service of store of scipio, ought worthy of remembrance beatts being fiver for field use, then against Hannibal, being hindred by the Petal the I quadrons of Fool. The figure sent and fillence that was in his Army. Semprontus braying of these Elephans, did for atright the Consul, who followed Licinius; and the Horse, that they started and, and were feattered over the field; their Riders be- ment, and imbarqued thorrly his Army; ing unable to manage them. Hereby the but dyed of his wound about Sardinia in the

manner of fight was more available against About the same time Hannibal received those that were loose, than against the the like command from Carthage, to return groops that were close and thick. Then fell into Africk. He heard it with great imparithe Elephants upon the Legions: which en- ence; gnathing his teeth, and groaning, and retrained them after the accustomed man- hardly keeping in the tears; that were ready ner, with a shour of darts, and killed four to burst out, whilest the Embassadours were of them; caufing all the rest to give back. delivering their errand. When their message This not with standing the same Legions were was done: He told them, that this was yet fo vehemently prefled by the Enemy; that plain dealing. For, faid He, They that now dimore for shame of running away, than by really bid me come home, have long ago done any great force to make reliftance, they their best to hale me out of Italy; though mora held their ground. The Proconful there- closely and crookedly they went to work, by fore brought up those forces, which he had stopping the supply that should have enabled me kept unto the last, to succour where need to manage the War here. Scipio therefore imployed some of his Gault, whom he had bome by the heels: it is Hanno that hath in readiness for the like occasion. But the wronght this noble feat; and overwhelmed the Gauls discharged their parts very ill. They bonse of the Barchines, for lack of other means were son beaten off, and recoiled so hastile do it, with the raine of Carthage. He had
ly, that they brought fear upon all the rest. before prepared a Fleet in readiness, doubt-When Mago faw that his men began to ing that which after came to pass: wherein thrink, he put himself in the head of his he imbarqued, belides his own men, as ma-Army; and held them fo well to it, that ny of the Italians as were content to be parkeeping their order, they made a fair Re-takers of his fortune. Many there were that trait, with their faces toward the Enemy. (firtuak back from him, and refused to do But at length he received a grievous wound fervice in this expedition: of whom, such as. in his thigh; whereof shortly after he he could take, he slew; not sparing those that dyed. He was taken up, and carried out fled into the Temple of Jano Lacinia, which of danger by some of his own men: the had been held an inviolable Sactuary unto rest of them, after little further resistance, that day. He was indeed then wholly transprovided every one for himfelf: So the Ro- ported with rage ; and departed out of Italy mans obtained victory, not without great no less passionate, than menare wont to be, coft: as purchasing the death of about five when they leave their own Countreys to go thousand enemies, with the loss of two thou- into exile. He looked back unto the shoar fand and three hundred of the Prætors Ar- accusing both gods and men; and cursing his my, besides those that dyed of the Procon- own dulness, in that he had not led his Arfuls Legions; also besides divers Colonels, thy from Canne, hot and bloodyed as it was, Captains, and Centlemen of mark that fell directly unto the walls of Rome. With fuch in this hot piece of service. Neither were vexation of spirit He quitted the possession thereany prisoners taken; whereby it may of Italy; wherein he had lived almost half

might affure them from pursuit. However Romans; in the first beginning of this War, were, this victory would have much imwith what exceeding joy in times following ported for the affurance of Haly; if the they should entertain the news of Hannibal has of Carthage could longer have permit the defervaliant sons of Amilear to abide think) less earnestly have preside the Carthage. threin. But Mago with-drawing himself thaginum to send him over thither. When byease journeys, because of his wound fure advertisement was brought unto the into Liguria, found there Embassadonre from City, that Hannibal was gone with all his Arsubject strength of the subject of t not flaying any longer to think upon the was of opinion, That the danger did ftill reconquest of Maly, Winder Carthage it felf was main the same, though the place were changready to be loft. He obeyed this Command- ed : for that Hannibal at his coming into

Numidians got advantage upon them; whose way homewards. feem that the Enemies did not fall to rout, his time; before they had recovered some ground that If it could have been foretold unto the

Africk, would find P. Scipio other manner | in Roman blood, and wearing the spoils, not of work, than he had been troubled with at only of good Souldiers, but of brave Capany time before; and would do greater mat- tains, by them flain. Such talk used the peoters in his own Country, than ever he was ple of Rome, faying, That Scipio was like to able to perform abroad in a land of strang- meet in battel with many that had flain Roers. The remove of the War from their own man Prætors, yea, and Consuls with their doors, and the conceit of that victory for own hands: with many that had been first which they hoped; was enough to make in getting over the Trenches of feveral Rothem presume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the at the fiege of towns; briefly, that he should Sacuntine Embassadors brought unto them a now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever great mass of Gold and Silver, together with had served in war, and following the dreadfome Agents of the Carthaginians taken by ful name of Hannibal. them in Spain : only the Carthaginian prifoners were excepted, the treasure was rendred back unto the Saguntines that had furprised it. Upon like considence of the future, Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scia little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monys that had been borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of means, or of good will, had refused to give aid to the Romans. They were Leptis, almost an hundred miles from commanded, and inforced to give double Carthage, Eastward from the Headland of the number of Foot to that which they had Mercury, and somewhat more than one debeen wont to set out for the Wars, with a gree to the South. He was ill provided of proportion of Horseanswerable to the very Horse; which it was not easie for him to most of their ability. So consident were the transport out of Italy. Therefore it behoved Romans grown (though their wealth were him to land, as he did, somewhat far from not as yet suitable to the greatness of their the enemy; that he might furnish himself of spirit)upon the good success of the battel at these and the like needful helps against the Mejaurus, and the hopes which they reposed day of battel. From Leptis he passed on to in Scipio. All this notwithstanding, when Adrumetum, and so along through the Inthey considered more nearly of that which land Country gathering friends unto him by might happen: and were informed that the the way. Tychem a Numidian Prince, and terrible Army, whereof Haly had been few familiar friend of Syphax, was faid to have dayes fince discharged, was landed safe in in those dayes the best Horses of service, Africk: they began to revolve a thousand that were to be found in Africk. Himtherefearful matters in their heads, and to stand in fore did Hannibal allure unto his party: doubt, lest 2 Fabius ( who died about the making him understand, that if the Romani same time) would be found a true Prophet. got the victory, it should be easie for Maja-For, bethinking themselves of that which missa, by their countenance and help to opmight comfort them in their hopes : they press both him, and as many other of the found in the victories against Syphax and Af- neighbour Princes, as hindred his prospect. drubal no specialty of so great worth, as This argument, and the same of him that might promife the like success against ano used it, prevailed with Tychem; who shortly ther manner of General, followed by other after brought unto the Carthaginian two manner of men, than were either of those thousand Horse. Appian further adds, That two. The Numidian King had been wone to Mezetullus, (the fame who had made him bring into the field a rascal multitude of half self Protector over Masanisa his Countins; skullions, that were good for nothing; be- and was Head of a Family, and adverse to ing himfelf a fit Captain for fuch Souldiers. the Numidian Kings of that race) brought Likewise Astrubal the son of Gesco was a Com- to Hannibal another thousand Horse: as mander well thought of by the Carthaginian likewife, that Verming the Son of Syphan, Senate, but otherwise, one, that in the field holding a great part of his Fathers Kirgdom, hardened from their childhood with incre- Vermina; as we find in Livin, came with more dible patience, fleshed many hundred times than 16. thousand men ( for he lost more

man Camps, or in winning the tops of walls

#### o. XXI.

pio; treats with him about peace in vain: loseth a battel at Nedagra, and perswades the Carthaginians to (ue for peace. Of the peace garnted from Rome to Carthage.

T TAnnibal disembarqued his Army at was only good at faving himfelf by a fwift began at the fame time to affail the places retrait. But now there came an Army of men, that yielded obedience to Majaniffa. This was too late.

hard estate, or ( at least ) so impatient of the had lately passed, especially how their Citifate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leifure of those preparations. which would have made the victory affured. When they confidered the worth of Hanwind, and the greatness of his Acts: it offended them to think, that they had been fo hase as to make humble suit unto the Rocause by War. But when as they bethought themselves of their own sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimity to endure them, appeared greater than indeed they were : then cried they out earnestly that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad; and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to Hannibal: requiring him without any further protradion, to do what he could do out of hand. good Lords, and had power to dispose of of their forces, He thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to do as a General ought to do; and to choose his own times. Nevertheless, to give them satisfactithere encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the Carthaginians: the violence done to his Embassadours: and the news of Hannibal his being landed in Africk, made Scipio to understand therefolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yield unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they wereable to make resistance. Wherefore he fent unto Majanissa: and informed him of allthat was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other business apart. Ten Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, Masaniffa had with him; that were lent unto him by Scipio, to do him service in the establishing and inlarging of his Kingdom. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his own forces, would but little avail him; if Hanmibal should drive the Romans out of Africk. Wherefore taking fuch order as he could

had been at Rome, returned back under the standing this, admired the bravery and cou-

than fo many ) to succour Hannibal when it | conduct of Lalius and Fulvius, who brought them fave into the Roman Camp. There The Carthaginians were at this time in such when they arrived and understood what zens had behaved themselves towards the Roman Embassadours : they made little doubt, how their own heads should answer for fuch notorious outrage. To confirm them

in this opinion. M. Bebius one of the late Embassadours that had been in Carthage, being left by Scimans for peace; whilest they had such a pio to take charge of the Camp, laid hands brave Champion alive, to maintain their upon them and detained them; fending word unto his General, who was gone abroad to make War in the Country, that he had them in his power, and that now the Carthaginians might be repaid in their own Coyn, for the injury by them lately done. Scipio was very glad to hear of this; and commanded Bæbies to use them with all posfible courtefie, and fend them fafe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory) far Hannibal made answer, That they were his less honourable than the Romans. This notwithstanding, he made more cruel War uphim and his Army; but fince he was General on them than before: taking their Towns by force; and putting them to lack, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they took a Town by affault, to put all that came in on, He made great marches to Zama; and their way to the fword, what soever they were, without regard. This they did to make themselves terrible: and the better to work fuch impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do; they used oftentimes to kill the very Dogs and other Beafts, that ran athwart them in the streets : hewing Exert. ! their bodies afunder: as men delighted in Pago. shedding of blood. This being their practice lib., 10. at other times; it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proof of their vehement indignation, and revengful minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were fo earnest in pressing Hannibal to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at Zama, fent forth his Scouts and Spies, to discover where the Romans lay, what they were adoing and as much as might be, of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, and brought unto Scipio : who instead of truffing them upon the sudden, for the safety of his own up, gave them free leave to view his Camp Kingdome; with four thousand Horse, and at pleasure, appointing one to conduct fix thousand Foot, he made all haste unto them up and down, and shew them whatfoever they defired. This done, He gave Soon after the beginning of these new them leave to depart; and sent them away troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadours that Sase unto their General. Hannibal under-

rage of his enemy : with whom on the fud- | ject. Tet ( faidhe ) mine own example man den he grew fo desirous to have an Enter peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. view, and personal conference; and figoi For I am that same Hannibal, who after my fied so much unto him by a messenger sent victory at Canna, won the greatest part of of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked Italy; and devised with my self, what well: and returned answer, that He would should do with your City of Rome, which I meet him shortly in a place convenient. The hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought next day Malanilla came with his Army: mine Army to your walls, as thou half line whom scipio taking with him, removed un- brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now to a Town callad Nedagara; near unto fee the change! I stand here intreating the which he fat down, in a place otherwise to grant us peace. This may serve as a docommodious, & close by a water that might cument of Fortunes instability. I have fourth opportunely serve his Camp. Thence he sent with thy Father Scipio; He was the first of the word unto the Carthaginian, That the time Roman Generals that ever met me in the and place did fitly ferve, if he had ought to say to him. Hannibal thereupon removed mould come, that I flould have such limits of mould come, that I flould have such limits of as now at the present, with his son. But this is the enemy; where he incamped well to his even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof he own good liking in all things else; excepting that his men were driven to take much the like in thy self; who knows how soon of ? Think pains, in fetching their water somewhat noon M. Atilius: If he would have bear und unio far off. Then was order taken for their such perswassons, as I now use to thee, he might meeting : and the two Generals each of have returned home to Rome an happy man. them with a troop of Horse, rode forth of and so maist thou do now, if any reasonable their Camps, till they came unto a piece of offer will give thee satisfaction. How sail ground; which was before well fearched thou? Canft thoube contented, that all Spain, for fear of ambush. There they will their Sicil, Sardinia, and whatsoever Islands else followers to stand off: and themselves with are scituate between Italy and Africk be each of them one Interpreter, encountred abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever, each other in the mid-way between their and left unto the Romans, to bear dominion Companies. They remained a while filent, therein ? Thou shalt have glory enough by effeviewing one the other with mutual admi- Ging thus much: and the Romans may well ration. Then began the Carthaginian, fa- be glad of fuch a bargain. Asforus, our own luting the Roman, to deliver his mind to this quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. effect : That it had been better both for And the same contentment of ours, shall make Carthage, and Rome, if they could have li- us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if mited and contained their ambition within thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee the shores of Africk and of Italy ; for that to ponder well how great an hezzard thou the Countreys of Sicil and Spain, about must undergo for obtaining a very little which their fathers and themselves had more, than that which thou maist have with ftriven, were no fufficient recompence for fo out contention. It is now in thine own power many Fleets as had been loft, and of so much to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee: blood as had been shed, in making those stay but untill to morrow night, and thou maist costly purchases. But fince things past could take such fortune as it please the Gods. The iffut not be recalled : He faid, That it was meet of battel is uncertain, and many times befor them to consider, unto what extream guileth expectation. Men and steel we shall them now at length to make an end of their oblitinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wildom hereafter.

It is I Hannibal that now defire peace with rather fix his mind upon uncertain hopes, begun. than upon a contemplation of that muta-

dangers their own Cities had been exposed, each of us bring into the field; but of the viby the greedy defire of extending their Em- Gory neither of us have affurance. Letus therepires abroad; and that it was even time for fore without more ado make peace. And do not And to fuch peacable disposition, He affirm- thee, which I would never do, if I thought it ed that his own years, and long tryal of not expedient for my Country. And thinking Fortune, both good and evil, had made it expedient, I will alwaies maintain it, like him inclinable. But much he feared, that at I have maintained, unto my power, as long Scipio, by want of the like experience, might as the Gods did not envy me, the war by me

Hereunto Scipio made answer, That it was bility, whereto all humane affairs arefub- no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicil and you peace.

in Spain which had moved the Romans to first the Hastati, divided into their Manienter into this or the former War: but that ples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable the defence of the Mamertines, and after- distance between them: Not far behind these wards of the Saguntines, their confederates, followed the Principles, like wife divided; and had caused them to put on those arms; which so after them the Triarii. But herein Scipio the gods by the final issue of the Wars had altered a little the ordinary custome of the approved, and would approve to be most Romans: He placed not the Miniples of his just. As for the mutability of Fortune, he Principes opposite unto the void spaces faid, that he was not thereof ignorant; and between the Haffati, that so the Haffati, as that without any note of infolence or over-was ufual, might tall back between the weening, he might well refuse the conditi-Principes; but he placed them directly one ons offered. For was it not plain that all behind another, as it were, in File. This he thele Countreys, with which the Carthaginians did, because of the Elephants, whereof Hannow so willingly departed, were already won nibal had many. For of those beasts the from the Romans? If, faid he, these conditions danger was less whilest there was open way had been propounded whilest as yet ye detained to let them through. Therefore he took some part of Italy, they might peradventure such order, that when they had passed not have been rejected. But as the case now through the spaces between the first Battastands. I fee no reason why I should remit unto lions, they should not come upon the Prinjou any one piece of these my former demands cipes in Front. Unto his Pelites, or those to which the Carthaginians have yielded at of the light armature that were to begin ready, and thought me to be gracious in dea- the fight he gave direction, that when they ling so moderately. Rather I say, that the in- found themselves to be overcharged, either juries which they have done me fince, have made by the Enemies; or ( which was most to be them unworthy of obtaining peace upon (o) feared) by the Elephants, they should run friendly terms. But I cannot blame thee, Han- back through those lanes that were between nibal, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy the Maniples; and that those which were citizens understand, from how much of their swiftest, or otherwise best able, should conburden they are by thy means eased. Only thou tinue on their flight, until they were got must think, that in like fort it concerns me in behind all their own Army; thereby leavhonour not to let them be gainers or favers by ing room enough unto those that were the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou wounded, or cast behind, to lave themselves knowest well, that besides those offers which on the void ground, that was betwirt the thou here hast made, they were well contented first and second, or the second and third to restore unto us ransome free, all prisoners battels, without cloying up the way bethat they have of ours, to pay us five thousand tween the Maniples, which he defired to talents, to deliver up their Gallies, and to de- keep open. His Italian horse he placed in liver hoftages for affurance of fair dealing, the left wing, under C. Lelius. In the right And must they now be discharged of all this wing was Masanissa with his Numidians. He by their breach of truce, their spoiling of our himself riding up and down, exhorted his fleet, and their violating our Embassadours? men to do valiantly; using words, not ma-Not fo. But if they can be contented, besides all ny, but forcible. He bad them remember this, to make such amends as Ishall require, for what they had atchieved, since their comthese injuries newly done; then will I take ad- ing into Africk, He told them, that if this wice with my countel what answer to give you; day were theirs the War was at an end; and otherwise you may even prepare for war, and that their victory in this War, should make blame your own selves for that I have denied them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to refift Hereupon they brake off: and returned them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, each to his own Camp, with no other news he asked them whither they would flie. than war; bidding their Souldiers prepare They were far from home, yea, and far for a battel, wherein should be decided the from their own standing Camp: neither quarrel between Rome and Carthage. The was there any place in Africk, that would next morning at break of day they issued give them shelter: if they fell into the Carinto the field: a notable march, and fuch as thaginians hands, they knew what to expect. hath very feldom been found: whether we And therefore there was none other way, regard the Generals, their Armies, the two but death or victory:unless they would live Cities that contended, or the great impor-like wretched slaves under most merciles tance of the battel at hand. Scipio ordered Enemies. In such necessity he said that they his men after the Roman manner: placing which confider themselves to be, and Hhhhhh

have never been known to fail of getting That it was one P. Scipio, even the father of

victory. Elephants, that were more thanfourfcore in Legions, which they yonder beheld, were Front of his Battle. Next behind these he for the most part of them, the very worst of made his Vant-guard all of Mercenaries, Li- the Roman Souldiers; even such, as for their gurians, Gaules, Ealcares and Moors. Then dastardly flight out of fundry battels, could followed his Battel; which was of Carthagi- no longer be trufted to bear Arms in their nians and Africans, more interested in the own Country. As for the rest, they were quarrel than were those Mercenaries; though young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred not so good souldiers: but to help ( if it up in the continual fear of those weapons, by might be) their want of courage, they had which their fathers were daily flain or chaly fent from King Philip. More than the space companions, upon whose vertue he meant and were the only men, in whom he reposed ble. any confidence. Opposite to Lelius, in his Such exhortations used the two Generals own right wing he bestowed the Carthagi- before the fight. When they drew near tonian Horse. Tychaus and the Numidians he gether, the Numidian horsemen on both sides placed in his left wing against Masanisa. He began to skirmish. The Trumpets and other was indeed far too weak for the Enemy in instruments of war, sounded to battel: and Horse, both in number and in goodness. For Hannibal commanded his Elephants to break Ticheus and Mezetullus had no more than upon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as fa. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor of the left wing, turned back for fear: and none other, than fuch as could be levied in ran upon their own Numidian horse; which the haste of a few dayes; and the remainder they affrighted and disordered. Masanisa have ferved well to supply all other defect.

take resolution answerable thereunto, at Canna. He willed them to remember. this man, whom they had first of all compel-Hannibal on the other fide placed his led to run away. He told them, that these with them four thousand Macedonians, late- sed. Wherefore he intreated these hisold of a furlong, behind these came his Rere- wholly to repose himself, that they would ward, confifting of those brave Souldiers this day strive to make good their honour, which had served him in his Italian wars; and to purchase the same of men invinci-

three thousand; and those not so well exer- they were alwayes an uncertain kind of cifed, as were the four thousand of Masanif- help) those that stood near unto the point of those, that had of late been often van- espying this, gave charge upon the same Nuquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was midians; and not fuffering them to rally no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps themselves, drave them quite out of the field. authority, to make these his companions The rest of those beasts made a great spoil alight and serve on foot, setting better men of the Roman Velites, whom they followed in their faddles. All that he could have done, into the spaces between the Maniples: but was to stay a little longer, and expect more without any harm to the Battalions themhelp. Had Vermina the fon of Syphax come felves; which gave them open way, accordthither, as he did in a few dayes after, with ingly as Scipio had well provided. Divers of fixteen thousand and upwards, the most of them receiving many wounds, and growing them Horse, the advantage of number might | therewith furious, could no longer be governed, but ran back upon the right point Yet fince the Lords of Carthage would brook of their own battel, and beyond that into no delay, Hannibal must be fain to comfort the open field. Herewithal they disordered himself with the hope that he reposed in the Carthaginian Horse, which were in that his old Italian fouldiers; whose vertue had wing: against whom they gave to Lelius the wrought greater wonders, when it was more same advantage that Masanisa had against strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore the Numidians; which he used in like fort. In his men, with words agreeable to their seve- the mean while, the battels of foot advancral conditions: promiting unto the Mercena- ed, and drew near together with a flow and ries bountiful rewards; threatning the Car- stately pace, till they were almost within a thaginians with inevitable fervitude if they weapons cast: at what time they gave a shout lost that day: but especially animating his and ran one at the other. The Mercensries old fellow-fouldiers, by the many victories for a time feemed both in audacity, and in which they had obtained against far greater | quickness to have the better of the Romans; numbers. He bad them to look upon the wounding many, and doing more harm, Enemies and make an estimate, whether than they took. But the Roman discipline afthey were any thing like so many, as that ter a while prevailed against the boistehuge Army which they had slaughtered rous violence of these untrained Barbarians.

Whereunto it helped not a little, that the when they had overcome the bad way, all in hattel of the Principes, following fomewhat one Front with the Haftati, and made of near after the Hastati, encouraged their fel- them his two Cornets. This done he advanlows & shewed themselvs ready, if need were, ced towards Hannibal: who entertained to relieve them. Contrariwife, the Merce- him after another manner, than ever he had naties, received no manner of help or com- been received in his life before. All the days fort, from those that should have seconded work till now, seemed to have been a matmany of the Carthaginians beaten down and charged the Hannibalians in the Rear; and flain, through their own indifcretion, by over-bearing them by meer violence, comtheir own Mercenaries. The Roman Haftati pelled them to fall to Rout. in like fort, fighting with desperate men in a in this battel there dyed of the Romans throng, had their hands so full of work, fifteen hundred and upwards: on the Carmeet with Hannibal, was covered with take such peace as could be gotten. Whereheaps of dead bodies and weapons; and so fore the Carthaginians not knowing what lippery with blood, that Scipio began to other course to take, resolved to send Emfland in great doubt, left the orders of his baffadors again, and try the favour of Battalions should be dissolved in passing that Scipio, whose Arms they could not now way. In such case, if he should sight with resist. that warlike Army, which he faw before

them. For the new-levied Carthagians and ter of pastime, in regard of the sharp Con-Africans, when they faw their hired fouldi- flict, that was maintained between these noers give back, did also themselves retire. This table Souldiers. The Romans were encoucaused the Ligurians, Gaules, and the rest, raged by their having prevailed all the day to think themselves betrayed: whereupon before: they were also far the more in numthey enclined unto flight. The Carthaginian ber. But these old Souldiers of Hannibal were fresh; (and perhaps the better men.) fore, so as it resuled to give way unto the They fought with such obstinate resolution, Mercenaries for their fale retreat; and yet that no man gave back one foot; but rather withal forbore to make head against the chose to die on the ground whereon he Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time stood. So that, after a long time it was unto alk them what they meant by this : Fear certain which part had the worfe: unless it and Indignation caused those that were at may feem, that the Romans were beginning once chased by the Romans, and betrayed, as to shrink; forasmuch as the return of Ma- \* Extent. they thought, by their own fellows, to turn faniffa and Lelius from pursuit of the Ene- Polything. their arms with an heedless fury against mies Horse, is said to have been most happy, both the one and the other. Thus were and in a needful time. These upon a sudden

that the Principes were fain to come up unto thaginian fide, above twenty thousand; bethem, and help to over-bear this great fides as many that were taken; of whom. Somedley of enemies, that were together by pater Captain of the Macedonians was one. the ears among themselves. In this place The singular skill that Hannibal shewed in was made a great flaughter, both of the this his last fight, is highly commended by Mercenaries and of the Carthaginians: which Polybine; and was acknowledged, as Livie hindering one another, could neither fight, reports, by scipio himself. But the Enemies nor eafily flye. Such of them as escaped, were too strong for him in Horse: and being ran towards Hannibal: who kept his ground, enjoyned, as he was, by the State of Carthage, and would not ftir one foot, to help or fave to take battel with fuch diladvantage, he these Run-awayes. He caused his men to could work no marvels. He saved himself bend their Pikes at those of his own fide, with a few horses and stayed not in his that would have rushed upon him: whom journey, till he came Adrumetum. Thence he he thereby compelled to turn aside beyond was sent for to Carthage; from which he his battel, and fave themselves in the open had been absent six and thirty years. At his field. The ground over which, the Ro- coming into the Senate, He faid plainly, mans were now to march, ere they could That there was none other way left, than to

Scipio having spoiled the Enemies Camp, him, remaining yet entire, and without returned back to Utica : where he found fear expecting him; He might be well affured | P. Lentulus newly arrived, with fifty Galto receive a notable overthrow. He caused lies and an hundred Ships of burden. With therefore the Hallati to make a stand there this Fleet, and that which he had before, He where they were, opposite to the main bat- thought it best to make towards Carthage: tel of the Hannibalians. Then drawing up rather of purpose to terrifie the City, than his Principes and Triaris, he placed them, with any hope to take it. His Legions he

Hahhhhh 2

committed unto Cn. Offavius; whom he wil- | there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose. led to meet him there by land. Then fending Lelius away to Rome with news of the victory , fet fail from Utica towards Carthage. He was encountred on the way by ten Em of Africk: and was therein so earnest, that baffadors from the City: who bearing up though neither the Senate, nor People, would with the Admiral Gally, began to use the grant him his desire; yet he needs would be pittiful gesture of suppliants. But they re- going, procuring only leave of the Senate. ceived none other answer, than that they that be being Consul might join with Scipio, should meet him at Tunes, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bra- things in a readiness for the journy, wherein very than with meaning to attempt it; he re- no man cared to further him, Winter came turned back to Utica, and called back Offa- on, and he was only toft at Sea with foul wiss thither, with whom in person he set for- weather; first upon the Coast of Hetruria. wards to Tunes. As they were in their journy and afterwards by Sardinia; where his of more horse than foot, to the succour of ful news to Rome, of the victory obtained

to restrain the ambition of this Confai Servilius. After him followed Tiberius Clau. diss, who made fuit for the same Province were it with no more than equal authority. But ere he could have his Fleet, and all thither, they heard the news, that Vermina Consulship expired, and so he returned the fon of Syphax, was coming with an Army home a private man. Then came the joythose that were already vanquished. This against Hannibal, and that the war was now Vermina seems to have been both careless of even at an end. Yet was Lentulus the new getting intelligence how things paffed, and Conful so passionate, in desiring Africk for his gry desective in all other duties requisite in Province, that he said he would suffer nothe Commander of an Army. Part of the thing to pass in the Senate, until he had first Roman foot, with all their power of Horfe, his will. Much ado there was about this; and was fent against him: which did not only after many contentions, both in the Senate. beat him, but so compass him in, that he and before the people, at last it was ordehardly escaped himself with a few; leaving red, That if peace were granted, it should fifteen thousand of his followers dead be- be granted by scipio; if the war continued, hind him, and twelve hundred taken prifo- Scipio should have command therein by ners. If this good company had been with Land, and the Conful at Sea. The ambition Hannibal at Nadagara, they should have been of these men, caused Scipio to give the more far better conducted, and might well have favourable answer unto the Carthaginien changed the Fortune of the day; which the Embassadors. He willed them to consider Carthaginian lost by default of Horse. But what they had deserved; and in regard there-God had otherwise determined. It is not to of, to think themselves well dealt withal; in be doubted, that this victory, though it were that he was contented to leave unto them no great access unto the former; yet served their liberty and their own Laws, without well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint appointing any Governour over them, or in them the greater fear of Scipio. When Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving he came to Tunes, there met him thirty Em- also unto them their possessions in Africk, baffadors from Carthage: whose behaviour, such as they were at the beginning of this though it was more pittiful than it had been war. As touching the relt he was at a point, before, yet procured it less commiseration, that, before he either granted them peace or by reason of their late false dealing, after truce, they should make satisfaction for they had in like fort humbled themselves. wrongs which they had done, whilst the late Nevertheless it was considered, what a long | Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they and laborious work it would prove, to be would yield, then required, He, That immed fiege the mighty City of Carthage. And par- ately they should deliver up to the Romans at ticularly, Scipio stood in great doubt, lest prisoners, fugitives, and renegade's, that they had the honour of this war, if it were protracted, of theirs: likewife all their Gallies, excepting tent should be taken out of his hands, and given and all their Elephants. That they should make to one of the Confuls. Cn. Servilius Capio, that | no war at all thenceforth out of Africk, nel-Conful who had charge of the war against ther jet within Africk, without licence of Hannibal at such time as he departed out of the Romans : That the Country; , Towns , Italy: was bold to pass over into the sile of goods whatsever, belonging any miss unto still (as it were in chase of Hannibal by him Masanisa, or to any of his dreessers, which thence to have proceeded into Africk, and taken from Scipio the command of the Army for the Roman Army, and mages for their scipio the command of the Army for the Roman Army, and mages for their scipio the command of the Army for the Roman Army, and mages for their sciences.

Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill company of Scipio his Embassadours, who the Peace were fully concluded; that they related unto the Senate and People thefe fould pay ten thousand Talents of Silver, in joyful news. About the same time arrived the term of fifty years, by two hundred Ta- at Rome Embaffadours from Philip King of lints a year, and that for observance of Con- Macedon: who, together with the Carthaditions, they should give an hundred hostages : ginians, were fain to wait a while for audisuch as Scipio would choose, being none of ence, till the election of new Confuls, then in them under fourteen years of age, nor above hand was finished; and order taken, for the shirty.

ing the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting ability to defend themvice they resolved to yield unto the Conditions propounded by Scipio: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thouof damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadours. Scipio granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithal he gave injunction, that Embassadours any whither else, nor yet difand what their errand was.

At this time Hanne, and they of his Faction, were become wife and honourable men,

Provinces of them, and the new Prætors. With these conditions the Embassadours Then were the Macedonian Embassadours returned home, and reported them unto called into the Senate: who first answering the City. They were very unpleasing; and unto some points, wherein the Romans had therefore one Gefco ftood up to speak against lately signified unto their King . that they them; and exhorted the people, who gave found themselves grieved; returned the good attention, that they should not conde- blame upon those Greeks themselves. that frend unto fuch intolerable demands. But had made their complaint at Rome. Then ac-Hannibal perceiving this, and noting withal cufed they Marcus Aurelius: who being one what favourable audience was given to this of the three Embassadours, that had lately vain Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwar- been fent from Rome unto King Philip, tarried like multitude, was bold to pull him down in Greece behind his fellows, and there levyfrom his standing, by plain force. Hereat ing men, made war upon the King, without all the people murmured, as if their com- any regard at all of the league, that was mon liberty were too much wronged, by between him and the Romans. Further they fuch infolence of this presumptuous Cap- desired of the Senate, That one Sopater, a tain. Which Hannibal perceiving, rose up Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their and spake unto them, saying; That they Countrymen, that had lately served Hanniought to pardon him, if he had done other- bal for Pay; and being taken prisoners in wile than the customes of the City would Africk, were kept in bonds by Scipio, might allow; forasmuch as he had been thence be released and delivered unto them. Unto absent ever since he was a Boy of nine years all this M. Farius, whom Aurelius had sent old, until he was now a man of five and to Rome for that purpose, made a sharp anforty. Having thus excused himself of the swer. He said, that the Greeks, which were diforder, he discoursed unto them concern- confederate with Rome, enduring so many injuries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aureline was fain to stay behind, to help them as he selves, had the Demands of the Enemy been might; which else were like to be brought yet more rigorous. Finally , upon good ad- under the Kings subjection. As for Sopater, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counsel, and very inward with him: one that ferved not for money, but carryed mofand pounds weight in Silver, in recompence ney with him, and four thousand men, fent from the King to the aid of Hannibal. About these points , when the Macedonian Embasfadours could make unto the Senate no good . answer, they were willed to return, and tell their Master, That war he sought, and war he should find, if he proceeded as he had they should neither in the mean while send begun. For in two main points He had broken the League, that was between him and missany Embassadours to them sent, without the Romans: first, in that he had wronged first making him acquainted what they were, their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had aided their Enemies against them, with men and money.

These quarrels with Philip, that promised by the mileries whereinto Carthage was to open a way into Greece and the Eastern fallen, through their malicious counsels. Af Countreys, helped well the Carthaginian drabal, surnamed the Kid, a venerable man, Embassadours in their solicitation of Peace. and a great friend of Hanno, was chief of They appeared a very reverend company, the Embassages which they fent to Rome for when they entred into the Senate: and Afobtaining peace. They went thither in drubal above the rest was much respected, as

mans from necessity of fending Embassadours to Carthage, upon the like errand. He in commission. liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrel had been wholly on the Romans fide; was given, and accepted, without any confaving, that it was the fault of some violent troversie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fnmen, through which the Peace was broken. gitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up Yet could be not altogether excuse the City, to scipio: likewise the Gallies, and the Elethat had been too vehement in the profe- phants. Scipio took more vengeance upon cution of bad counsel. But if Hanno, and the Renegado's than upon the Fugitives: himself might have had their wills, the Car- and upon those of the Romans, than upon shaginians, even at the best of their Fortune, the Latines, or other Italians. The Latines he should have granted the peace, which they beheaded: the Romans he crucified. About now desired. Herewithal he commended the the first payment of their money, the Carthamoderation of the Romans, as no small ar- ginians were somewhat troubled. For gument of their valour; by which alwayes though perhaps their common Treasurv they had been victorious. To the same ef- could have spared two hundred Talents for fect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all the present; yet since the pension was annuof them entreating to have the peace ratifi- al , and to continue fifty years : it was ed ; though some with more lamentable thought meet to lay the burden upon the words than others, according to the divers | Citizens. At the collection of the fum there ty of their stile. They had patience enough was piteous lamentation, as if now the Roto endure such reproof of Perjury, as they man yoke had begun to pinch them; so as themselves might have laid upon the Ro | many, even of the Senators, could not formans, if their diligence and fortune had bear weeping. Contrariwise, Hannibal could been fuch as the Romans was. Among the not refrain from laughter. For which, when rest, when one of the Senators demanded, he was checked by Afdrubal Hedne, and told, by what gods they would swear to keep the That it worst of all beseemed him to laugh, peace hereafter : Asdrubal made answer ; fince he had been the cause why all others

especial friends; of whom they gave in wri- the remedy. ting almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred | ced Masanissa, and magnified him in presence of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours of the Army, with high commendations not would choose, should be sent over into undeservedly. To him also he configned Africk, and be freely reftored to liberty by over those towns of King Syphax, which the Romans at that present held; wherein,

one, whose good offices had kept the Ro- | company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyn with Scrpie

At their coming into Africk, the peace Even by the same gods, that are so severe unto did weep; He answered, That laughter did not alwayes proceed from joy; but sometimes Lentulus the Conful, interpoling the au-from extreamity of indignation: Tet, faid He, thority of his office, would have hindred the My laughter is more feafonable, and left abfurd, Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of than your tears. For ye should have wept when peace; for that hereby he was like to lose ye gave up your Ships and Elephants, and the honour, which he purposed to get by when ye bound your own hands from the use of making war in Africk. But the matter was arms, without the good leave of the Romans propounded unto the people, in whom relt- first obtained. This miserable condition keeps w ed the Soveraign Command of Rome; and under, and holds us in affared fervitude. But by them referred wholly unto the pleasure of these matters ye had no feeling. Now, when of the Senate. So it was decreed, That Scipio, a listle money is wrang out of your private with ten Delegates, sent unto him from purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant Rome of purpole, should make a League with that the time come not hereafter, wherein je the Carthaginians, upon such Conditions as | shall acknowledge, that it was the very hall feemed belt: which were none other, than part of your misery for which ye have shed these the same which he had already propound- tears. Thus discoursed Hannibal unto those, ed. For this favour the Carthaginian Embaf- who tasting the bitter fruits of their own fadours humbly thanked the Senate; and malicious counsel, repented when it was too craved licence, that they might visit their late; and instead of cursing their own dif-Countrymen, which were prisoners in Rome: orders, which had bred this grievous diafterwards, that they might ransome and sease, accused the Physician, whose noble carry home with them some that were their endevours had been employed in procuring

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that which otherwise he knew not well how of mighty Princes, by leading them contuto bestow. But the love of the Romans, and meliously in Triumph; yea, though they friendship of Scipio, was fully answerable, were such, as had alwayes made fair and now and hereafter, to all the defervings of courteous war. But hereof we shall have this Numidian King. About Carthage there better example ere the same age pass. It rested no more to be done. Wherefore the was neither the person of Syphax, nor any Ramans lembarqued themselves for Sicil: other glory of the spectacle, that so much where when they arrived at Lylibaum, Scipio beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the with some part of his Army took his way contemplation of that grievous war past. home to Rome by Land; and fent the rest whereof the Romans had been in a manner Free m. ? hefore him thither by Sea. His journey without hope that ever they should fet Italy free. Polib. ib. through Italy was no less glorious than any This made them look chearfully upon the triumph: all the people thronging out of Author of fo great a conversion; and filled the Towns and Villages, to do him honour them with more joy, than they well could as he passed along. He entred the City moderate. Wherefore they gave to Scipio the in Triumph : neither was there ever be- Title of the African: stiling him by the name fore, or after, any triumph celebrated with of that Province, which he had subdued. so great joy of the people, as was this This honourable kind of surname, taken of Scipio; though, in bravery of the pomp, from a conquered Province, grew afterthere were others in time shortly follow- wards more common, and was usurped by ing, that exceeded this. Whether syphax men of less defert : especially by many of were carried through the City in this Tri- the Cafars, who fometimes arrogated unto umph, and dying foon after in prison; or themselves the title of Countreys, wherewhether he were dead a while before: it in they had performed little or nothing; cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be as if such glorious Attributes could have avowed, that it was a barbarous custome made them like in vertue unto Scipio the

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the great similitude found in observed in the change of Empires, before worldly events, the limitation those times whereof we now write, how the of matter hath been assigned as Assyrians or Chaldeans invaded the kingdom a probable cause. For since Na- of the Medes, with two hundred thousand ture is confined unto a subject that is Foot, and threescore thousand Horse; but not unbounded; the works of Nature failing in their intended conquest, they bemaft needs be finite, and many of them re- came subject within a while themselves unto semble one the other. Now in those acti- the Medes and Persians. In like manner ons, that feem to have their whole depen- Dariss, and after him Xerxes, fell upon the dance upon the will of man, we are less to Greeks with such number of men, as might wonder, if we find less variety: fince it is no have seemed refistless. But after that the Pergreat portion of things which are obnoxi- fians were beaten home again, their Emous unto humane power; and fince they pire was never fecure of the Greek: who at an the same affections, by which the wills all times of leisure from intestine War, of fundry men are over-ruled, in managing devised upon that conquest thereof, which the affairs of our daily life. It may be finally they made under the great Alexander. mans from necessity of fending Embassa- appointed by the Senate to joyn with Scapie dours to Carthage, upon the like errand. He in commission. Yet could he not altogether excuse the City, to scipio : likewise the Gallies, and the Elethose that violate their Leagues.

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# CHAP. IV.

Of Philip the father of Perseus King of Macedon; his first Acts and War with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

# «. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East-Countreys, and desirous of Warthere. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Etolians over run Peloponnefus. Philip and bis Affociates make War against the Ætolians. Alteration of the state in Sparta. The Etolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by Philip.

ture is confined unto a subject that is Foot, and threescore thousand Horse; but not unbounded; the works of Nature failing in their intended conquest, they bemust needs be finite, and many of them re- came subject within a while themselves unto semble one the other. Now in those acti- the Medes and Persians. In like manner ons, that feem to have their whole depen- Darius, and after him Xerxes, fell upon the dance upon the will of man, we are less to Greeks with such number of men, as might wonder, if we find less variety : fince it is no have seemed resistles. But after that the Pergreat portion of things which are obnoxi- lians were beaten home again, their Emous unto humane power; and fince they pire was never secure of the Greeks: who at are the same affections, by which the wills all times of leisure from intestine War, of fundry men are over-ruled, in managing devised upon that conquest thereof, which

F the great similitude found in jobserved in the change of Empires, before worldly events, the limitation those times whereof we now write, how the of matter hath been affigued as Affyrians or Chaldeans invaded the kingdom a probable cause. For since Na- of the Medes, with two hundred thousand the affairs of our daily life. It may be finally they made under the great Alexander.

If Nabuchodonofor with his rough old Soul- | Greece : all the reft, this done, would foldiers, had undetaken the Medes: or Cyrus low it felf. How to deal with the Greeks with his well-trained Army, had made at- Philip and Alexander had shewed a way. tempt upon Greece; the iffue might, in hu- which, or perhaps a better, they might learn mane reason, have been far different. Yet by getting more acquaintance with the Niwould it then have been expedient for tion. them, to employ the travel and vertue of their men, rather than the greatness of their ended, which followed soon after the wars names against those people; that were no of Pyrrhus and of the Tarentines : then less valiant though less renowned than their were the Romans at good leasure to hearken own. For the menacing words uled by Grus, after news in Greece; and to entertain any and some small displeasures done to the good occasion, that should be on that side Greeks (in which kind it may be, that Na- presented. They had also then a strong buchodonofer likewife offended the Medes Fleet: and were become, though not otherand Perfians ) were not fo available to vi- wife very fkilfull Marriners; yet good fightctory, as to draw on revenge in the future. ersat Sea. So it fell out as happily as could Great Kingdoms, when they decay in be wished, that the Illyrian Queen Tenta strength, suffer as did the old Lion, for the made at the same time cruel war upon the oppression done in his youth ; being pinch- Greeks: wasting their Countrey, and facked by the Wolf, gored by the Bull, yea and ing their Towns, only because they were kickt by the Als. But Princes are often car- unable to refift, though they had done her rved away from reason, by mit-understand- none offence Into this quarrelaif the Romans ing the language of Fame; and despising the were desirous to enter; the Queen was not were not possible that their own glory with Her, was, in their own opinion, a mat-King of Sales pre-But when the Romans by their victory space of 4. years, new Kings began to reign tended in against Pyerhus had found their own vertue in the most of all Countreys known; and 3.

When therefore the first Punick war was vertue that makes little noise, adventure flow to give them cause. And their happy ac-lies to provoke it against themselves; as if it complishing of that war, which they made should be foiled by any of less-noted excel- ter not unworthy to make their Patronage lence. Against the same stone, whereat Xerxes, to be defired by the Greeks. But no such and before him (as I take it) Evilmerodach, thing hapned: though they fent Embassahad frumbled, Pyrrhus the Epirot had dasht dours, as it were to offer themselves; by fighis foot. He was not indeed the King of all nifying, that for the love of Greece they had Greece though most of mark, and a better undertaken this Illyrian war. Thus began Souldier than any other Greekish King, when the first acquaintance betwirt the Greeks he entred into the war against the Romans. and Romans: which afterwards encreased This war he undertook as it were for his very haltily, through the indifcretion of minds fake; having received no injury; but King Philip the Macedonian; whose business hoping by the glory of his name, and of the with them, now being the subject of our sto-Greeks that ferved under him, to prevail Irv, it is meet that we should relate (though fo easily against the barbarous Romans, that Comewhat briefly )the beginning of his reign, they should only serve as a step to his fur- and his first Actions. It was like to prove ther intended conqueits, of sici and Africk. busic time in the world, when, within the vincible to be of richer metal, than was the more of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest ing beaten thining valour of the Greeksthan did all the kingdoms. This hapned from the third year bravery of the Epirot (his Elephants, and of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto what foever elie had ferved to make him ter- the third of the Olympiad following. For rible) serve only to make the Romans, in in this time died Seleucus Cerannus King of time following, to think more highly of Asia and Syria, in whose room succeeded his themselves. \* For fince they had overcome brother Antiochus, afterwards called the broken the the best Warrior in Greece, even Him, that, Great. Ptolomy Philopater succeeded in the being thus beaten by them, could in a year Kingdom of Egypt unto his father Energeter. after make himtelf Lord of Greece and Ma. And Philip the fon of Demetrin being 16.01 cedon: what should hinder them from the 17. years old, received the Kingdom of Maconquest of all those unwarlike Provinces, cedon, together with the Patronage of the which in compass of 12. years a Macedoni- Achaans and most of the Greeks, by the dean King of late memory had won? Cer- cease of his Uncle Antigonus Doson, that was any of his tainly there was hereunto requisite no called the Tutor or Protector. About the r. parati- more: than to bring to their own devotion fametime also was the like change in capthat time. by fome good means, the whole Country of padocia, Lacedamon, and the Countreys about

reign in Cappadocia. Lycurgus found means along with their looty, through a part of to make himself King over the Lacedamoni- the Country, wherein he might very easily ans, whose Common-weal, fince the flight have districted hem; and afterwards prefof Cleamener, had continued in a manner fed them to cear, when they had recovered headless; and Acheus, a kiniman of Antiochus, ground of Avantage, that they easily debut a Rebel unto him, occupied the Regions feated at his Army. So they departed home near unto Mount Taurus, and kept a while rich, and well animated to return again. the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the As for the Achrans, they got hereby onsecond and third years of the one hundred by the friendship of the Alessenians: with and fortieth Olympiadit was, that open war whom, by licence of King Philip, they made brake out between Rome and Carthage; Confederacy. Shortly after, the Atolians and that Hannibal began his great Invasion invaded Teleponnosus again: having no more upon Italy. Those troubles of the Western to do, than to pass over the narrow world, which were indeed the greatest, Straights of the Corinthian Bay, called we have already followed unto an end: now the Gulph of Lepanto, wherethey might Of Antiochus, Ptolomy, and the rest; we shall land in the Countrey of the Eleans. There speak hereafter, when the Romans find joyned with them, in this their second inva-

them out.

of the Acheans, and many other his depen- of war unto the Coast of Greece: made bold dants. That Countrey, having freed it felf to feek adventures again, and did great mifby the help of Antigonus from the danger chief. Demetrius Pharius, a creature of the (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto Romans, commanded a part of these Illyri-Cleamenes; was now become no less obnoxi- ans: who shortly repented him of this his ous to the Macedonian, than it should have voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingbeen to the Spartan; and therewithal it lay dom, as is shewed before. But this Demetrius open unto the violence of the Atolians, who went another way, and fell upon the Islands despited even the Macedonian Kings, that of the Cyclades in the Agean fea: whence rewere Patrons thereof. The Atolians were no turning, he did some good offices for King men to be idle; nor were much addicted un- Philip, or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians to any other Art than war. Therefore want- under scerdilaidas, or scerdileius, having ing employment, they fell upon the Meffeni- gotten what they could elsewhere by roving ans that were their own Clients, and (except- at Sea, accompanied the Atolians into Peloing the Eleans, that were anciently of their ponnessis: who made greater havock in the consanguinity) the only good friends which Country now, than in their former Expedithey had at the present in Peloponnes ws. Their tion, and returned home without finding invasion was no less unexpected, than it was any resistance. unjust: whereby with greater case they made spoil of the Countrey; finding none unto Philip, when he came to Corinth. And prepared to make resistance. The Acheans, because men were desirous to satisfie themwere called by the Meffenians to help: which felves with some speedy revenge: there they did the more willingly: because the were that urged to have some grievous pu-Atolians pasting without leave through nishment laid upon the Lacedamonians; who their Territory, had (as was their manner) were thought underhand to have favoured done what harm they lifted. Old Aratus the Etolians, in meer despight of the Acheans could hardly abide these Etolians; as both and Macedonians; by whom themselves had knowing well their nature, and remembring lately been subdued. It is true, that the the injuries, wherewith most ingratefully Lacedamonians had been so affected: and they had requited no small benefits done to (which was worse) at the arrival of Philip, him) for any other service, than leading of hoped soon to appeale, and meant always to

Mount Turrus. For Ariarathes then began his Army. He fuffered them to pass quietly tion, a great number of the Illyrians: who rhilip, foon after the beginning of his neglecting that Condition imposed upon reign, came into Peloponnesus; greatly defired them by the Romans, of setting out no Ships

Of these things great complaint was made them by the Acheans. He was therefore fo they flew such friends of his , as having hasty to fall upon this their Army, that he checked their inclination, seemed likely to could hardly endure toftay few dayes until appeach them of the intended rebellion. the time of his own Office came ; being Neither durft they well commit themselves chosen Prætor of the Acheans for the year to judgement: but intreated the King, that following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himself a narmy: since their Town was lately much man fitter (as hath been already noted of disquieted with civil discord, which they

greateft ver the

British Seas, invited us to Soal gand et that Sprin ds : a hered gether,

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remain at his devoter. Philip was eafily a needless point, and defired to be held exfatisfied with the state of that he (or rather cufed, until Philip (of whole meaning they old Arotus, who they what w governed him) needed not to have made any doubt) should did wit-wed stand the Law I warms : but first proclaim the war. The Meffenians, for for that a greater work was soloned which whose cause the war was undertaken, exought not to be interrupted. There mer at Co cufed themselves, by reason of a Town which rinth in presence of the king, the for fulla- the Ætolians held upon their borders, and dors of the Admans, Beolines, . Fre to, and faid, that they durft not be over-bold, until Mearmanians: all complaining upon the #to- that bridle were taken out of their mouths. lians : and defiring to have War decreed As for the Lacedemonians, the chief of them against them, be common aftent. Philip fem studied only, how to manage the treason his letters unto the Atolians, requiring them for which their City had been so lately parto make ready their answer in some conve- doned; and therefore disaiffed the Embafnient time: if they could alledge any thing sadors of the Confederates, without any in excuse of that which they had done. They answer at all. They had three years togereturned word, that a Diet thould be holden ther continued subject aganst their wils to at Rhium for that purpose: whither if it plea- the Macedonians, expecting still when Cleafed him to come, or fend, he should be well menes should return out of Egypt to reign informed of them and their whole meaning. over them again, and maintain, as he was The King prepared to have been there at wont, the honour of their City. In this the day. But when the Atolians understood regard they chose not any Kings, but were this for certain, they adjourned the Councel contented with the rule of Ephori. Of these unto afurther time: faying, That fuch weigh-try matters ought not to be handled, fave in the great Parliament of all Atolia. This trick of Law notwithstanding, open War was proclaimed against them. And they, asit counsels: being perhaps a little moved with were, to shew how well they had deserved respect of the benefit, which might redound it, made election of scopus to be their unto themselves, by adhering firmly to those Prætor, that was Author of these invasions which at the present bore rule over them. made on Peloponnes and the only man, in Others, and those the greater part were still a fort, upon whom they must have laid the devising, how to make all ready for Cleomeblame of these actions, if they would have ner against his return; and sought to joyn shifted it from the publick.

he prepared builly for the War against the nian faction had the more authority, and year following. He also assayed the Illyrian, durst more freely speak their minds: but the Scerdilaidas, with fair words and promises; contrary side was the more passionate, and whom he easily won from the Etolian side, spared not by murders or any other violent forasmuch as the Etolians had couzened courses, to set forward their desire. Neither him of his share, when he was partner with did it suffice, that about these times there them in their late robberies. In like fort the came certain report of Cleomenes his death. Acheans, who had first of all others pro- For it was the liberty and honour of sparta, claimed the War in their own Countrey, which these intended; fancying unto themfent unto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Meffeni- selves the glory of their Ancestors in such ans, and Lacedamonians: requesting them Ages past, as it were not like to come againforthwith to declare themselves, and to de- Cleomenes was, they knew, the most able man

with the Ætolians, which were the most like-After this, Philip went into Macedon, where ly to give him strong affistance. The Macedonounce war unto the Atolians; without flay- to restore them unto their greatnes & lustre; ing (as it were) to await the event. Hereun- which once he had in a manner performed: to they received divers answers according But since he was dead, and that, without to the qualities of those with whom they injury to his well-deserving vertue, they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free-hearted and might proceed to the election of new Kings: valiant, though a small Nation, and borde- Kings they would have, and those of the ring upon the Atolians, of whom they stood race of Hercules, as in former times; for that in continual danger; said, that they could without such helps, they must continue lit-not honestly refuse to shew their faithful the better than subjects unto the Macedonimeaning in that War, which was concluded an, and far lefs by him respected, than were by general affent. The Epirots that were the Acheans. Thus were they transported more mighty, were nevertheless more cun- by contemplation of their old Nobility and ning and referved: so that they flood upon fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the Ætolians to fend; they first made preparation. Philip was not peace. There he did great spoil, and won ans, that were consederate with Philip and divers Towns; whereof two he retained, the Achaans. and annexed unto the State of Lacedemon.

their Confederates had expected, when dity thereof, they hoped shortly to make

an Embassie to Sparta: which propounded ready: the Epirots gave uncertain answer: the matter openly unto the people, whereof the Messenians would not stir : all the burno one of the Citizens durst have made him- den must lye upon themselves and the poor felf the Author. Much disputation, and hot, Acarmanians, whom the Atolians, by fathere was, between those of the Macedonian vour of the Eleans, could invade at pleaparty, and these their opposites: in such wise sure, as they were like to do; and by help that nothing could be concluded; until by of the Lacedamonians, could affail on all maffacre or banishment of all, or the chief, parts at once. It was not long ere the Ætothat foake against the Ætolians : the di- lians, passing over the Bay of Corinth , surversity of opinion was taken quite away. prised the Town of Agira: which if they Then forthwith a League was concluded be- could have held, they should thereby grievtween the Lacedamonians and Atolians : oully have molested the Achaans, for that it without all regard of the Macedonians or stood in the mid-way between Agium and Acheans, who had spared the City, when they Sycion, two of their principal Cities, and might have destroyed it. Then also they gave open way into the heart of all their went in hand with the election of new Kings: Country. But as Ægira was taken by surwherein their diligence was so nice, and so prise: so was it presently lost again, through regardful of their ancient Laws, as touching greedines of spoil; whilest they that should the choosing of the one King, that we may have made it their first care, to assure the justly wonder, how they grew so careless place unto themselves, by occupying the ciin making choice of the other. In the one tadel and other pieces of strength, fell heedof their Royal Families they found Agespo- lesly to ransack private houses, and thereby lis, the fon of Agespolis, the son of King Cle- gave the Citizens leave to make head, by ombrotus: and him they admitted to reign whom they were driven with great flaughover them, as heir apparent to his grand-ter back unto their Fleet. About the same father. This Aespolis was a young Boy, time, another Ætolian Army landing among standing in need of a Guardian; and had an the Eleans, fell upon the Western Coast of Uncle, his Fathers Brother, that was fit for Achaia; wasting all the Territory of the the Government. Yet because the Law re- Dymeans and other people, that were first quired, that the fon, how young foever, should beginners of the Achean Confederacy. The have his fathers whole right and Title: the Dymaans and their neighbours made head Lacedemonians, though standing in need of against these Invaders; but were so well beaa man, were to punctual in observation of ten, that the enemy grew bolder with them the Law, that they made this child their than before. They fent for help unto their King, and appointed his Uncle Cleamenes to Prætor, and to all the Towns of their Sociebe his Protector. But in the other branch ty in vain. For the Acheans having lately of the Royal Family, though there was no been much weakened by Cleomenes . were want of heirs: yet would not the people now able to do little of themselves: neither trouble themselves about any of them, to could they get any strength of Mercenaries; examine the goodness of his Claim; but forasmuch as at the end of Cleomenes his war made election of one Lycurgus, who having they had covetoully with held part of their no manner of title to the Kingdom, be due from those that served them therein. So flowed upon each of the Ephori, a Talent, through this disability of the Acheans, and and thereby made himself be saluted King insufficiency of their Prætor; the Dymeans, of sparta, and a Gentleman of the race of with others, were driven to with-hold their Hercules. This Lycurgus to gratifie his Par- contribution heretofore made for the pubtifans, and to approve his worth by action, lick fervice, and to convert the money to invaded the Country of the Argives: which their own defence. Lycurgus also with his Lalay open and unguarded, as in a time of cedamonians, began to win upon the Arcadi-

Philip came to the borders of the Ætoli-After fuch open hostility, the Lacede- ans, whilst their Army was thus employed a monians declared themselves on the Etoli- far off in Peloponnesus. The Epirots joinlian fide; and proclaimed War against the ed all their forces with him; and by such their willing readiness, drew him to the siege Thus the beginnings of the War fell out of a Frontier piece, which they defired to get much otherwise, than the Acheans and into their own hands; for that, by commo-

them-

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fpent forty dayes, ere he could end the the Achean Embassadors; news came our business; which tended only to the benefit of Macedon, that the Dardanians were of the Epirots. Had he entred into the heart ready with a great Army to fall upon the of Æsolia at his first coming in; it is thought Country. These Dardanians were a barthat he might have had an end of the War. barous people, divided by Mount Hamus But it happens oft, that the violence of great from the Northern part of Macedon, and Armies is broken upon small Towns or were accustomed to seek booty in that Forts: and not feldom, that the impor-tunity of Affociates, to have their own de-own times. Having therefore intelligence, fires fulfilled, converts the preparations of that Philip was about to make a journey great Kings to those uses for which they into Peloponnesus; they purposed in his never were intended; thereby hindering absence, which they thought would be the prosecution of their main designs. Thus was our King Henry the eighth led selves in his Countrey: as had been their aside, and quite out of his way, by Maxi- manner upon the like advantages. This milian the Emperour to the fiege of Tour- made the King to dismis the Achean Emmay: at fuch time as the French King Lewis baffadors, (whom he should have accomof Termin was loft, and that his Cavallery, bid them have patience until another

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Paris. in such fort, as their Prætor Scopas adventu- returning in his last Voyage from the Cycla-The state of the s neither Temple, nor any other of the good- Macedon, towards which they were already ly buildings therein, but overturned all: and on their way. among the rest, he threw down the Sta- All that summer following the King rested tua's that were there erected, of the Macedo at Lariffa in Theffaly, whilest his people dian Kings. For this he was highly honoured gathered in their Harvest. But the Ætolians by his Country-men at his return; for a for a funch refted not. They avenged them felves upon as hereby they thought their Nation to be the Fpirots: whom for the harms by them Peloponness, but even to Macedon it self. with all extremities of War, among which, like spoil in the Country of the Eleans, than two thousand Foot, and an hundred

themselves Masters of Ambracia. There he whereto he was vehemently solicited hu the twelfth, hearing that the strong City panied home with his Army) and to wherein rested his chief confidence, two year. So he took his way home-wards: thousand were beaten by the Earl of and as he was passing out of Acarnanie Effex with seven hundred English; was into Epirus, there repaired unto him Dethinking to withdraw himself into Britain, metrius Pharius, with no more than one in fear that Henry would have come to Ship; that was newly chafed out of his Kingdom by the Romans. This Demetrim The stay that Philip made at Ambrachus, had lately shewed himself a friend to Antidid wondroully embolden the Atolians: gonus Dofon in the wars of Cleomenes: and red to lead all their forces out of the Coun- des, was ready at their first request, to take try; and therewith not only to over-run part with Philips Captains. Thefe,or the like Macedon upon the Agean Sea : which, being was ever after. The Dardanians hearing of forfaken by the Inhabitants at his coming, the Kings return, brake up their Army, and he took, and razed to the ground. He spared gave over for the present their invasion of

grown terrible, not only (as before) unto and Philip done in Etolia, they requited But this their pride was (oon abated; and the most notable was the ruine of the most they rewarded shortly at home in their own famous Temple of Dodona. When Winter Country, for their pains taken at Dium. grew on, and all thought of War, until ano-Philip having dispatched his work at Am- ther year, was laid aside: Philip stole a bracus, made a strong invation upon Ato- journy into Peloponness, with 5000. Foot, & lia. He took Phatia, Metropolis, Veniade, about 400. Horse. As soon as he was within Pagnium, Elaw, and divers other Towns Corinth; He commanded the gates to be and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt shut, that no word should be carryed forth some, and fortified others. He also beat of his arrival. He sent privily for old Arathe Etolians in fundry skirmishes : and two to come thither unto him: with whom wasted all the Countrey over, without he took order, when, and in what places, receiving any harm. This done, while he would have the Achaan Souldiers ready he was about to make a cut over the to meet him. The enemies were then abroad Straights into Peloponnesus , and to do the in the Country , without somewhat more immediately following. He won Pfophis, an the rest of the winter. exceeding strong Town, in the borders of Before the Kings arrival in Pcloponnelus, and given to the Acheans of his meer motilike liberality he used towards others, that he came to the City of Olympia: where having done facrifice to Jupiter, feasted his Cap

Horfe; little thinking to meet with oppo- | the Ætolians: but they made fuch hatte from fition. Indeed they had little cause to fear: him, that he could not overtake them, till fince the Acheans themselves were not aware they had covered themselves within the that the King was in their Land with his Town of Samicum; where they thought to Macedonians; until they heard, that these have been fafe. But Philip assaulted them two thousand Eleans, Etolians, and their fel- therein to forcibly, that he made them glad lows, were by him surprized, and all made to yield the place; obtaining license to deprisoners, or flain. By this exploit which he part with their lives and arms. Having perdid at his first coming, Philip got very much formed so much in this expedition, the King reputation, and likewise he purchased reposed himself a while in Migalopolis, and both reputation and love, by divers actions then removed to Argos, where he spent all

areadia, which the Eleans and Etoliant then held. He won it by affault at his new King, had gotten somewhat in Areadia; first coming : wherein it much availed and threatned to do great matters. But when him, that the Enemy, not believing that he they were admonished, by the calamity that would undertake such a piece of work at fell upon the Eleans, of the danger hanging such an unseasonable time of the year, was over their own heads; they quitted their careless of providing even such store of wea- winnings, and withdrew themselves home. pons, as might have served to defend it. The This Lycurgus, as he had no other right to the Town was preserved by the King from sack; Kingdom of Sparta, than that which he could buy with mony, so was he neither free on, before they requested it. Thence trom danger of conspiracies made against went he to Lason, which yielded for very him: nor from those jealousies, with which fear; hearing how easily he had taken Pfophis. Usurpers are commonly perplexed. There had ancient title unto places by him recove- Kingdom, purposed to make way thereunto red. Then fell he upon the Country of Elis, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards where was much wealth to be gotten : for to confirm himfelf, by propounding unto the that the people were addicted to husbandry, multitude such reformation of the State as and lived abroad in Villages; even such as was most popular: namely, by making an were of the wealthier fort among them. So equal distribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Commontains, and refreshed his Army three days; He | wealth. He won to his party some two hunproceeded on to the spoil of those, that had dred men; with whom he fell upon the Ephori. taken pleasure to share with the Atolians, as they were together at supper, & slew them in the spoils of their otherwise-deserving all. Then went he to Lycurgus his house: who neighbours. Great abundance of Cattel he perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. took, with great numbers of flaves, and it remained that he should give account much wealth of all forts, fuch as could be of these doings to the people, and procure found in rich villages. Then he fell in hand them to take part with him. But their with the Towns, whereinto a great multi- minds not being hereto predisposed; they so tude of the Country people were fled. Some little regarded his goodly offers, as even of these were taken at the first affault. Some whilst he was using his best perswasions, they yielded for fear. Some prevented the labour were consulting how to apprehend him. Chiof his journey, by fending Embassadors to lon perceived whereabout they went, and yield before he came. And some that were shifted presently away. So he lived afterheld with Garrisons against their wils, took wards among the Acheans a banished man, courage to fet themselves at liberty, by see- and hated of his own people. As for Lycurgus ing the King so near : to whose Patronage he returned home : & suspecting thenceforth thenceforth they betook themselves. And all those of Hercules his race, found means many places were spoiled by the Ætolians to drive out his fellow King young Agespote Captains; because they distrusted their whereby he made himself Lord alone. His ability to hold them. So the King won more doings grew to be suspected, in such fort, as Towns in the Country, than the sharp- once he should have been apprehended by nels of winter would suffer him to stay there the Ephori. But though his actions hitherto days. Fain he would have fought with might have been defended; yet rather than to adventure himself into judgment, to take and whip them. If any of them of he chose to flie for a time, and so journ among fered (as there were some of them that his friends the Ætolians. His well-known could not refrain) to help their fellows; vehemency in opposition to the Macedoni- them he laid by the heels, and punished as ans, had procured unto him such good liking Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to among the people, that in his absence they pass by little and little, that they should be began to confider the weakness of their own qualified with an habit of blind obedience; furmifes against him; and pronouncing him and think nothing unjust that pleased the innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. King. But these Acheans were tenderly sen-But in time following, he took better heed lible in matters of liberty: whereof if they unto himself: not by amending his conditi- could have been contented to fuffer any liton (for he grew a Tyrant, and was fo ac | the diminution, they needed not have trouknowledged) but by taking order, that it bled the Macedonians to help them in the should not be in the power of the Citizens war against Cleomenes. They bemoaned to expel him when they lifted. By what themselves unto old Aratus: and besought actions he got the name of a Tyrant; or at him to think upon some good order, that what time it was, that he chased Agesipolis they might not be oppressed by degrees. out of the City; I do not certainly find. Aratus forthwith dealt earnestly with the Like enough it is, That his being the first of King; as in a matter more weighty than at three usurpers, which followed in order first it might feem. The King bestowed one after another, made him to be placed in gracious words upon those that had been the rank of Tyrants; which the last of the wronged, and forbade Apelles to follow the three very justly deserved. Whatsoever he course begun. Hereat Apelles was inwardwas toward fome private Citizens, in the ly vexed, though he diffembled his choler war against Philip, he behaved himself as a for a time. He thought so well of his own provident man, and careful of his Coun- Project, that he could not endure to lav treys good.

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to them.

This man, seeming to himself a great Polipiece of service to his Prince, if he could reduce the Achaans unto the same degree of fubjection, wherein the Mucedonians lived. To bring this to pass; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the Macedonians to thrust the Achaans out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, fome of that Nation; cauting his Ministers Arasus had laboured. This was thought a

it aside; being perhaps unable to do the King any valuable service, in business of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to begin at the head: fince, in biting How Philip was misadvised by ill Counsellors: at the tail, the fish had shot away from his who afterwards wrought treason against mouth. It could not otherwise be than that him; and were justly punished. He invadeth among the Acheans there were some, who the Ætolians a second time: and forceth bore no hearty affection to Aratus. These them to fue for peace: which is granted un- he enquired out, and fending for them, entertained them with words of Court : promiling to become their especial friend, and WHilest the King lay at Argos devising commend them unto the King. Then brake upon his business for the year fol- he his purpose with the King himself: letlowing, fome ambitious men that were ting him know, that as long as he continued about him, studied so diligently for their to make much of Aratus, he must be fain own greatness, as they were like to have to deal precisely with the Acheans, and as it spoiled all that he took in hand. Antigonus were by Indenture, according to the letter of Doson had left unto Philip such Counsellors, the Contract: whereas if he would bepleaas to him did feem the fittest men for go- fed, to give countenance unto those others verning of his youth. The chief of these whom he himself commended, then should was Apelles; that had the charge of his per- the Acheans, and all other Peloponnesians, son, and also the ordering of his Treasures, be quickly brought to conform themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By tician, thought that he should do a notable such perswasions, he drew the King to be present at Ægium, where the Acheans were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have been needful in a business of more imporance, the King by fair words and threatnings together, obtained fo much, That Eperatus, a very insufficient man, but one of Apelles his new favourites, was chosen Przas occasion fell out; he was bold to chastise tor, instead of one more worthy, for whom

good introduction unto greater matters ning to the Kings offers. All this was a false that should follow. The King from thence lye, divised by Apelles himself, upon no other patied along by Patras and Dyma, to a very ground than his own malice. Thilip had ftrong Castle held by the Eleans, which was no sooner heard this tale, but in a great called Ticker. The garrifon yielded it up rage he fent for the two Arati, and bade Afor fear, at his first coming: whereof he pelles rehearse it over again to their faces. was glad, for that he had an earnest desire Apelles did so, and with a bold countenance, to bestow it upon the Dymauns, as he pre- talking to them as to men already convicted. fently did.

while he heard of no messengers from the this cliuse, as it were, in the Kings name: Since Fleans, to fue for peace. For at his depart the King hath found you fuch ungrateful ture out of their Country the last Winter, wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliahe had let loofe one Amphidamus a Captain ment of the Acheans; and therein having of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he made it known what ye are, to depart into found him an intelligent man, and one that Macedon, and leave you to your felves. Old undertook to make them forfake their alli- Aratus gravely admonished the King; That ance with the Atolians, and joyn with him whenfoever he heard any accusation, espeupon reasonable terms. This if they could be cially against a friend of his own, or a man contented to do, he willed Amphidamus to of worth, He should forbear a while to give let them understand, That he would render credit, untill he had diligently examined the unto them freely all prisoners which he had business. For such deliberation was Kingly, of theirs; That he would defend them from and he should never thereof repent him. At all forrain invasion; and that they should the present he said there needed no more, hold their liberty entire, living after their than to call in those that had heard his talk own Laws, without paying any manner of with Amphidamus, and especially him that Tribute, or being kept under by any garrihad brought this goodly tale to Apeller. For fon. These conditions were not to be despitive would be a very absurd thing, That the fed, if they had found credit, as they might King should make himself the Author of a Castle of Tichos, and made a new invasion whereof there was none wher evidence, fellor, thereby took occasion to supplant discerned. Aratus. He faid that old Aratus, and his fon

And when he had faid all the reft, ere either The King thought it strange, that all this Thilip or they spake any word; He added have done. But when Philip came to the report in the open Parliament of Achaia, upon their Country: then began the Eleans, than one mans yea, and anothers no. Hercof (that were not before over-hasty to believe the King liked well; and said that he would fuch fair promises ) to suspect Amphidamus make sufficient inquiry. So passed a few as a Traitor, and one that was set on work dayes: wherein whilest Apelles delayed to for no other end, than to breed a mutual bring in the proof, which indeed he wanted, diffidence between them and the Etolians. Amphidamus came from Elis, and told what Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon had befall him there. The King was not forhim, and fend him prisoner into Atolia. getful, to examine him about the conspiracy But he perceived their intent, and got away of the Arati: which, when he found no betto Dyma: in good time for himself; in bet- ter than a meer device against his honourater for Aratus. For the King (as was faid) ble friends; he entertained them in loving marvailing what should be the cause, that manner as before. As for his love to Apelles, he heard no news from the Eleans, concern- though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet ing the offers which he had made unto by means of long acquaintance and daily them by Amphidamus : Apelles his Coun-employment, no remission therein could be

The unreftful temper of Apelles, having together, had such devices in their heads, as with much vehemency brought nothing to tended little to the Kings good: And long pass, began (as commonly Ambition uleth) of them he faid it was, that the Eleans did to swell and grow venemous for want of thus hold out. For when Amphidamus was his free motion. He betskes himself to his dismissed home, the two Arati, (the father cunning again : and as before, being checkt and the son) had taken him aside and given in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had him to understand, that it would be very prepared a snare for the Arati: so railing of prejudicial to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans them, he thinks it wisdom to lay for the King once became at the devotion of the Mace- himself, and for all at once which were donian: And this was the true cause, why about him. In such manner sometime, the neither Amphidamus was ver yeareful in do- Spider thought to have taken the Swallow ing this meilage; nor the Eleans in heark- which drave away flyes out of the chimny;

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but was carryed (net and all) into the Air by | spiracy with Leontius and Megaleas: bind. the bird, that was too strong to be caught, ing himself and them by Oath, to cross and and held by the fubtle workmanship of a bring to nought, as well as they were able. Cob web. Of the four that next unto Apel all that the King should take in hand. By so his were left by Antigonis in chief place doing, they thought to bring it to pass, that about Philip; Taurion, his Lieutenant in Pe- very want of ability to do any thing withloponness, and Alexander Captain of the out them; should make him speak them fair. Guard, were faithful men, and fuch as would and be glad to submit himself to their dinot be corrupted, The other two, Leonius rections. The King it is like had flood in Captain of the Targettiers, and Megaleas some awe of them whilest he was a child: chief of the Secretaries, were eafily won and therefore these wise men perswaded to be at Apelles his disposition. This politition themselves, that by looking big upon him: cian therefore studied how to remove the and imputing unto him all that fell out ill other two from their places, and put some through their own misgovernment of his Creatures of his own into their rooms. A- affairs, they might rule him as a child still. gainst Alexander he went to work the ordi- Apelles would needs go to Chalcin, there to nary way, by calumniation and privy detra- take order for the provisions, which were to ction. But for the supplanting of Taurion he come that way out of Macedon: The other used more finenes; loading him with dai- two staid behind with the King, to play ly commendations, as a notable man of war, their parts; all more mindful of their wick-and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill spare from being alwayes in His Fleet and Army being in a readines: his presence. By such Art he thought to have Philip made countenance, as if he would removed him, as we fay, Out of Gods bleff- have bent all his forces against the Eleans; ing into a warm Sun. In the mean feason to whose aid therefore the Etolians fent Aratus retired himself: and sought to avoid men, little fearing that the mischief would the dangerous friendship of the King, by have fallen, as soon after it did, upon themforbearing to meddle in affairs of State. Selves. But against the Eleans and those that As for the new Prætor of Achaia, lately came to help them, Philip thought it enough chosen by such vehement instance of the to leave the Acheans, with some part of his King; He was a man of no dispatch, and one and their Mercenaries. He himself with the that had no grace with the people. Where- body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in fore a great deal of time was loft, whileft the Isle of Cephalenia : whence the Etolians, Philip wanted both the money and the dwelling over against it, used to furnish Corn, wherewith he should have been fur-nished by the Acheans. This made the King understand his own errour: which he of Palea, that had been very serviceable to wifely fought to reform betimes. He per- the Enemy against him and his Confedefwaded the Acheans to rejourn their Parli- rates; and might be very useful to him, if he ament from Agium, to Sycion, the Town of could get it. Whilest he lay before this Aratus. There he dealt with the old man and Town, there came unto him fifteen ships of his son, perswading them to forget what was war from Scerdilaidas; and many good past; and laying all the blame upon Apelles, Souldiers, from the Epirots, Acarmanians, their excursions by Sea.

even by the ministry of those whom he most by him corrupted, had not hindred the hated. Wherefore he entred into con- victory. The King was angry with this,

The fifth Book of the first Part

on whom thenceforth he intended to keep a and Messenians. But the Town was obstinate; more diligent eye. So by the travel of these and would not be terrified with numbers. worthy men, he easily obtained what he It was naturally fenced on all parts save one would of the Acheans. Fifty talents they gave on which fide Philip carryed a Mine to the him out of hand; with great store of Corn; wall, wherewith he overthrew two hunand further decreed, That fo long as he him dred foot thereof. Leontins Captain of the felf in person followed the wars in PeleponTargettiers, was appointed by the King to
mef m, he should receive ten talents a moneth.

But he, remembring his Being thus enabled, he began to provide covenant with Apelles, did both wilfully fhipping, that so he might invade the Etoli- forbear to do his best : and caused others to ans , Eleans , and Lacedamonians , that were do the like. So the Macedonians were put maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder to foile, and many slain, not of the worst Souldiers: but such as had gotten over the It vexed speller beyond measure, to see breach, and would have carried the Town, things go forward so well without his help; if the Treason of their Captain, and some thought upon breaking up the siege. For it got not to raze a goodly Temple, the chief was easier unto the Towns men to make up of all belonging unto the Linhans; in rememthe gap in their wall, than for him to make brance of their like courtefie, shewed upon is wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed the Temples of Dinm and Dodana. This burand uncertain what course to take : the ning of the Temple, might (questionless) Mellenians and Acarnanians lay hard upon more for the Kings honour have been forhim, each of them desirous to draw him into born. But perhaps he thought, as Monseur their own Countrey. The Messenians alledg- du Gourgues the French Captain told the ed, that Lycurgus was busie in wasting their Spaniards in Florida, That they which had Countrey: upon whom the King might no faith, needed no Church. At his return come unawares in one day; the Etestan winds from Thermum, the Ætolians laid for him: which then blew, ferving fitly for his Navi- which that they would do, he believed begation. Hereto also Leontins perswaded; fore, and therefore was not taken unawares. who confidered that those winds, as they Three thousand of them there were that lywould easily carry him thither, so would ing in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he they detain him there perforce (blowing laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his ilall the Dog dayes) and make him fpend lyrians; who staying behind the rest, did the Summer to small or no purpose. But set upon the backs of the Esolians, whilest Aratus gave better counsel, and prevailed: they were busily charging in Rear the Arhe shewed how unfitting it were, to let the my that went before. So with slaughter of Etolians over-run all Theffaly again , and the enemy, he returned the same way that some part of Macedon, whilest the King he came: and burning down those places that withdrew his Army far off to feek small he had taken before, as also wasting the adventures. Rather, he said that the time Country round about him, He safely carried now served well to carry the war into Eto- all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once lia; fince the Prætor was gone thence abroad the Ætolians made countenance of fight, ifon roving, with the one half of their strength. suing out of Stratus in great bravery. But As for Lycurgus, he was not strong enough they were beaten home faster than they came, to do much harm in Peloponnesse: and it and followed to their very gates. might suffice, if the Acheans were appoint- The joy of this victorious expedition beed to make head against them. According ing every way compleat, and not deformed to this advice, the King set fail for Etolia, (as commonly happens) by any finister acciand enters the Bay of Ambracia, which di- dent; it pleafed the King to make a great feast vided the Atolians from Acarmania. The unto all his friends and Captains. Thither Acarnanians were glad to see him on their were invited among the rest Leonius, with borders; and joyned with him as many of his fellow Megaleas. They came because they them as could bear arms, to help in taking could not choose: but their heavy looks vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He argued, what little pleasure they took in the marched up into the inland Countrey: and Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, taking some places by the way, which he that they should be able to give no better filled with Garrisons to affure his Retreat; account unto Apelles, of their hindering the He passed on to Thermum, which was the Re- Kings business; since Apelles himself, as will ceptacle of the Ætolians, and surest place of be shewed anon, had played his own part defence in all extremities. The Countrey with a most mischievous dexterity. Finding round about was a great fastness, environed Aratus on the way home to his Tent : they with rocky Mountains of very narrow freep, fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, and difficult ascent. There did the Etolians so that they caused a great uprore: many use to hold all their chief meetings, their running in (as happens in such cases) to take Fairs, their election of Magistrates, and part with the one or the other. The King their folemn Games. There also they used fending to enquire of the matter, was truly to bestow the most precious of their goods, informed of all that had passed: Which made as in a place of greatest security. This opi- him fend for Leontine and his fellows. But nion of the natural strength, had made them Leontine was gotten out of the way : Megacareless in looking unto it. When Philip less, and another withhim, came. The King therefore had overcome the bad way, began to rate them for their disorder : and there was nothing else to do than to take they, to give him froward answers: insospoil: whereof he found such plenty, that he much, as they said at length, That they thought the pains of his journy well recom- would never give over, till they had re-Penced. So he loaded his Army : and confum- warded Aratus with a mischief as he deser-

but there was no remedy: and therefore he | ing all that could not be carried away, for-

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ward. Leontise hearing of this comes boldly Countrey. All Greece and Macedon was up to the King, with his Targettiers at his heels: in arms against them, and their weak Allies and with a proud grace demanded, who it the Eleans and Lacedemonians. Neither was was that had dared to lay hands upon Me- it certain, how long the one or other of galeas, yea, and to cast him into prison? Why these their Peloponnesian friends should be faid the King, it was even I. This resolute able to hold out, fince they were not strong answer, which Leontins had not expected, enough to keep the field, but had already made him depart both fad and angry; fee fuffered those miseries of war, which by a liting himself out-frowned, and not knowing the continuance would make them glad, each how to remedy the matter. Shortly after to feek their own peace, without regard of Megaleas was called forth to his answer, and their Confederates. Wherefore the Etolians was charged by Aratus with many great readily entertain'd this negotiation of peace: crimes. Among which were , The him and taking truce for thirty dayes with the derance of the Kings victory at Palea, and the King, dealt with him by intercession of the touching Leontius, that stood by as a looker at a Diet of the Nation, that should be held on, than Megaleas that was accused. In con- at Rhium; whither if he would vouchfafe fo ftrong, and his answers thereto so weak; them conformable to any good reason. that he, and Crinon one of his fellows, were condemned in twenty Talents: Crinon being time and Megaleas thought to have terrified remanded back to prison; and Leontins be- the King, by raising sedition against him in upon the way home-wards, as the King was effect. The Souldiers were easily and quickly

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returning to Corinth. finess of this year. For as soon as he was at were not rewarded with so much of the Corinth, he took in hand an Expedition booty, as they thought to belong of right against the Lacedemonians. These and the unto them. But their anger spent it self in a Eleans had done what harm they could in noise, and breaking open of doors, without Peloponnesus, whilest the King was absent. further harm done. This was enough to in-The Acheans had opposed them as well as form the King (who easily pacified his men they could; with ill success, yet so, as they with gentle words) that some about him were hindred them from doing such harm as else very false. Yea, the Souldiers themselves rethey would have done. But when Philip penting of their infolence, defired to have came, he over ran the Country about Lace- the Authors of the tumult fought out, and had been grievously afflicted, as before is on sake) of the King: who seemed no

wed. Hereupon the King committed them to | shewed, by Philip in the centre of their own Compact made with Apelles: matters no less same Embassadours, to intreat his presence clusion, the presumptions against him were to come, they promised that he should find

Whilest these things were in hand. Leon. coming Bail for Megaleas. This was done the Army. But this device forted to no good incensed against many of the Kings friends, Philip dispatched well a great deal of bu- who were said to be the cause, why they damon: and was in a manner at the Gates of punished according to their deserts. The Sparta, ere men could well believe that he King made shew as if he had not cared to was returned out of Etolia. He took not in make fuch inquisition. But Leontine and Methis Expedition any Cities, but made great galess were afraid, lest the matter would wast in the fields: and having beaten the enemy in some skirmishes, carried back with ger. Wherefore they sent unto Apelles, the him to Corinth a rich booty of cattel, flaves, Head and Architect of their treason, requeand other Country spoil. At Corinth he sting him speedily to repair unto Corinth, found attending him, Embassadors from the where he might stand between them and Rhodians and Chians, that requelted him to the Kings displeasure. Apelles had not all fet Greece at quiet , by granting peace unto this while been wanting to the bufiness, the Esolians. They had gracious audience: undertaken by him and his treacherous and he willed them to deal first with the companions. He had taken upon him, as a Etolians, who if they would make the same man that had the Kings heart in his own request, should not find him unreasonable, hand : and thereby was he grown into The Atolians had sped ill that year : neither such credit, that all the Kings Officers in faw they any likely hopes for the years fol- Macedon and Theffaly addressed themselves lowing. The Army that they had lent forth unto him, and received from him their dito waste Thefaly and Macedon , found such Spatch in every businels. Likewise the Greek opposition on the way; that not daring to in all their flattering Decrees, took ocproceed, it returned home without bringing casion to magnifie the vertue of Apelle, any thing to effect. In the mean feason they making slight mention (only for fashibetter than the Minister and Executioner I fink under the burden of his own poverty. of Apelles his will and pleasure. Such was the By this the King understood more perfectly arrogancy of this great man, in fetting him- the fallhood, not only of Megaleus, but of felf out unto the people : but in managing Apelles; whose cunning head had laboured the Kings affairs, he made it his special care, all this while to keep him so poor. Wherethat money and all things needful for the fore he fent one to pursue Megaleas that publick service, should be wanting. Yea, was fled to Thebes. As for Apelles, he comhe enforced the King for very need, to fell his own Plate and houshold vessels: was need to show. It is in and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein thinking to resolve these and all other dis- all of them shortly ended their lives. Meficulties, by only faying, Sir, be ruled wholly galeas also, neither daring to stand to trial. by me, and all shall be as you would wish. Here- nor knowing whither to flie, was weary to if the King would give affent, then had of his own life, and flew himfelf about the this Politician obtained his hearts desire. same time. Now taking his journey from Chalcis in the The Ætolians, as they had begun this Ifle of Enbra, to the City of Corinth where war upon hope of accomplishing what they Philip then lay : he was fetcht in with great lifted in the Nonage of Philip : fo finding that

pomp and royalty, by a great number of the vigour of this young Prince tempered the Captains and Souldiers; which Leon-with the cold advice of Arata, wrought tim and Megaless drew forth to meet him very effectually toward their overthrow; on the way. So entring the City with a they grew very desirous to make an end of goodly train, he went directly to the Court, it. Nevertheless, being a turbulent Nation. and towards the Kings chamber. But Philip and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, was well aware of his pride, and had vehe- when they heard what was happened in the ment suspition of his falshood. Wherefore Court, the death of Apelles, Leontius, and one was fent to tell him, that he should wait Megaleas, together with some indignation a while, or come another time, for the King thereupon conceived by some of the Kings was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that was a pretty thing, that fuch a check at his these troubles would be long lasting, and made all his attendants forfake him, as a man thereupon brake the day appointed for the in difgrace; in such fort, that going thence to meeting at Rhium. Of this was Philip nothing his lodging, he had none to follow him fave forry. For being in good hope throughhis own Pages. After this, the King vouch- ly to tame this unquiet Nation; he thought fafed him now and then some slender graces : it much to concern his own honour , that but in consultations, or other matters of pri- all the blame of the beginning and contivacy, he used him not at all. This taught Me- nuing the War should rest upon themselves. galeas to look to himself, and run away Wherefore he willed his Confederates to betimes. Hereupon the King fent forth Tau- lay afide all thought of peace, and to pretion his Lieutenant of Peloponnesus, with all pare for War against the year following; the Targettiers, as it were to do some piece wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. offervice, but indeed of purpose to appre- Then gratified he his Macedonian Souldiers. hend Leontine in the absence of his follow- by yielding to let them winter in their own ers. Leontise being taken, dispatched away Country. In his return homeward, he cala messenger presently to his Targettiers, to led into judgement one Ftolomy, a companifiguifie what was befaln him : and they on with spelles and Leontins in their Treaforthwith fent unto the King in his behalf. fons : who was therefore condemned by They made request, That if any other the Macedonians; and suffered death. These thing were objected against him, he might were the same Macedonians, that lately not be called forth to trial before their re- could not endure to hear of Leanting his turn : as for the debt of Megaleas, if that were imprisonment ; yet now they think the man all the matter, they faid they were ready to worthy to die that was but his adherent. make a purse for his discharge. This affection So vain is the confidence, on which Reof the Souldiers made Philip more hasty than bels use to build, in their favour with the else he would have been, to take away the Multitude.

Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters During his abode in Macedon, Philip won of Megaleas were intercepted, which he some bordering Towns, from which the wrote unto the Ætolians; vilifying the King Dardanians, Ætolians, and other his ill with opprobrious words, and bidding them neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes not to hearken after peace, but to hold out into his Kingdom: when he had thus proa while, for that Philip was even ready to vided for fafety of his own; the Etolians might

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CHAP. IV

might well know what they were to expect. 1 a great Oration: telling, how happy it was But there came again Embaliadors from the for the Greeks, that they might at their own Rhodians and Chians, with others from Ptolo pleasure dispute about finishing War bemy King of Agypt, and from the City of tween themselves, without being molested Bizantium, recontinuing the former folici by the Barbarians. For when once either tation about the peace. This fashion had the Romans or Carthaginians had subdued been taken up in matters of Greece, ever one the other; it was not to be doubted. fince the Kings that reigned after Alexander, that they would forthwith look Eastward. had taken upon them to fet the whole Coun and feek by all means to fet footing in try at liberty: No looner was any Province Greece. For this cause he saidit were good. or City in danger to be oppressed and sub- that their Country should be at peace withdued by force of war, but presently there in it self : and that Philip, if he were were found Interceffors, who pittying the defirous of War, should lay hold on the effusion of Greekiff blood, would importune opportunity, now fitly ferving to enlarge the stronger to relinquish his advantage. his Dominion, by winning somewhat in By doing such friendly offices in time of Italy. need, the Princes and States abroad fought to bind unto them those people, that were give, when they stood in fear of danger how foever weak in numbers, yet very threatning them at hand : but being foon good Souldiers. But hereby it came to after weary of rest, as being accustomed to pals, that the more froward fort, especially enrich themselves by pillage, they were so the Etolians, whose whole Nation was ad- far from observing and following their own dicted to falshood and robbery, durst enter good counsel, that they invited the Roboldly into quarrels with all their neigh- mans into Greece, whereby they brought bours: being well affured that if they had themselves and the whole Countrey (but the worlt, The love of Greece would be fuffi- themselves before any other part of the cient for to redeem their quiet. They Country) under servitude of strangers. had, fince the late Treaty of Peace, done The Condition of this Peace was simple, what harm they could in Peloponnesis: but That every one should keep what they being beaten by the Acheans, and standings in fear to be more foundly beaten at home, they defired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the War as foon as they might. Philip made fuch answer unto the Embassadours, as he had done the former year; That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this War, nor was at the present afraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it : But that the Ætolians , if they had a defire to live in rest, must first be dealt withal, to signific plainly their determination, whereto himself would

Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a young Prince, and in away, till the great battel of Canne: after hope to increase the honour which he daily which he joyned in league with Hannibal, as got by the War. But it happened in the hath been thewed before. Demetring Phamiddest of this Negotiation, that he was riss bore great malice unto the Romans; him to take part with Hannibal: and not to otherwise been far more expedient for Phifit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian lip, to have supported the weaker of those War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than two great Cities against the more mighty. before unto Peace with the Atolians : which For by fo doing , he should perhaps have was concluded shortly in a meeting at Nan- brought them to peace upon some equal pattus. There did Agelaus an Atolian make terms; and thereby, as did Hiero; a far

Such advice could the Etolians then held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for dammages

# ø. III.

Philip, at the persuasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into League with Hannibal against the Romans. The tenour of the League between Hannibal and Philip.

"His being agreed upon: the Greeks betook themselves to quiet courses of return such answer as he should think life; and Philip to prepare for the business of Italy, about which he consulted with Demetrius Pharius. And thus passed the time advertised by letters out of Macedon, what a and knew no other way to be avenged upon notable victory Hannibal had obtained them, or to recover his own loft Kingdom, against the Romans in the battel at Thrasy than by procuring the Macedonian, that was mene. These letters he communicated unto in a manner wholly guided by his counsel, Demetrius Pharius: who greatly encouraged to take part with their enemies. It had busie piece.

of the History of the World.

Macedon.

Denne Jupiter, and Juno, and Apollo, before \* the the Corcyraans, nor over those of Apollonia, friends, familiar, and brethren, upon Cove- mon consent. nunt; that the sufery of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of Hannibal the General, and those that are with him , and of the Rulers of Provintes of the Carthaginians , using the same Laws, and of the Uticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Affociates, and of all Towns and

weaker Prince, have both fecured his own | Nations with which we hold friendflip in Italy, Estate, and caused each of them to be de- Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we shall firous of chief place in his friendship. The hold friendship, or make alliance hereafter in iffue of the counsel which he followed, will this Region; be preferred by King Philip and appear foon after this. His first quarrel with the Macedonians, and juch of the Greeks the Romans; the trouble which they and the as are their Associates. In like manner, shall Atolians did put him to in Greece; and the King Philip and the Macedonians, and other Peace which they made with him for a the Greeks his Affociates, be faved and pretime, upon such Conditions that might ea- ferved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the fily be broken, have been related in another Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that place, as belonging unto the second Punick obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates War. Wherefore I will only here set down and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in the tenour of the League between him and Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Carlbage, which may seem not unworthy Aliance, or shall hereaster joyn with Us in to be read, if only in regard of the form it Italy. We shall not take Counsel one against felf then used: though it had been over- the other, nor deal fraudulently one with the long to have been inserted into a more other. With all readiness and good will, without deceit or subtlety, We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Towns, and Havens, with which We have already league and friendship. We al-The Oath and Covenants be for shall be enemies to the enemies of King Phitween HANNIBAL General of the lip, excepting those Kings, Cities, and Na-Carthagmans, and Xenophanes, tions, with which we have already league and Embassadour of Philip King of Romans, have ye also with them, until the Gods shall give Us a new and happy end. Ye shall aid Us with those things whereof we have "His is the Leagure ratified by Oath, which need, and shall do according to the Covenants Hannibal the General, and with him between Us. But if the Gods shall not give Mago, Myrcal, and Barmocal, as also the Se- unto Ton and Us their help in this War against nators of Carthage that are present, and all the Romans and their Affectates; then if the the Carthaginians that are in his Army , have Romans offer friendship, We shall make friendmade with Xenophanes the son of Cleoma- ship in such wife , that ye shall be partakers of chus Athenian , whom King Philip the fon the fame friendship , With Condition , That of Demetrius hath fent unto m, for himself and they shall not have power to make War upon the Macedonians, and his Affociates : Before You : Neither shall the Romans be Lords over God of the Carthaginians, Hercules and To- nor Dyrrhachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dilaus : before Mars, Triton, Neptune : before malle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They the Gods accompanying Arms, the Sun, the Shall also render unto Demetrius Pharius all Moon, and the Earth : before Rivers and that belong unto him, as muny as are within Meadows, and Waters : before all the Gods the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans that have power over Carthage: before all the (after such peace made) shall make War upon Gods that rule over Macedon, and the rest of Ton or Us; We will succour one another in Greete: before all she Gods that are Presidents that War, as either shall have need. The of War, and present at the making of this same shall be observed in War made by any League. Hannibal the General hath said, and other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the States, with whom we hold already league Carthaginians, in his Army: Be it agreed be- and friendship. To this league, if We or tween You and Us , that this Oath stand for Te fall think fit to add or detract , such adfriendship and loving affection, that We become dition or detraction shall be made by our comø. IV.

How Philip yielded to his natural vices , being therein foothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Affociates : With the troubles into which he thereby fell , whilest he bore a part in the and grows bateful to the Achæans.

Titherto Philip had carried himself as a vertuous Prince. And though with old man : but talked in private with such of more commendation of his wisdom, he might the Messenians as repaired unto him. He have offered his friendship to the Romans, asked the Governours, what they meant to that were like to be oppressed, than to the stand thus disputing : and whether they had Carthaginians, who had the better hand: not Laws to bridle the insolence of the unyet this his medling in the Punick War, ruly Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with proceeded from a royal greatness of mind, the heads of the popular Faction, he said it with a desire to secure and increase his own was strange, that they being so many would estate, adding therewithal reputation to suffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as his Country. But in this business he was if they had not hands to defend themselves guided (as hath been faid) by Demetrius from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them Pharius: who looking throughly into his prefumed on the Kings affiltance; they nature, did accommodate himself to his de thought it best to go roundly to work, ere fires : and thereby shortly governed him as that he were gone, that should countenance he lifted. For the vertues of Philip were not their doings. The Governours therefore indeed such as they seemed. He was lustful, would have apprehended some seditious bloody, and tyrannical: defirous of power Orators, that were, they faid, the stirrersup to do what he lifted, and not otherwise list- of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this ing to do what he ought, than so far forth, occasion, the people took Arms: and runas by making a fair shew he might breed in ningupon the Nobility and Magistrates, kilmen such good opinion of him, as should led of them in a rage, almost two hundred. help to serve his turn in all that he took in Fbilip thought, it seems, that it would be easie hand. Before he should busie himself in Italy, to worry the Sheep, when the Dogs their he thought it requisite in good policy, to Guardians were slain. But his falshood and bring the Greek that were his Affociates, double dealing was immediately found out under a more absolute form of subjection. Neither did the younger Aratus forbear to Hereunto Apelles had advised him before: tell him of it in publick, with very bitter and he had liked reasonably well of the and disgraceful words. The King was ascourfe. But Apiller was a boyfterous Counfellor, and one that referring all tohis own than was commendable, or excufable: and glory, thought himself deeply wronged, if yet further intending to take other things he might not wholly have his own way, but in hand wherein he should need the help were driven to await the Kings opportuni- and countenance of his best friends; he was ty at other times. Demetrius Pharius could content to smother his displeasure, and well be contented to observe the Kings make as fair weather as he could. He led humours: and guided, like a Coach-man, old Aratus afide by the hand; and went up with the reins in his hand, those affections into the Castle of Ithome, that was over which himself did only seem to follow. Messene. There he pretended to do facri-Therefore he grew daily more and more fice : and facrifice he did. But it was his in credit : fo as, without any manner of con- purpose to keep the place to his own use: tention, he supplanted Aratus; which the for that it was of notable strength, and violence of Apelles could never do.

There arose about these times a very hot

time, the contention among them grew for violent, that Philip was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resolving so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government : for that he would affume it wholly to himfelf. At his coming this scend Punick War. He poisoneth Aratus: ther, he found Aratus busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his own fecret purpofe. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend would serve to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadel of Corinth, Faction among the Meffenians, between the which he had already, commanded the en-Nobility and Commons: their vehement trance into that Country. Whilest he was thoughts being rather diverted (as happens therefore facrificing, and had the entrails often after a forreign War) unto domestical of the beast delivered into his hands, as was objects, than allayed and reduced unto a the manner; he shewed them to Araim, and more quiet temper. In process of no long gently asked him, whether the token that in possession of this place, he should quietly them. Thus instead of settling the Coungo out of it, or rather keep it to himself. He try, as his intended Voyage into Haly rethought perhaps, that the old man would quired : he kindled a fire in it which he have foothed him a little; were it only for could never quench, until it had laid hold defire for to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as Araam flood doubtful what to answer, Demetrias Pharine gave this verdict : If then be a the Roman came into those parts; who not Southfayer, thou maift go thy way, and let flip only maintained the Epirots against him, this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou but procured the Etolians to break the must not neglett the opportunity, but hold the Peace, which they had lately made with Oxe by both his horns. Thus he spake ; re- him. Sembling Ithome and Acrocorinthus unto the two horns of Pelepenne [we. Yet would Philip needs hear the opinion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep of, though Philip did the offices of a good the place, if it might be kept without breach Captain: yet when leisure served, he made of his faith unto the Meffenians: But if, by it apparent that he was a vicious King. He feizing upon Ithome, he must lose all the had not quite lest his former desire, of opother Castles that he held, and especially the pressing the liberty of the Messenians; but ftrongest Castle of all that was left unto made another journey into their Countrey. him by Antigonus, which was his credit; with hope to deceive them as before. They then were it far better to depart with his understood him better now than before; and Souldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had therefore were not hasty to trust him too his enemies.

present : but not without some dislike thence- Confederates were desirous to help him in fremed them, in contradicting his will. Net- his Counfellor and Flatterer, not his Perver-

nians into Pelopounefus.

siege to Apollonia; having no good colour to the increase of Idolatry. of these doings: but thinking himself strong The living memory of Aratus their Paenough to do what he lifted, and not feeing tron, and fingular Benefactor, could not but

he saw therein did signifie, That being now | whence they should procure friends to help on his own Palace. Whilest he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in Italy , M. Valerius

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Thus began that War; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In managing wheredone hitherto, by their own good wills, than far. When he faw that his cunning would by fortifying any strong places against not serve, he went to work by force; and them, to make them of his friends become calling them his enemies, invaded them with open War. But in that War he could do To this good advice, Philip yielded at the little good; perhaps, because none of his forth growing between him and the Mrati: fuch an enterprise. In this attempt upon whom he thought more froward than be. Meffene, he lost Demetrius Pharius; that was ther was the old man defirous at all, to deal ter; as appears by his growing daily more any longer in the Kings affairs, or be inward naught in following times. The worfe that with him. For, as he plainly discovered his he sped, the more angry he waxed against tyranhous purpofes; fo likewise he perceiv those that seemed not to favour his injuried, that in reforting to his house, he had ous doings. Wherefore, by the ministery been dishonest with his sons wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leafure Aratus; and shortly after that, he poysoned he might repent, that in despight of Cleo- also the younger Aratus : hoping that these menes, his own Countrey-man, and a tem- things would never have been known, beperate Prince, he had brought the Macedo- cause they were done secretly, and the poyfons themselves were more sure than mani-Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponne- fest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all for into Epiron, wherein Aratus refuied to the people of Achaia, decreed unto Aratus bear him company. In this journey he found more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, by experience what Aratus had lately told Hymns, and Processions, to be celebrated him, That unhonest counsels are not so pro- every year twice, with a Priest ordained fitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epi- unto him for that purpole; as was accustorots were his followers and dependants; and med unto the Heroes, or men, whom they so they purposed to continue. But he would thought to be translated into the number needs have them fo to remain, whether they of the gods. Hereunto they are faid to have purposed it or not. Wherefore to make been encouraged by an Oracle of Apollo: them the more obnoxius unto his will, he which is like enough to have been true, feized upon their Town of Oricum, and laid fince the help of the Devil is never failing

CHAP. IV.

work in the Acheans a marvellous diflike of that wicked King which had made him of Philopoemen General of the Achaens: thus away. He shall therefore hear of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsel for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally known or believed : neither were they in case to subsist, without hishelp that had committed it. The derates, sufficed to retain them: especially, obliged unto himself the Dymeans by an inestimable benefit : recovering their Town, after it had been taken by the Romans and Ætolians; and redeeming their people wheresoever they might be found, that had been carried away captive, and fold abroad the memory of offences past: if the malignity of his natural condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to un-derstand, that it was the Time, and not his whereof he was not ashamed, he took Poly old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the Romans make War upon him the second time: for, of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

ø. V.

and Machanidas, Tyrant of Lacedamon, battel between them, wherein Machanidas is

TT happens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the vertue of ano-Atolians were a most outragious people, ther. In the place of Aratus there stood up great darers, and shameless robbers. With Philopamen: whose notable valour, and great these the Romans made a league: whereof skill in Arms, made the Nation of the Achethe Conditions were foon divulged, especi- ans redoubtable among all the Greeks, ally that main point, concerning the divisi- and careless of such protection, as in former on of the purchase which they should make, times they had needed against the violence namely, That the Atolians should have the of their neighbours. This is that Philope. Countrey and Towns; but the Romans the men, who being then a young man, and spoil, and carry away the people to sell for having no command, did especial service to flaves. The Acheans, who in times of greater Antigonus at the battel of Sellafia against quiet, could not endure to make strait alli- Cleonsenes. Thence forward untill now he ance with the Atolians, as knowing their had spent the most part of his time in the uncivil disposition; were much the more life of Crete: the Inhabitants whereof beaverse from them, when they perceived how ing a valiant people, and seldom or never at they had called in the Barbarians (for fuch peace between themselves; he bettered did the Greeks account all other Nations among them his knowledge, and practice in except their own) to make havock of the the Art of War. At his return home, he had Country. The same consideration moved al- charge of the Horse: wherein he carried fo the Lacedemonians to stand off a while, himself so strictly, travelling with all the before they would declare themselves for Cities of the Confederacy to have his solthe Etolians, whose friendship they had lowers well mounted, & armed at all pieces; embraced in the late war. The industry as also he so diligently trained them up in therefore of Philip, and the great care which all exercise of service, that he made the he seemed to take of the Acheans his Confe-debeans very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or at fuch time, as their own necessity was General of the Nation, he had no less thereto concurrent. More particularly he care to reform their military discipline throughout, whereby his Countrey might be strong enough to defend it felf, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the help of others. He perswaded the Acheans to cut off their vain expence of bravery, in apparel, houshold-stuff, and for flaves. Thus might he have blotted out curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their Arms: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by fo much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and Wertue, which caused him to make such a their furniture. They had served hitherto shew of goodness. Among other foul acts, with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off; that were useful in skircratia the wife of the younger Aratus, and mishing at some distance, or for surprises, carried her into Maccdon: little regarding or sudden and hasty Expeditions, whereto how this might serve to confirm in the peo- Aratus had been most accustomed. But when ple their opinion, that he was guilty of the they came to handy-strokes, they were good for nothing, fo long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. Philopamen altered this: caufing them to arm themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the form of their em- his light armature a good way before him; battelling: not making the Files so deep as so as Machanidas was fain to do the like. To had been accustomed, but extending the second these, from the one and the other Front, that he might use the service of many side came in continual supply; till at length hands.

in which he first was Prator of the Achaans, fight: being so far advanced, each before when Machanidas the Tyrant of Lacedamon their own Phalanx, that it could no othercaused him to make trial, how his Souldiers wise be discerned which pressed forward, or had profited by his discipline. This Macha- which recoyled, than by rising of the dust. nides was the successor unto Lycurgus, a man Thus were Machanidas his engines made unmore violent than his fore-goer. He kept serviceable, by the interposition of his own in pay aftrong Army of Mercenaries: and he men; in fuch manner as the Cannon is hinkept them not only to fight for Sparta, but dered from doing execution, in most of the to hold the City in obedience to himfelf per- battels fought in these our times. The merforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to cenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: take part with the Acheans, that were favo- not only by their advantage of number, but by friendship of the *Etolians*: who, in making their opposites in degree of courage; where-Alliances, took no further notice of vice or in usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants vertue, than as it had reference to their own exceed those that are waged by free States. profit. The people also of Lacedemon, For as it is true, that a free people are much through their inveterate hatred unto the more valiant than they which live opprefied Argios, Acheans, and Macedonians, were by Tyranny, fince the one, by doing their in like fort (all or most of them) inclinable best in fight, have hope to acquire someto the Etolian Faction. Very unwisely. For what beneficial to themselves, whereas the in feeking to take revenge upon those, that other do fight (as it were) to affure their had lately hindered them from getting the own servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Ty-Lordship of Peloponness ; they hindered rant, being made partakers with him in the themselves thereby from recovering the Ma- fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause ftery of their own City. This affection of to maintain his quarrel as their own; whereas the Spartans, together with the regard of they that ferve under a free State, have no his own fecurity, and no small hope of good other motive to do manfully, than their that would follow, suffered not Machanidas bare stipend. Further than this, when a to be idle; but alwayes made him ready to free State hath gotten the Victory, many fall upon his neighbours backs, and take of companies (if not all) of forreign Auxiliathan were theirs.

having stronger friends and weaker oppo- ficient to take from Philopamen the honour fition, than Cleomenes had found. But Phi- of the day ; had he not wifely observed the lopemen was ready to entertain him at Man- demeanour of Machanidas, and found in him tinea; where was fought between them a that error which might restore the Victory. great battel. The Tyrant had brought into The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace the field upon Carts a great many of engines, unto those that fled: leaving behind him in wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of good order of battel his Lacedemonians; his enemies, and put them in disorder. To whom he thought sufficient to deal with prevent this danger, Philopamen fent forth the Acheans, that were already dishearened

all the Mercenaries, both of the Acheans Eight moneths were spent of that year, and of Machanidas, were drawn up to the rers of liberty; but to strengthen himself (as Polybius well observeth) by surmounting Polyb. ibidi theirs what he could, whilest they were en-forced, by greater necessity, to turn face good fellows will not take much pains to another way. Thus had he often done, espe- bring the War to an end. But the Victory of cially in the absence of Philip: whose sudden a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more coming into those parts, or some other op- such helpers; because that after it he doth position made against him, had usually made wrong to more, as having more subjects; and him fail of his attempts. At the present he therefore stands in fear of more, that should was ftronger in men, than were the Acheans, feek to take revenge upon him. The ftipenand thought his own men better Souldiers diaries of the Acheans, being forced to give ground, were urged fo violently in their re-Whilest Philip therefore was busied else treat by those of Machanidas; that shortly where, he entered the Country of the Man- they betook themselves to flight: and could tineans: being not without hope to do as not be staid by any perswasions of Philopa-Cleamenes had done before him ; yea and per- men, but ran away quite beyond the battel haps to get the \* Lordship of Peloponnesun , as of the Acheans. This disafter had been suf-

CHAP. IV.

by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashness had carried him out of Philip having peace with Rome, and with all fight, Philopemen advanced towards the Lacedamonians that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Country a long ditch, without watter at that time, and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficulty, especially for Foot. The Lasedemonians adventured over it, as think- ed they indeed after a while (fuch was their ing themselves better Souldiers than the discipline and continual exercise) to ac-Achaans; who had in a manner already loft count themselves in matter of War inferiour the day. But hereby they greatly difordered to any, that should have brought against their own Battel; and had no fooner the them no great odds of number. As for the foremost of them recovered the further Macedonian, he made no great use of them. bank, than they were stoutly charged by the But when he had once concluded peace with Acheans, who drave them headlong into the the Romans and Etolians, he studied how ditch again. Their first ranks being broken, to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; fince all the rest began to shrink : so as Philopamen the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians getting over the ditch, easily chaced them declined in the West. He took in hand maout of the Field. Philopamen knew better ny matters together, or very neerly togehow to use his advantage, than Machanidas ther, and some of them not honest: wherehad done. He suffered not all his Army to in if the Acheans would have done him difband and follow the chace, but retained fervice, they must by helping him to oppress with him a sufficient strength, for the custo- others that never had wronged him, have dy of a bridge that was over the ditch, by taught him the way how to deal with which he knew that the Tyrant must come themselves. He greatly hated Attalus King back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries re- of Pergamm, who had joyned with the Romans turning from the chace, looked very heavily and Etolians in War against him. when he saw what was fallen out. Yet, with a lusty troop of Horse about him, he made yet a Nobleman, otherwise than as he was towards the bridge: hoping to find the Achaans in diforder; and to fet upon their backs. as they were carelesly pursuing their Victory. But when he and his Company saw Philopamen ready to make good the bridge against them; then began every one to look, which way he might shift for himself. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch fide; and fearchditch it felf, as he was getting over it, flew four thousand: and more than four thou-Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loss need.

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6. VI.

Greece , prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Lineages. Of the Galatians.

DY this Victory the Acheans learned to think well of themselves. Neither need-

This Attalus, though a King, was scarce ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in Phileterm his Uncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a child, grew afterwards thereby to be the more efteemed: as great men in those times repoled much confidence in Eunuchs, whole affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the faed for an easie passage over. He was easily mily of Docimus, a Captain following Autidiscovered by his purple Cassock, and the gonus the first; and after the death of Anticostly trappings of his Horse. Philopamen gonne, he accompanied his Master, that betherefore leaving the charge of the bridge took himself to Lysmachus King of Thrace. unto another, coasted him all the way as he Lysmachus had a good opinion of him; and rode, and falling upon him at length in the put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in fear him there with his own hand. There died in of this King, that grew a bloody Tyrant; this Battel on the Lacedamonians side about he sled into Asia, where he seized upon the Town of Pergamus, and nine thousand tafand were taken prisoners. Of the Achean lents belonging to Lysmachus. The Town and money, together with his own fervice, was not greatly cared for; fince that War he offered unto Seleucus the first, that then was at an end, and for their money they was ready to give Lylmachus battel. His might hire more when they should have offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that selences, having flain 14smaches, died shortly after himself, before he made use of Phileterns or his money. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He faid to have been a poor Carter; and the strength, they forced their Neighbour Prinvounger perhaps not much better, before ces and Cities to pay them tribute: in the fuch time, they were raifed by the for tharp exaction whereof, they had no more rune of this Eunuch. Phileterus left his respect unto Attalus, than to any that had Kingdom to the elder of these, or to the worse deserved of them. By this they comfon of the elder, called Eumenes. This En- pelled him to fight against them: and he bemenes enlarged his Kingdom; making his ing victorious, compelled them to contain advantage of the diffention between Selen- themselves within the bounds of that Procus Calinicus and Antiochus Hierax , the vince , which took name from them in time fons of the second Antiochus. He fought a following, and was called Galatia. Yet conbattel with Hierax, neer unto Sardis, and tinued they still to oppress the weakest of won the Victory. At which time to animate their neighbours, and to fill up the Armies his men against the Gaules that served under of those that could best hire them. his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word \* Victory upon the hand of his the posterity of such, as had saved them-Soothfayer, in fuch colours as would eafily felves and their Provinces, in the flothful come off: and when the hot liver of the reign of the Persians; or in the busie times beast that was facrificed, had cleanly taken of Alexander, and his Macedonian followers. the print of the letters, He published this The Cappadocians were very ancient. For unto his Army as a Miracle, plainly fore- the first of their line had married with Aiefshewing that the gods would be affistant in fa, fifter unto the great King Cyrus. Their that Battel.

tation; and found themselves work in quar- have already sometimes mentioned. sels of their own making. They caused Prufine King of Bithynia to cease from his War against Bizantium. Whereunto when he had The Town of Chios taken by Philip, at the incondescended; they nevertheless within a while after invaded his Kingdom. He obtained against them a great Victory; and used it with great cruelty, sparing neither age nor sex. But the swarm of them increafing, they occupied the Region about Hellef-Pont where, in feating themselves, they were much beholding unto Attalus. Never-

had two brethren: of which the elder is theless, presuming afterwards upon their

The Kings reigning in those parts, were Country was taken from them by Perdiccas. After this Victory, he grew a dreadful as is shewed before. But the son of that enemy to Selencus: who never durst attempt King, whom Perdiccas crucified, espying his to recover from him, by War, the Territory time while the Macedonians were at civil that he had gotten and held. Finally, when wars among themselves; recovered his Dohe had reigned two and twenty years, he minion, and passed it over to his off-spring. died by a furfeit of over-much drink , and The Kings of Pontus had also their beginleft his Kingdom to Attalus, of whom we ning from the Perstan Empire; and are said now entreat, that was fon unto Attalus the to have iffued from the royal house of Achayoungest brother of Philetarus. Attalus was menes. The Paphlagonians derived themselves an undertaking Prince, very bountiful, and from Pylemenes, a King that affifted Priamus no less valiant. By his own proper forces he at the war of Troy. These, applying themreftored his friend Ariarabes the Cappado- felves unto the times, were alwayes conformcian into his Kingdom, whence he had been able unto the strongest. The Ancestors of expelled. He was grievously molested by Prusias had begun to reign in Bythinia, some Acheus : who fetting up himself as King few generations before that of the great against Antiochen the Great, reigned in the Alexander. They lay somewhat out of the leffer Afa. He was besieged in his own City Macedonians way : by whom therefore, heof Pergamus: but by the help of the Tello- ving other employment, they were the less fage, a Nation of the Gauls, whom he called molested. Calantue, one of Alexanders Capover out of Thrace, he recovered all that he tains, made an expedition into their Counhad loft. When these Gauls had once got- try, where he was vanquished. They had ten footing in 4/4, they never wanted em- afterwards to do with a Lieutenant of Antiployment, but were either entertained by gonw, that made them somewhat more humsome of the Princes reigning in those quar-ble. And thus they shuffled, as did the ters, or interposed themselves without invi- rest, until the reign of Prussas, whom we

#### 6. VII.

Stance of Prusias, King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and the like actions. Philip grows hateful to many of the Greeks: and is warred upon by Attalus King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

Pauss as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with Attalus; whose greatness L11111 2

he suspected. He therefore strengtheaed him- faith of this King. But most of all others hereby he mightily offended no small part newly conceived against Philip. of Greece. Embaffadours came to him whilft what little trust was to be reposed in the two acres of their wall stood only upon

felf, by taking to wife the daughter of Phi- was Attalus moved with confideration of the lip; as Attalus, on the contrary side, entred Macedonians violent ambition, and of his into a strict Confederacy with the Etolians, own estate. He had much to lose; and was Rhodians, and other of the Greeks. But not without hope of getting much, if he when Philip had ended his Ætolian war, and could make a strong party in Greece. He had was devising with Antiochus about tharing already, as a new King, followed the exambetween them two the Kingdom of Egypt, ple of Alexanders Captains, in purchafine wherein Ptolomy Philopater, a friend unto with much liberality the love of the Athethem both, was newly dead; and had left nians; which were notable Trumpeters of his fon Ptolomy Epiphanes, a young child, his other mens vertue, having loft their own. On heir : the Bythinian entreated this his Fa- the friendship of the Etolians he had cause ther-in-law to come over into Alia, there to to presume; having bound them unto him by win the Town of the Ciani, and bestow it good offices, many & great, in their late war upon him. Profias had no right unto the with Philip. The Rhodians that were mighty Town, nor just matter of quarrel against it : at Sea, and held very good intelligence with but it was fitly feated for him , and there- the Egyptians , Syrians , and many other withal rich. Philip came, as one that could Princes and States, he easily drew into a not well deny to help his Son in law. But streight alliance with him, by their hatred

Upon confidence in these his friends, but helay at the fiege, from the Rhodians, and most of all, in the ready affistance of the divers other States: intreating him to for- Rhodians, Attalus prepared to deal with the fake the enterprise. He gave dilatory, but Macedonian by open war. It had been unotherwise gentle answers: making shew as seasonable to procrastinate, and expect if he would condescend to their request, whereto the doings of the enemy tended; when he intended nothing less. At length since his desire to fasten upon Asia was manihe got the Town: where, even in presence fest, and his falshood no less manifest, than of the Embassadours, of whose solicitation was such his desire. They met with him he had feemed so regardful, he omitted no shortly not far from Chios, and fought with part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred him- him a battel at Sea: wherein though Attalia felf odious to his neighbours, as a perfidi- was driven to run his own Ship on ground, ous and cruel Prince. Especially his fact was hardly escaping to land: though the Admiral detested of the Rhodians, who had made of the Rhodians took his deaths wound: and vehement intercession for the poor Ciani: though Philip after the battel took harbour and were advertised by Embassadours of under a Promontory, by which they had purpose sent unto them from Philip, That fought, so that he had the gathering of the howsoever it were in his power to win the wracks upon the shore: Yet forasmuch as Town as foon as he lifted, yet in regard of he had fuffered far greater loss of Ships, and his love to the Rhodians, he was contented men, than had the enemy; and fince he durst to give it over. And by this his clemency, not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when the Embassadours said, that he would mani- Attalus and the Rhodians came to brave him felt unto the world what flanderous in his Port; the honour of the victory was tongues they were, which noised abroad adjudged to his enemies. This notwithfuch reports, as went of his falshood and standing, Philip afterwards besieged and oppression. Whilest the Embassadours were won some Towns in Caria: whether only in declaming at Rhodes in the Theater to this a bravery, and to despight his opposites: or effect; there came some that made a true whether upon any hopeful defire of conrelation of what had hapned: shewing that quest, it is uncertain. The stratagem, by philip had sacked and destroyed the Town which he won Prinassus, is worthy of noting. of Cios, and, after a cruel flaughter of the He attempted it by a mine : and finding the Inhabitants , had made flaves of all that earth fo ftony , that it refifted his work ; he escaped the sword. If the Rhodians took nevertheless commanded the Pioners to this in great despight, no less were the Ato- make a noise under ground; and secretly in lians inflamed against him: fince they had the night time he raised great mounts about fent:a Captain to take charge of the Town; the entrance of the mine, to breed an opinibeing warned before by his doings at List on in the besieged, that the work went marmachia and Chalcedon (which he had with vellously forward. At length he sent word drawn from their Confederacy to his own) to the Towns men, that by his undermining,

wooden

purfuit.

# 6. VIII.

Colution of the Abydeni.

to make a noise in Rome; and fill the peo- things must be published abroad, if only to ples heads, if not with a defire of making predispose men unto the war, and give it war in Macedon, at least with a conceit that the more honest colour. it were expedient so to do. The Roman Se- Philip was a man of ill condition; and nate was perfectly informed of the state of therefore could not thrive by intermedling those Eastern Countries; and knew, that in the affairs of those that were more mighthere was none other Nation than the ty than himself. He was too unskilful, or Greek, which lay between them and the otherwise too unapt, to retain his old Lordship of Asia. These Greeks were facti- friends: yet would he needs be seeking new ous, and seldom or never at peace. As for enemies. And he found them such, as he dethe Macedonian; though length of time, and served to have them: for he offered his help continual dealings in Greece ever fince the to their destruction, when they were in mireigns of Philip and Alexander, had left no fery, and had done him no harm. It behoved that grievous war with Hannibal: wherein ceffity: which whileft it binds one party, or Vitens.

wooden props, to which if he gave fire, and they had given by Loan to the Republicks entred by a Breach, they should expect no all their mony : neither had they as yet remercy. The Prina fians little thought, that he ceived, neither did they receive until fifteen had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night or tixteen years after this, their whole sum a great way off, to raise up those heaps back again. That part of payment also which they faw; but rather that all had which was already made, being not in prebeen extracted out of the mine. Wherefore fent mony, but much of it in Land : it bethey suffered themselves to be out-faced, hoved them to rest a while; and bestow the and gave up the Town as loft, which the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by enemy had no hope to win by force. But how much they were the less able to bestow Philip could not stay to settle himself in those cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to parts. Attalus and the Rhodians were too hear, that Attalus and the Rhodians had fent strong for him at Sea, and compelled him Embassadours to solicite them against Phito make haste back into Macedon; whither lip, with report of his bold attempts in they followed him all the way in manner of Alia: or that M. Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had fent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by fetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that folicited not only the The Romans, after their Carthaginian War, Towns upon the Continent, but all the: feek matter of quarrel against Philip. The Islands in those Seas , visiting them in Athenians upon flight cause, proclaim War person, or sending Embassadours, as one that against Philip; moved thereto by Attalus; meant shortly to hold war with the Romans whom they flatter. Philip wins divers upon their own ground. Fhilip had indeed no fuch intent: neither was he much too the Roman Embassadour. The furious resulting the control of the first was the much too the Roman Embassadour. The furious resulting the control of the furious resulting the control of the furious resulting the control of the control Greece, to be refifted by Attalus and the Rhodians; especially with the help of the Hele Asiatique matters, which no way Etolians their good friends, and (in a manconcerned the Romans, yet ferved well ner) his own professed enemies. But such

difference between him and the Naturals: him therefore, either to have strained his yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, forces to the utmost in making war upon because he was originally forfooth a Barba- them; or in defisting from that injurious rian: many of them hated him upon anci-courfe, to have made amends for the wrongs ent quarrels: and they that had been most past, by doing friendly offices of his own. beholding unto him, were nevertheless wea- accord. But he, having broken that League ry of him, by reason of his personal faults. of peace, which is of all other the most na-All this gave hope, that the affairs of Greece tural, binding all men to offer no violence would not long detain the Roman Armies: willingly, unless they think themselves justespecially since the divisions of the Country ly provoked; was afterwards too fondly were fuch , that every petty Estate was perswaded , that he might well be secure of apt to take Counsel apart for it self; with- the Romans, because of the written Covenants out much regarding the generality. But of peace between him and them. There is the poor Commonalty of Rome had no great not any form of Oath, whereby such Araffection to such a chargeable enterprise. ticles of peace can be held inviolable, save sy Fide-They were already quite exhausted, by only \* by the water of Styx, that is, by New de fan.

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more.

that he shall be a loser who starts from the Citizens, with their wives and children, in Conditions; it may so long (and so long as solemn a pomp as they could devise, to only) be prefumed, that there shall be no meet and honour the King. They enterbreach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the tained the Romans that were with him, in Romans never hearkened after Philip: for very loving manner: but towards Attalme necessity made them let him alone. But himself they omitted no point of observance when once they had a peace with Carthage; which their flattery could suggest. At his then was the River of Styx dryed up : and first coming into the City, they called the then could they swear as \* Mercury did in people to Assembly: where they defired the Comedy, by their own felves, even by him to honour them with his prefence, and their good fwords, that they had good reason let them hear him speak. But he excused to make war upon him. The voyage of so- himself; saying, That with an evil grace he pater into Africk, and the present war against should recount unto them those many be-Attalm, were matter of quarrel as much nefits, by which he studied to make them as needed: or if this were not enough; know what love he bore them. Wherefore the Athenians helped to furnish them with it was thought fit, that he should deliver in

of no more than their own barren Territory, claration were; first, what he had willingly took state upon them nevertheles, as in done for their fake: then, what had lately their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen paffed between him and Philip: laftly, an exof Acarnania entring into the Temple of Ce- hortation unto them, to declare themselves res, in the dayes of Initiation (wherein were against the Macedonians, whilest he with delivered the mysteries of Religion, or ra- the Rhodians and the Romans, were willing ther of idolatrous superstition, vainly said to and ready to take their part : which if they be available unto felicity after this life) now refused to do, he protested, that afterdiscovered themselves by some impertinent wards it would be vain to crave his help. questions, to be none of those that were ini- There needed little intreaty: for they were tiated. Hereupon they were brought before as willing to proclaim the war, as he to the officers: and though it was apparent, defire it. As for other matters, they loaded that they came into the place by meer error, him with immoderate honours: and obtainnot thinking to have therein done amis; yet, ed, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the as it had been for some hainous crime, they body of their Citizens consisted, should were put to death. All their Countrey-men be added another, and called after his at home took this in ill part; and fought to name; as if he were in part one of their revenge it as a publick injury, by war upon Founders. To the Rhodians they also dethe Athenians. Procuring therefore of Phi- creed a Crown of Gold, in reward of their lip fome Macedonians to help them , they vertue ; and made all the Rhodians free Cientred into Attica: who wasted it with fire tizens of Athens. and fword; and carried thence a great | Thusbegan a great noise of war, wherein booty. This indignity stirred up the high-little was left unto the Romans for their minded Athenians; and made them think part; Attalus and the Rhodians taking all upon doing more, than they had ability to upon them. But while these were vainly misperform. All which at the present they could spending the time, in seeking to draw the do, was to fend Embassadors to King Attalus; Ætolians to their party : that contrary to gratulating his happy success against Philip, their old manner were glad to be at quiet: understood that the Roman Embassadors, the Hellespont. Likewise passing over the hovering about Greece for matter of intellito renew the war. The Athenians came out weak an aid to make good the place. The

both unto performance, making it apparent, of their City, all the Magistrates, Priests, and writing, what he would have to be pro-The Athenians, being at this time Lords pounded. He did fo. The points of his De-

and intreating him to visit their City. Atta Philip won the Towns of Maronea and Elus was hereto the more willing, because he nus, with many other strong places about gence, had a purpose to be there at the same won it , though he was fain to stay there time. So he went thither, accompanied, be long. The Town held out, rather upon fides his own followers, with some of the an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour Rhedians. Landing in the Piraus, he found from Attalus and the Rhedians, than any the Romans there, with whom he had much great ability to defend it felf against so mighfriendly conference: they rejoycing that he ty an Enemy. But the Rhodians fent thither continued enemy to Philip; and he being only one Quadrireme Gallie: and Attalus no less glad, when he heard of their purpose no more than three hundred men, far too great negligence of them that had taken fo lador; and had the Town immediately

much upon them. lius, and P. Sempronius, were fent unto Pio- ry one of them; and fet their Town on firet lomy Epiphanes King of Egypt , to acquain him with their Victory against Hannibal and when Philip denied to accept them upon the Carthaginians; as also to thank him for reasonable conditions. But having in delicehis favour unto them shewed in that War, rate fight, once repelling him from the and to defire the continuance thereof, if Breach, loft the greatest number of their they should need it against Philip. This Egyptian King was now in the third or fourth nours and Ancients of the City to change year of his reign, which (as his father this refolution; and take such peace as gould philopater had done before him) be began a be gotten. So they carried out their Gold very young boy. The courtefie for which the and Silver to Philip: about which, whileft Romans were to thank him, was that out of they were busie, the memory of their outh Egypt they had lately been supplied with wrought so effectually in the younger fores corn, in a time of extream Dearth; when that, by exhortation of the Priefts, they fell the mileries of War had made all their own to murdering their women, children; and Provinces unable to relieve them. This mef- themselves. Hereof the King had so little fage could not but be welcome to the Eggp | compassion, that he said, he would grant the tian: fince it was well known, how Philip and Abydeni three dayes leifure to die: and to antiochus had combined themselves against that end forbade his men to enter the Towis him, conspiring to take away his Kingdom. or hazzard themselves in interrupting the And therefore it might in reason be hoped, violence of those mad sools. that he, or his Councel for him, should offer to supply the Romans with corn: since this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no less than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complemental; so had the Embassadors both leisure and direction from the Senate, to look unto the things of Greece by the way. dancy upon Attalas. Hereto Philip answered, Prefumptuous. But I would wish ye to remem-

Roman Embassadors wondred much at this | than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embasvielded to his discretion. The people had Thefe Embaffadors, C. Claudius, M. Amy. entertained a resolution, to have died evebinding themselves hereto by a fearful dath Youth; it was thought meet by the Gover-

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The Romans decree War against Philip, and fend one of their Confuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poor the Athenians were 4 this time both in quality and estate.

Wherefore they agreed, that M. Emplims the youngest of them should step aside, and the youngest of them should step aside, and the ship, to trie if he could make him suntines: which indeed it neerly resembled though Rome was not alike it. See fled in the was like to carry. Emylius, coming to Phi- quarrel. But to help themselves with preip, tells him that his doings are contrary to tence for the War, they had found out the League that he had made with the Ro another Saguntum, even the City of Athens mans. For Attalas and the Rhodians, upon which if the Macedonian should win, then whom he made War, were Confederate with rested there no more to do, than that he Rome: and the Town of Abydus, which he should presently embarque himself for was now belieging, had a kind of depen- Italy, whither he would come, not as Hamnibal from Saguntum, in five moneths, but in That Attalio and the Rhodians had made the short space of five days sayling. Thus War upon him: and that he did only requite P. sulpitius the Conful told the multitude. them with the like. Do you also (faid Emy. when he exhorted them to make War upon line) requite these poor Abydeni with such ter- Philip; which at his first propounding they rible War , for any the like Invalion by them had denied. The example of Pyribus was first made upon you? The King was angry to by him alledged; to shew, what Philip, hear himself thus taken short : and there- with the power of a greater Kingdom, fore he roundly made answer to Empline : might dare to undertake : as also the for-It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and (above tunate voyage of Scipio into Africk; to shew all,) your being a Roman, that makes you thus the difference of making War abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their own ber the League that ye have made with me, and Country. By such arguments was the Comto keep it : If ye do otherwise, I will make je monalty of Rome indeed to believe, that understand, that the Kingdom, and Name of this War with the Macedonian was both Macedon is in matter of War , no less noble just and necessary. So it was decreed : and

immediately the same Consul hasted away | Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more towards Macedon, having that Province al- eloquent than war-like Athenians, in this lotted unto him before, and all things in declining Age of their Fortune and Vertue. a readiness, by order from the Senate; who called a Siege. From such detriment the arfollowed other Motives than the people rival of claudius, and shortly after of three must be acquainted with. Great thanks Rhodian Gallies, easily preserved them. As were given to the Athenian Embassadors, for the Athenians themselves, they that had of their constancy (as was faid) in not been wont, in ancient times to undertake the changing their faith at such times as they conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cicil; to Rood in danger of being besieged. And make War upon the great Persian King, and indeed great thanks were due to them, to hold so much of Greece in subjection . as though not upon the same occasion. For the made them redoubtable unto all the rest; people of Rome had no cause to think it a had now no more than three Ships, and those benefit unto themselves; that any Greek open ones, not much better than long boats. Town, refusing to sue unto the Macedonian Yet thought they not themselves a whit the for peace, requested their help against him. worse men, but stood as highly upon the But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Eastern parts, had rea- had been still their own. fon to give thanks unto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue fuggestion, That Philip was making The Town of Chalcis in Eubera taken and ready for Italy : and fince neither Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, defired the Romans to give them protection : thefe busie-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and consequently with Philip, a matter of Maygame, (as was shewed before) sent Embaliadors into all parts of the World, even to Ptolomy of Egypt, and to the Romans, as well as to Attalus and others their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the War, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it

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fackt by the Romans & their Affociates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip attempteth to take Athens by surprise: wasteth the Countrey about, and makes a journy into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife. Philip offers to make War against Nabis for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth again: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyn with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the War.

Nevertheless as it loves to fall out where Philip returning home from Abydu, the meaning differs from the pretence; the heard news of the Roman Conful his bedoings of P. Sulpitius the Conful were fuch, ing about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth as might have argued Athens to be the least to give him entertainment, or perhaps bepart of his care. He failed not about Pelo- fore he had well resolved, whether it were ponness, but took the ready way to Mace- best a while to sit still, and try what might don, and landing about the River of Apfin, be done for obtaining of peace, or whether between Dyrrhacium and Apollonia, there to make opposition, and resist these Invaders began the War. Soon upon his coming, with all his forces: he received advertisethe Athenian Embassadours were with him ment from Chaleis of a grievous mishap there and craved his help: whereof they could befallen him, by procurement of the Athemake no benefit whilest he was far from niams. For C. Clauding with his Romans, them. They bemoaned themselves as men finding no such work at Athens as they had besieged, and intreated him to deliver expected, or was answerable to the fame them. For which cause he sent unto them that went abroad, purposed to do somewhat C. Claudius with twenty Gallies, and a com- that might quicken the War, and make his petent number of men: but the main of his own imployment better. He grew foon weaforces he retained with him, for the profe ry of fitting as a Scar-crow, to fave the cution of a greater design. The Athenians Athenians grounds from spoil; and therefore were not indeed besieged: only some Ro- gladly took in hand a business of more vers from Chalcie, in the Isle of Eubea, and importance. The Town of Chalcie was vefome bands of adventures out of Corinth ry negligently guarded by the Macedonian used to take their Ships, and spoil their Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enefields, because they had declared themselves my at hand: and more negligently by the against King Philip, that was Lord of these Towns-men, who reposed themselves upon two Towns. The robberies done by these their Garrison. Hereof claudian having a little before break of day, took it by Sca- forth at a gate, whereto they faw Philip lado. He used no mercy, but slew all that make approach. The King was glad of this; came in his way: and wanting men to keep reckoning all those his own, that were thus it, (unless he should have left the heartless hardy. He therefore only willed his men to Athenians to their own defence) he let it on follow his example; and prefently gave fire; confuming the Kings Magazines of charge upon them. In that fight he gave fin-Corn, and all provisions for War, which gular proof of his valour: and beating down were plenteoully filled. Neither were he many of the Enemics with his own hands, and his Affociates contented with the great drave them with great flaughter back into abundance of spoil which they carried the City. The heat of his courage transportaboard their Ships, and with inlarging all ed him further than discretion would have those, whom Philip, as in a place of most allowed, even to the very gate. But he retifecurity, kept there imprisoned: but to red without harm taking; for that they flew their despight and hatred unto the which were upon the Towers over the gate, King, they overthrew and brake in pieces could not use their casting weapons against the Statues to him there erected. This him, without much indangering their own done, they hasted away towards Athens: people that were thronging before him into where the news of their exploit was like to the City. There was a temple of Hercules , a be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then place of exercise, with a Grove, and many at Demetries, about some 20. miles thence; goodly Monuments besides, neer adjoyning whither then these tidings, or part of them, unto Albens: of which he spared none; but were brought him, though he saw that it suffered the rage of his anger to extend, was too late to remedy the matter; yet he even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The made all haste to take revenge. He thought next day came the Romans, and some Comto have taken the Athenians, with their trufty panies of Attalis his men from Agina; too friends, busie at work in ransacking the late in regard of what was already past: but Town, and loading themselves with spoil: in good time to prevent him of satisfying but they were gone before his coming. Five his anger to the full, which as yet he had thousand light-armed foot he had with him, not done. So he departed from thence to and three hundred horse: whereof leaving Corinth, and hearing that the Acheans held at Chalcis only a few to bury the dead, he a Parliament at Argos, he came thither to marched from thence away speedily to them unexpected. ward Athens: thinking it not inpossible to The Acheans were devising upon War: take his enemies in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had hemuch failed of his expered up in the room of Machanidas, did greater Ration, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for mischief than any that went before him. This the City upon the borders, had not descried Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenahim afar off, and swiftly carried word of ries: and of his subjects had no regard. He his approach to Athens. It was mid-night was a cruel oppreffor, a greedy extortioner when this Post came thither; who found upon those that lived under him; and one all the Town alleep, as fearless of any dan- that in his natural condition smelt rankly ger. But the Magistrates, hearing this re- of the Hangman. In these qualities, his port, caused a Trumpet out of their Citadel wife Apega was very fitly matched with to found the Alarm, and with all speed made him, since his dexterity was no greater in ready for defence. Within a few hours Phi- spoiling the men, then hers in sleecing their

advertisement, failed thither by night, for kept of their own, besides the great multifear of being descried: and arriving there rude of Citizens; they adventured to iffue

lip was there; who sceing the many lights, wives; whom she would never suffer to be and other figns of busie preparation usual in at quiet, till they had presented her with fuch a case, understood that they had news all their jewels and apparel. Her husband was Liv. Liz. of his coming; and therefore willed his fo delighted with her property, that he men to repose themselves till it were day. It caused an Image to be made, lively repreis like, that the paucity of his followers fenting her; and apparelled it with such didhelp well to animate the Citizens, which costly garments as she used to wear. But it except beheld them from the walls. Wherefore was indeed an Engine, ferving to torment 2006 Lts. though Claudius were not yet returned men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to (who was to fetch a compass about by Sea, try the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling and had no cause of haste) yet having in the unto him some rich man, of whose money he Town some mercenary Souldiers, which they was desirous; he would bring him into the

room where this counterfeit Apega stood, agreed before, for preparing War against and there use all his art of perswasion, to get Nabis, he brake up the Assembly, with every what he defired, as it were by good will. mans good liking; whereas in former times. If he could not so speed, but was answered he had been thought no better than one of with excuses; then took he the refractory the Kings Parasites. denyer by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife Apega (who sate by in a Chair) in his purpose with the Acheans. Neverthecould perswade more effectually. So he led less he gathered up among them a few him to the Image, that role up and opened Voluntaries; and fo returned by Carinth back the arms, as it were for imbracement. Those into Attica. There he met with Philocles arms were full of tharp iron nails, the like one of his Captains, that with two thouland whereof was also sticking in the breasts, men had been doing what harm he might though hidden with her clothes: and herewith the griped the poor wretch, to the strength, he attempted the Castle of Eleusne. pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his the haven of Pyreus, and even the City of cruel death. Such, and worse (for it were Athens. But the Romans made such haste long to tell all here that is spoken of after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into him) was Nabis in his government. In his every of these places; that he could no more dealings abroad he combined with the Ato- than wreak his anger upon those goodly lians, as Machanidas and Lycurgus had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was compre- destroyed all the works of their notable hended in the League which they made with Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; Philip, at the end of their former War. Of Philopemens vertue he stood in fear : and having long ago been Masters of the Sea. therefore durst not provoke the Acheans, as had brought from other places, where best long as they had such an able Commander. choice was found. Neither did he only But when Cacliades, a far worse Captain, was pull all down : but caused his men to break their Prætor, and all, or the greatest part of the very stones, that they might be unsertheir Mercenaries were discharged; Phi- viceable to their reparation. His loss at lopumen being also gone into Crete, to fol- Chalcis being thus revenged upon Athens. low his beloved occupation of War; then he went home into Macedon: and there did Nabis fall upon their Territory; and made provision, both against the Roman wasting all the fields, made them distrust Consul that lay about Apollonia; and their own fafety in the Towns.

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preparing for War, when Philip came among Among his other cares, he forgot not the them, and had set down what proportion Atolians : to whose Parliament, shortly of Souldiers every City of their Corpora- to be held at Naupactus , he fent an Emtion should surnish out. But Philip willed bassage, requesting them to continue in them not to trouble themselves with the care his friendship. Thus was Philip occuof this bufiness; forasmuch as he alone would pied. ease them of this War, and take the burden upon himself. With exceeding joy and upon the River of Apple. Thence he sent thanks they accepted of this kind offer. forth Applitus his Lieutenant, with part of to fend a few men to Corinth, and some Com might fecurely pursue the War against Na-So passing the Decree, upon which they had The success of this Expedition, though

It grieved the King to have thus failed Temples, with which the Land of Attica was at that time singularly beautified. So he which they had in plenty of their own : or against the Dardanians, with other his bad Against this Tyrant the Acheans were neighbours, which were likely to infest him.

Sulpitius the Roman Conful encamped But then he told them, That whilest he the Army to waste the borders of Macedon. made War upon Lacedamon, he ought not to Apultius took fundry Castles and Towns; leave his own Towns unguarded. In which using such extremity of sword and fire at respect he thought they would be pleased Antipatria, the first good Town which he won by force, that none durst afterwards panies into he Isle of Eubwa; that so he make resistance, unless they knew themselves able to hold out. Returning towards the bis. Immediately they fourd out his device; Conful with his spoil, he was charged in the which was none other, than to engage their Reer, upon the passage of a brook, by Nation in his War against the Romans. Athenagoras a Macedonian Captain : but the Wherefore their Prætor Cycliades made him Romans had the better, and killing many answer, That their Laws forbade them to of these enemies, took prisoners many more, conclude any other matters in their Parlia- to the increase of their booty, with ment, than those for which it was assembled. which they arrived in safety at their Gamp. it were not great, yet ferved to draw into I then against it, who fought to break it now. the Roman friendship those that had for It would have troubled the Romans, to an. These were Pleuratus, the son of Scerdi- the Macedonian had spoken the very truth. Lidas the Illyrian: Aminander King of the in shewing whereunto this their Patronage, Athamanians, and Bato the fon of Longarus. their assistance unto the Consul, who thanked them: and faid, That he would shortly of eloquence, and matter of recrimination make use of Pleuratus and Bato, when he en- enough, to make Philip odious. These afof Aminander, whose Country lay between the Etolians and Thessaly, might be perhaps by the name of Barbarians; knowing in available with the Ætolians, to ftir them

up against Philip.

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the Etolian Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadors from the Macedonian, Romans, and Athenians. Of which, the Macedonian spake first, and said: That as there and all the rest of Greece, should feel the was nothing fallen out, which should occa- fame that Attica had felt; yea, that Athens it fion the breach of peace between his Master felf, together with Minerva, Jupiter, Ceres, and the Atolians; so was it to be hoped, that and other of the gods, were like to have they would not suffer themselves, without felt, if the Walls and the Roman arms had not good cause to be carried away after other defended them. mens fancies. He prayed them to confider, how the Romans heretofore, had made shew, as if their War in Greece tended only to the of all those, in whose defence they had heredefence of the Etolians, and yet notwith- tofore taken Arms, went roundly to the standing had been angry, that the Ætolians, by making peace with Philip, had no longer need of fuch their Patronage. What might that the Atolians had without their conit be that made them to buffe, in obtruding fent made peace : whereof fince the Etolians their protection upon those that needed it must excuse themselves, by alledging that not? Surely it was even the general hatred, the Romans, being busied with Carthage, which these Barbarians bore unto the Greeks. wanted leisure to give them aid convenient; For even after the same fort had they lent so this excuse being now taken away, and their help to the Mamertines: and afterwards the Romans wholly bent against their comdelivered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by mon Enemy, it concerned the Etolians to Carthaginian Tyrants; but now both Syra- take part with them in their war and victory, cufe and Messana, were subject unto the Rods unless they had rather perish with Philip. and Axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alledged many examples, adding, That which were so vehement, in offering their in like fort it would happen to the Etoli- help ere it was desired, were themselves carans: who if they drew such masters into ried unto the War by more earnest motives. Greece, must not look hereafter to hold, as than a simple desire to help those friends, now free Parliaments of their own, wherein with whom they had no great acquainto consult about War and Peace: the Ro- tance. This may have been the cause, why fend them fuch a Moderator, as went every year from Rome to Syracufe. Wherefore he though he told his Country-men, That by

merly no good inclination to the Macedoni- frame a good answer to these objections. For which they offered with fuch importunity, Prince of the Dardanians. They offered did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were fet on by them to speak next : who had store tred into Macedon: but that the friendship firmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassador, to call the Romans what barbarous manner his own King had, in few dayes past, made War upon the gods So the present care was wholly set upon themselves, by destroying all their Temples in Attica. Herewithal they made a pittiful reherfal of their own calamities: and faid, that if Philip might have his will, Ætolia,

> Then fpake the Romans: who excusing, as well as they could, their own oppression point in hand. They faid, that they had of late made War in the Ætolians behalf, and

It might easily be perceived, that they mans would ease them of this care, and Dorymachus the Etolian Prætor shifted concluded, that it was best for them, whilst referving themselves, till the matter were as yet they might, and whilst one of them as inclined one way or other, they might afyet could help the other, to continue in terwards take part with those that had the their League with Philip: with whom if at better fortune. His answer was, first, in any time, upon light occasion, they hapned general terms; That over-much haste was to fall out, they might as lightly be recon- an enemy to good counsel: for which ciled : and with whom they had three years cause they must further deliberate, ere they ago made the peace which still continued; concluded. But coming nearer to the matalthough that the very same Romans were ter in hand, he passed a Decree. That the Mmmmmm 2

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the States, and therein conclude upon this bu- that the King was unwilling to hazzard all fines; any Law to the contrary notwithstand- at first upon a Cast, and therefore sent for ing: whereas otherwise it was unlawful to Perseus with his Companies, to increase his treat of such affairs, excepting two of their own forces: yet being no less unwilling to great Parliaments, that were held at fet lose too much in reputation; he made shew

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the Roman Fleet.

of the Atolians. He thought them hereby ed some notable detriment, if the Kings didisappointed in the very beg nning, of one rections had been well followed. For when great help; and meant himself to disappoint Athenagoras began to fall back, they them of another. His son Ferseus, a very charged him so hotly, that they drave him boy, was fent to keep the Streights of Fela- to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard gonia against the Dardanians; having with as they were able. But the Captains of the him some of the Kings Councel, to govern Targettiers, not staying to let them run into both him and his Army. It was judged, as the danger, discovered themselves before it may feem, that the presence of the Kings was time; and thereby made frustrate the fon, how young foever, would both encou- work to which they were appointed. The rage his Followers, and terrifie the Enemies, Conful hereby gathered, that the King had by making them at least believe, that he some desire to try the fortune of a battel: was not weakly attended. And this may which he therefore presented the second have been the reason, why the same Perseus, time: leading forth his Army, and setting it a few years before this, was in like manner in order, with Elephants in the front : a lest upon the borders of Atolia by his fa- kind of help which the Romans had never ther; whom earnest business called thence used before, but had taken these of late another way. No danger of enemies be- from the Carthaginians. Such are the alteing left on either hand; it was thought that rations wrought by Time. It was scarce the Macedonian Fleet under Heraclides, above fourscore years ere this, that Pyrthu the Conful.

Macedon towards Illyria, about the Moun- ans and Greeks have none. Philip had patitains of Candavia; that running along from ence to let the Conful brave him at his Hamus in the North, until they joyn in the Trenches: wherein he did wisely; for the Ro-South with Pindus, inclose the Western man had greater need to fight, than he. Sulparts of Macedon. Two or three dayes they picius was unwilling to lose time: neither lay in fight the one of the other, without could he without great danger, lying fo near making offer of battel. The Contul was the the Enemy, that was strong in horse, send his first that issued forth of his Camp into the men to fetch in corn out of the fields. Whereopen field. But Philip was not confident in fore he removed 8. miles off: prefuming that with Ikirmifi. These were easily van-quished by the Romans, and driven back pleasure: eventill their presumption, and his

Prætor might at any time call an Affembly of into their Camp. Now although it was so a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein he bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and for The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and gave charge to Athenageras, one of his Capshirmifting with them on his borders. The tains, to provoke out the Romans to fighte Ætolians invade his Dominions, and are instructing both him and his Targettiers. beaten home, Some doings of Attalus and how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambush . having Dillip was glad to hear, that the Romans fought upon the same ground a day before. had sped no better in their solicitation Wherefore perhaps they might have sustainwould ferve to keep Attalus , with the carried Elephants out of Greece into Italy, to Rhodians and Romans, from doing harm by affright the Romans, who had never feen Sea, when the Kings back was turned: who any of those beasts before. But now the same took his journey Westward against Sulpicius Romans (whilst possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of Pyr-The Armies met in the Country of the rbus) came into Macedon, bringing Elepeffaretii, a people in the utmost borders of phants with them: whereof the Macedonithe strength which he had then about him; Philip would not adventure to meet him on and therefore thought it better to fend forth even ground: and so the more boldly he sufsome of his light-armed Mercenaries, and fered his Forragers to over-run the Counfome part of horse, to entertain them try. The King was nothing forry of this: but own supposed fear, should make them care- | Consul with as much dulness, for his dayes less. When this was come to pass, he took service. A little longer stay would have deall his horse, and light-armed foot, with livered the King from these enemies withwhich he occupied a place in the mid-way, out any blow: fince when all the fields between the Forragers and their Camp, about them were walted, they must needs There he stayed in covert with part of his have retired back to the Sea. On the other forces , to keep the passages that none side , it was not thought unlikely , That if fould escape. The rest he sent abroad the the Romans following the King, had set up-Countrey, to fall upon the stragglers: wil- on his Camp, at such time as he fled thither, ling them to put all to the fword, and let half amazed with either being flain or tanone runhome with news to the Camp. The ken, they might have won it. But that noflaughter was great: and those which esca- ble Historian, Livie, (as is commonly his ped the hands of them that were fent abroad manner ) hath judiciously observed. That to fcowre the fields, lighted all or most of neither the one, nor the other, were much them upon the King and his companies in too blame in this days work. For the main their flight : so as they were cut off by the body of the Kings Army lav safe in his way. Long it was ere the Camp had news Camp; and could not be so assonished with of this. But in the end there escaped some : the loss of two or three hundred horse, that who though they could not make any per- it should therefore have abandoned the defeet relation how the matter went: yet by fence of the Trenches. And as for the Kine telling what had hapned to themselves, himself, he was advertised, that Pleuratur raised a great multitude. Sulpicius here- the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were falupon fends forth all his horse, and bids them len upon his Country; when they found the help their fellows where they saw it need passage thereinto open, after Persen was ful: He himself with the Legions follow-called away from custody of the Streights. kiffed.

ed with improvident rafiness; and the therefore he returned back to Apollonia.

ed. The companies of horse divided them- This was it which made him adventure to felves, accordingly as they met with adver- do somewhat betimes; that he might set tifements upon the way, into many parts: the Romans going the fooner, and afternot knowing where was most of the dan- wards look unto his troublesome neighger. Such of them as lighted upon Philips bours. In consideration of this, Philip was Troops, that were canvassing the field, took desirous to clear himself of the Romans, as their talk where they found it : But the foon as he might. And to that purpose he sent main bulk of them fell upon the King him- unto the Conful; requesting a day of truce felf. They had the disadvantage; ascoming for burial of the dead. But instead of so dofewer, and unprepared, to one that was reading, he marched away by night, and left fires dy for them. So they were beaten away; as in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he their fellows also might have been, if the had not stirred out of the place. Sulpicius, King had well bethought himself, and given when he heard of the Kings departure, was over in time. But while , not contented not flow to follow him. He overtook the Mawith fuch an harvest, he was too greedy cedonians in a place of strength, which they about a poor gleaning; the Roman Legions had fenced (for it was a woody ground) by appeared in fight: which emboldened their cutting down trees, and laying them athwart horfe to make a re-charge. Then the dan- the way where it was most open. In making ger apparent, enforced the Macedonians to of fuch places good, the Macedonian Phalook to their own safety. They ran which lank was of little use; being a square batway they could: and (as men that lie in tel of pikes, not fit for every ground. The wait for others, are seldom heedful of that Archers of Crete were judged, and were inwhich may befal themselves) to escape the deed, more serviceable in that case. But they Enemy; they declined the fairest way; so were few; and their arrows were of small as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogs, force against the Roman shields. The Macewherein many of them were loft. The Kings donians therefore helped them by flinging of borfe was flain under him: and there had stones. But to no purpose. For the Romans been cast away, if a loving subject of his got within them; and forced them to quit be had not alighted, mounted him upon his the place. This Victory (fuch as it was) laid own horse, and delivered him out of open unto the Contul some poor Towns peril, at the expence of his own life, thereabout; which partly were taken by that running on foot was overtaken and strong hand, partly yielded for fear. But the spoil of these, and of the fields adjoyning, In the common opinion Philip was charg- was not sufficient to maintain his Army; and

The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was | having been long absent from Italy: whither come back, withdrew themselves a pace out fain, they would have returned, when by of the Country. The King fent Athenagoras their Colonels they were shipped for Maceto wait upon them home; whilest he him felf went against the Atolians. For Damocritto the Prator of the Atolians, who had whereof the miss is not great, since he did reserved himself and his Nation unto the nothing memorable. Valerius Antius, as we event of things, hearing report, that Philip finde in Livie, hath adorned this Villim with was beaten once and again : as al'o that a great exploit against Philip. Yet fince Livie Plearatus and the Dardanians were fallen himself, an Historian to whom few of the upon Macedon; grew no less busie on the best are matchable, could finde no such fudden, than before he had been wife. He thing recorded in any good Author : we perswaded his Nation to take their time: may reasonably believe, that Villius his year and so, not staying to proclaim War, joyn- was idle. ed his forces with Aminander the Athamanian; and made invasion upon Theffaly. They the Romans found more trouble than could took, and cruelly facked a tew Towns: have been expected with the Gauls. Their whereby they grew confident; as if, with Colony of Placentia, a goodly and strong out any danger, they might do what they Town, which neither Hannibal, nor after lifted. But Philip came upon then ere they him Asdrubal, had been able to force: looked for him: and killing them as they was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt lay dispersed, was like to have taken their in a manner to the ground. In like fort Cre-Camp, if Aminander more warie than the mona was attempted: but faved her felf, Atolians, had not helped at need, and made taking warning by her neighbours calamithe Retrait through his own mountainous ty. Amilcar a Carthaginian, that stayed be-Country.

affisted by Attalus and the Rhodians, had their enterprises. This when the Romans taken some small Islands in the Agean Sea. heard, they sent Embassadours to the Car-They took likewise the Town of Oreum in thaginians: giving them to understand, That the Isle of Eubera: and some other places if they were not weary of the peace, it bethereabout. The Towns were given unto hoved them to call home, and deliver up, Attalus, after the same Compact that had this their Citizen Amilear; who made War formerly been made with the Atolians: the in Italy. Hereunto it was added (perhaps goods therein found were given unto the left the meffage might feem otherwise to Romans : and the people, for flaves. Other have savoured a little of some fear) That of attempts on that fide were hindred: either the fugitive flaves belonging to the Romans, by foul weather at Sea : or by want of dar- there were some reported to walk up and ing, and of means.

## ø. X 1 I.

Villius the Roman Conful wastes a yeer to no effect. War of the Gaules in Italy. An Embassadour of the Romans to Carthage Mafanissa, and Vermina. The Macedoni an prepares for defence of his Kingdom: and T. Quintius Flaminius is fent against

Hus the time ran away: and P. Villius a new Conful, took charge of the War in Macedon. He was troubled with a mu-

don. How Villius dealt with them, it is uncertain. For the History of his year is lost:

In the beginning of this Macedonian War. hind Asdrubal, or Mago in those parts: was About the same time the Roman Fleet, now become Captain of the Gaules, in these down in Carthage: which if it were fo, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters: as was conditioned in the late peace. The Embassadours that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with Mafanissa, as also with Vermina the fon of Syphax. Unto Masanissa, besides matter of complement, they were to fignifie what pleasure he might do them, by lending them iome of his Numidian Horse, to serve in their War against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe unto him the name of King : and promifed thereafter to deserve it, by his readiness in doing them all good offices. But they were fometiny of his oldest Souldiers : whereof two what scrupulous in the matter, and said, thousand, having served long in Sicil and That having been, and being still (as they Africk, thought themselves much wronged, took it) their Enemy, He ought first of all in that they could not be suffered to look to desire peace; for that the name of King, unto their own estates at home. They were was an honour which they used not to con-(belike) of the Legions that had served at fer upon any, save only upon such as had Canna: as may feem by their complaint, of royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him; was wholly committed unto these Embassadors. whom, upon such termes as they should think sit; The Romans begin to make War by negotiatiwithout further relation to the Senate and People: For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed Amilear: banishing him, and confiscating his good. As for the Fugitives, they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as far as was requifite, give fatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithal they fent a great proportion of Corn to Rome ; and the like unto the Army that

of peace.

at the Army.

# 6. XIII.

on. T. Quintius wins a paffage against Philip. Thefaly wasted by Philip. the Romans, and Atolians. The Acheans for saking the Macedonian . take part with the Komans. A treaty of peace, that was vain. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the Tyrant , who presently enters into League with the Ro-

He Romans had not been wont in former times, to make War after such a was in Macedon. King Majariffa would have trifling manner. It was their use, to give batlent unto the Romans two thousand of his tel to the enemie, as soon a they met with Numidian horse: but they were contented him. If he refused it, they besieged his with half the number; and would accept Towns: and so forced him to try the forno more. Vermina met with the Embassa- tune of a day, with his disadvantage in redours , to give them entertainment , on the putation , when he had long forborn it (asit borders of his Kingdom; and without any would be interpreted) upon knowledge of disputation, agreed with them upon terms his own weakness. But in this their War with Philip, they began to learn of the sub-learn of the sub-learn of the sub-learn of the sub-thus were the Romans bussed in taking the Greeks, the art of Negotiation: wherein order for their Macedonian War, that they hitherto they were not grown fo fine, as might pursue it strongly, and without in within a little while they proved. Their terruption. As for Amilear and his Ganles, Treasury was poor, and stood indebted, they laid fiege unto Cremona; where L. Fu- \* many years after this unto private men, for . Ling rius a Roman Prætor came upon them, part of those moneys that had been borrow-iib. 34: fought a battel with them, and overcame ed in the second Punick War. This had them. Amilcar the Carthaginian died in this made the Commonalty averse from the Mabattel : and the fruit of the Victory was cedonian War; and had thereby driven the such, as both made amends for losses past, Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make and left the work easie to those, that after-use of their cunning. Yet being weary of wards should have the managing of War the slow pace wherewith their business went among those Gaules. So was there good leiforward, they determined to increase their fure to think upon the business of Mace-Army, that they might have the less need don: where Philip was earefully providing to relie upon their Confederates. So they to give contentment unto his Subjects, by levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hunpunishing a bad Counseller whom they had dred Horse (the greater part of them of ted : as also to affure unto himself the Acha- the Latines) which they sent with T. Quinans, by readring unto them some Towns tius Flammins, the new Conful, into Macethat he held of theirs; and finally to don. Their Navie, and other means could arengthen his Kingdom, not only by exer well bave served, for the setting forth and cifing and training his people, but by forti-transportation of a greater Army; but by fying the passages that led thereinto out of straining themselves to the most of their Epirus. This was in doing when Villius , hav- ability , they should (besides other difficuling unprofitably laboured to finde way into ties incident unto the sustenance of those Macedon, taking a journey (as sulpicius had that are too many and too far from home) done before him) wherein he could not be have bred fome jealousse in their friends of supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came yea, perhaps have increased the number of advertisement , that T. Quintius Flaminius their enemies, more than of their own Soulwas chosen Consul, and had Macedon aldiers. This present augmentation of the latted him for his Province; whose coming forces was very requisite; for that Attalus, was expected; and he very thortly arrived about the fame time, excused himself unto them by his Embassadour; requesting that either they would underrake the defence of his Kingdom against Antiochus, who invaded it; or elfe that they would not take it un-

courteoully;

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Philip, and returned home, to look unto that was very easie; he was compelled to that which most concerned him. Their and sit still, without doing any thing for the fwer was remarkable. They faid, That it space of forty dayes.

very foon appear. Country; and, which by long dependance such discourse. on the Macedonian, was become (in a manner) part of his Kingdom, whereof it made or three dayes together, to have prevailed the South border. Nevertheleis, the desire against the difficulties of that passage which of winning this passage, was greater than Philip kept. When he had well wearied the likelihood. For the river of Apples run- himself, and could not resolve what course ning along through that valley which alone to take: there came to him an Heards-man was open between the Mountains, made it fent from Charopus a Prince of the Epirols all a deep Marifo and unpassable Bogge: a that favoured the Romans, who having long very narrow way excepted, and a path cut kept beafts in those Mountains, was out of the main rock by mans hand. Where throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and fore Quintius affailed to climb in the Mount therefore undertook to guide the Romans, tains : but finding himself disappointed of without any danger, to a place where they

courteoufly, that he quitted the War with my, who neglected not the guard of them

was not their manner to use the aid of their This long time of rest gave hope unto Phin friends, longer then their friends had good hp, that the War might be ended by comopportunity, and could also be well con- polition, upon some reasonable terms. He tented to affoord it; That they could not therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots. honestly take part with Attalus, their good (among whom he had many friends) that friend, though he were against Antiochus, He and the Consul had a meeting together. whom they held in the like account; but, But nothing was effected. The Conful That they would deal with Antiochus by would have him to fet all Towns of Greece Embassadors, and (as common friends unto at liberty; and make amends for the injuboth of the Kings ) do their best to per- ries, which he had done to many people in fwade an atonement between them. In fuch his late Wars Philip was contented to give liloving fashion did they now carry them- berty to those whom he had subdued of late: felves, towards their good friend the King but unto fuch, as had been long subject unto Antiochus; who reciprocally at their intrea- him and his Ancestors, He thought it ty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdom against all reason, that he should relinquish of Attalw. But how little they regarded his claim and dominion over them. He these terms of friendship, after that once also said, That as far forth as it should apthey had made an end with Philip, it will pear that he had done wrong unto any Town or people whatfoever, He could well T. Quintius halting away from Rome, came be pleased to make such amends, as might betimes into his Province, with the supply seem convenient in the judgement of some decreed unto him; which confifted for the free State, that had not been intereffed in most part, of old Souldiers, that had ferved those quarrels. But herewithal Quintim in Spain and Africk. He found Villius the was not satisfied. There needed (he said) old Conful, (whom at his coming he pre- no judgement or compromise; forasmuch as fently discharged) and King Philip of Mace- it was apparent, that Fhilip had alwayes don, encamped one against the other, in the been the invader; and had not made War, Streights of Epirus; by the river of Apfus, or as one provoked, in his own defence. After Aous. It was manifelt, that either the Ro- this altercation, when they should come to mans must fetch a compass about, and seek particulars: and when the Consul was retheir way into Macedon, through the poor quired to name those Towns, that he would Country of the Daffaretians; or else win, have to be set at liberty; the first that he by force, that passage which the King de named were the Thessalians: These had fended. In taking the former way, they had been subjects (though conditional) unto the already two years together mif-frent their Macedonian Kings, ever fince the dayes of time, and been forced to return back with- Alexander the Great, and of Philip his Faout profit, for want of victuals: whereof ther. Wherefore, as foon as Flaminius had they could neither carry with them store named the Thessalians; the King in a rage fufficient, nor find it on the way. But if they demanded what sharper condition He could once get over these Mountains, which would have laid upon him, had he been but divided the South of Fpirus from Theffaly, vanquished. And herewithal abruptly he then should they enter into a plentiful flang away: refusing to hear any more of

After this the Conful strove in vain two this hope, through the diligence of his ene- should have advantage of the Enemy. This

guide,

guide, for fear of treacherous dealing, was I withdraw himfelf home into his Kingdom of fast bound: and being promised a great reward, in case he made good his word, had fuch Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travelled by night (it being then about the full of the Moon) and rested in the day-time, for fear of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the Macedonians, (though undiscovered by them, because at their banks) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their success unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilst these were on their journy . T. Quintiw had held with the Macedonian; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were fent, he pressed as near as he could unto the Enemies Camp, and affailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as in besieged: and having made a fair breach, former times, until the shoutings of those that ran down the hill, and charged Philip defended both by the Inhabitants, and by on the back, aftonished so the Macedonians, a Macedonian garrison therein. Philip also at that they betook themselves unto flight. The the same time, having somewhat recollected King, upon first apprehension of the danger, his spirits, hovered about Tempe with his made all speed away to save himself. Yet Army, thrusting men into all places, that anon confidering, that the difficulty of the passage must needs hinder the Romans having well near spent his victuals, and seefrom pursuing him: he made a stand at the ing no hope to prevail at Rhage: brake up end of five miles, and gathered there toge his siege, and departed out of Thessaly. He ther his broken troops, of whom he found had appointed his Ships of burden to meet wanting no more than two thousand men. him at Anticyra, an Haven Town of Phocis, The greatest loss was of his Camp and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation: for that now the Macedonians began invaded; not so much for hatred unto the to stand in fear, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Ene- in he had business, or was shortly like to my, upon equal ground. Neither was Philip have. Many Towns in Phocis he won by himself much better perswaded. Wherefore affault : many were yielded up unto him for he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as fear; and within short space he had (in efin his hasty retrait he could visit, to forsake fect) mastered it all. their Towns and Country, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and brother, being then Admiral for the Rospoiling all the rest. But all of them could mans in this War, joyned with King Attalus not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the and the Rhodian Fleet. They won two Cipleasure of their King) their ancient habita- ties in Enbea; and afterward laid siege unto tions, and all the substance which they had Cenchree, an Haven and Arcenal of the Cogotten. Some there were that forcibly refifted him; which they might the better do, prise did somewhat help forward the Achefor that he could not stay to use any great l'ans, in their desire to leave the part of Phicompulsion. He also himself took it very lip; since it might come to pass, that Cogrievously, that he was driven to make such | rinth it self, ere long time were spent; and waste of a most pleasant and fruitful Coun-that Cenchree, with other places appertainto make him break off his purpole, and Romans.

Macedon.

The Atelians and Athamanians, when this fellout, were even in a readiness to invade Theffaly; whereinto the ways lay more open, out of their leveral Contries. When therefore they heard for certainty , that Philip was beaten by the Romans : they foreflowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. T. Quintius followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not find enough to maintain his Army. Thus were the poor Thesfalians, of whose liberty the Romans a few days fince had made shew to be very defirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turn themselves, or whom to avoid. T. Quintius won Phaleria by affault : Metropolis and Piera yielded unto him. Khage he vet was unable to force it : fo froutly it was were like to be diffreffed. So the Conful. on the Gulon of Corinth: which Country being friend to the Macedonian, he prefently people, as because it lay conveniently seated between Theffaly and other regions, where-

In the mean time L Quintim the Confuls rinthians on their Eastern Sea. This entertry, which had ever been well affected un fing to Corinth, now very thortly thould be to him: To that a little hindrance did ferve, trendered unto their Nation, by favour of the

Nanana

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the Acheans to preferr the friendship of the their Masters cause. Rather it gave the Romans , before the patronage of Philip; Acheans to understand, Thathe, who could whereto they had been long accultomed. be satisfied with so little at their hands, knew For this King had so many ways offended them in time of peace, that they thought it ciprocal demand. Yet were there many in best courseto rid their hands of him, whilst that great Councel, who remembring the being intangled in a dangerous War, he benefits of Philip and Antigonus, laboured wanted means to hinder the execution of earnestly for the preservation of the ancifuch counsel as they mould hold the fafelt. ent League. But in fine, the sense of late in-His tyrannous practifes to make himfelf juries, and expectation of like or worfe their absolute Lord: his poysoning of Ara- from him in the suture; prevailed against tus their old Governour: his false dealing the memory of those old good turns, which with the Mellenians, Epirots, and other peo- he (and Antigonus before him) had partly ple their Contederates , and his own de- sold unto them, and partly had used as baits, pendants : together with many particular whereby to allure them into absolute outrages by him committed : caused them subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the long fince to hold him as a necessary evell, even least importance; That the Romans were whilft they were unable to be without his strong, and likely to prevail in the end. So affistance. But fince by the vertue of Philo- after much altercation, the Decree passed. pamen, they were grown somewhat consi- That they should thence-forward renounce. dent in their own strength: so as without the Macedonian, and take part with his enefift, as having him to friend: then did they dians they forthwith entred into fociety; \*Platie : fent murderers to take away the life of \* Phi- those Embassadors from Rome, which they Philippon, lopamen. But failing in this enterprise; and determined to send thither of purpose. The joyn them in fociety with the Romans.

These news were very welcome to T. Romans and their Confederates, King Atta- it felf fo plainly, in the behalf of Philip, that lus, the Rhodians and Athenians, to treat they which were his Partifans within the should have Corinth restored unto them, into his hands, if they might have any the Embassadors of Philip, whom he had aim, he easily compelled the Achean Garrialso fent for this business, admonishing the son to quit the place. Acheans of their Alliance with the King, This getting of Argos, together with the and of their faith due unto him; requested good defence of Corinth, and some other them, that they would be contented to re- Towns, as it helped Philip a little in his remain as Neuters. This moderate request putation, so they gave him hope to obtain

But there were other motives, inducing of Philips Embassadors did no way advance the Macedonians help they could as well fub- mies in this War. With Attalus and the Rhoonly think how evil he was; and thereupon with the Romans (because no League would rejoyce the more, in that he was become no be of force, until the Senate and people had longer necessary. It angred him to perceive approved it) they forbore to decree any sohow they stood affected: and therefore he ciety at the present, until the return of being detected, he did thereby only fet fire Megalopolitans, Dymeans, and Argives, having to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. Philopamen many respects they were bound, rose up out wrought fo with the Acheans, that no dif- of the Councel, and departed before the pafcourse was more familiar with them, than sing of the Decree; which they could not what great cause they had to withdraw resist, nor yet with honesty thereto give althemselves from the Macedonian. Cycliadus, a sent. For this their good will, and greater, principal man among them: and lately their which they shortly manifested, the Argives Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing had so little thank, that all the rest of the himself passionate in the cause of Philip; and Acheans may be the better held excused, Ariftenus choien Prætor, who laboured to for escaping how they might, out of the hands of fo fell a Prince.

Soon after this, upon a solemn day at Ar-Quintius. Embassadors were sent from the gos, the affection of the Citizens discovered with the Acheans, making promife, that they Town, made no doubt of putting the City if they would forfake the Macedonian. A imall affiftance. Philocles a Lieutenant of Parliament of the Acheans was held at Syci- the Kings, lay then in Corinth, which he on, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty had maniully defended against the Romans case. Therein the Romans and their adhe- and Attalus. Him the Conspirators drew to rents desired the Achaans to joyn with them Arges; whither coming on a sudden, and in making War upon Philip. Contrariwife, finding the multitude ready to joyn with

with his honour hemight feek it: and when he was much given to gybing) with fundry (the Winter being now come on ) a new fcoffs; and especially with one, which made Consul would shortly be chosen; who should the Roman Consul understand what mantake the work out of Titus his hands, if it ner of companions these Atolians were. For were not concluded the fooner. Titus had he faid, That he had often dealt with them; the like respect unto himself; and therefore as likewise the best of the Greeks; desiring thought it best, since more could not be them to abrogate a wicked law, which perdone, to pre-dispose things unto a Conclu- mitted them to take spoil from spoil : yet fion, for his own reputation. The meeting could he get no better an answer, than that was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, they would sooner take Etolia out of Etolia. in the Bay then called the Malian, or Lami- Titus wondred what might be the meaning Except as Bay, now (asis supposed) the Gulf of Ziton; of this strange Law. So the King told him, Popolicy in the Egean Sea, or Archipelago. Thither That they held it a laudable cultome, as came Titus with Animander the Athamani often as War happened between their. ar; an Embaffador of Attalus; the Admiral friends, to hold up the quarrel, by feuding Rhoder; and some Agents for the Atolians Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that and Acheans. Philip had with him fome few (flould fpoil both the one and the other. As of his own Captains, and Cycliadas, lately ba- for the liberty of Greece, he faid it was nished for his sake out of Achaia. He refu-fed to come on shore: though fearing (as he ful thereof, since divers Tribes of their own, faid none but the immortal Gods: yet mif-doubting some treachery in the Ætolians. The demands of Titus in behalf of the Ro-whether the Romans would give him leave mans, were, That he should set all Cities of to make slaves of those Ætolians, which Greece at liberty; deliver up to the Romans were no Greeks. Titus hereat smiled, and and their Confederates, all prisoners which was no whit offended, to hear the Atolians he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewife well ratled up; touching whom he began whatfoever he held of theirs in Ilyria: and to understand, how odious they were in all whatfoever about Greece or Asia he had got- the Country. As for that general demand ten from Ptolomy then King of Egypt , atter of fetting all Greece at liberty , Philip achis fathers death. Attalus demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Towns, and Temples by him taken and spoiled in the last of consider, what might beseem his own late. War between them. The Rhodians, and other petry Estates, should thus presume, would have again the Country of Perca, lying over against their Island; as also that he under countenance of the Romans; to take flouid withdraw his garrifons out of divers upon them, as if by their great might he Towns about the Hellesport, and other Ha-flouid be thereunto compelled: it was, he vens of their friends. The Acheans defired faid, a strange and ridiculous insolence. reflicution of Argos and Corinth: about the The Acheans he charged with much ingraone of which they might, not unjustly, quartude; reciting against them some Decrees rel with him; the other had been long his of their own; wherein they had loaden both own by their confent. The Etolians took Antigonus and him, with more than huupon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece: mane honours. Nevertheless, he said, that willing him to depart out of it, even out of he would render Argos unto them: but as the whole Country, leaving it free; and with touching Corinth, that he would further al to deliver up unto them, whatfoever he deliberate with Titus himself. Thus he held that had at any time been theirs. Nei- addressed himself wholly to the Roman ther were they herewithal content: but in General; unto whom if he could give fatisfolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in Thessay; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said) the virginia (as they said)

some good end by Treaty, whilest as yet | self by force of Arms. He answered them (as cores, by destroying, when he was vanquishing the offerers: or if he gave them any occa-cores, by destroying, which else they might have sonly in helping Prussar, his soned, those towns, which ene they might have host, it was only in helping triplat, instongotten. To answer these malapart Ætolians, in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seek amends at his hands, than he at nearer the shore. But they began to plie him theirs. For whereas they complained, afresh: telling him that he must obey his that spoiling a Temple of Venus, he had betters, unless he were able to defend him- cut down the Grove, and pleasant walks

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thereabouts: what could be do more, than | a time unfit for fervice in the War; and fince. fend Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would stand to alk fuch recompence? Thus he jested the matter out: but offered nevertheles, in honour of the Romans, to give back the Region of Peræa tothe Rhodians; as likewise to Attalus, the Ships and Prifoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late : Philip requiring a nights leifure to think upon the fon: knowing well, that the name of a King. Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counsel, wherewith to advise about them. For your being fo ill provided of Counsel (faid Titus) jou may even thank tended to procure that his own command of your felf; as having murdered all your friends, the Army in Greece might be prorogued. And that were wont to advise you futhfully. The next day Philip came not, until it was late at night; excusing his long stay by the weightiness of the things propounded, whereon he obtained it for him, partly by their authocould not fuddenly tell how to refolve. But rity, partly by good reasons which they alit was believed, that he thereby fought to ledged unto the Senate. abridge the Ætolians of leifure to rail at him. And this was the more likely, for that had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against he defired conference in private with the the King, with good liking of the Senate; Roman General. The sum of his discourse, as which was more desirous of Victory. than Titue afterward related it, was, That he of fatisfaction. They mangified the honouwould give the Acheans both Argos and Co rable purpose of the Romans, in undertakrinth; as also that he would render unto At- ing to set Greece at liberty. But this (they talse and the Rhodians what he had promi- faid) could never be effected: unless especial fed the day before; likewise to the Ætolians, that he would grant some part of their dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetridemands; and to the Romans, whatfoever as. In this point they were fo vehement, prothey did challenge. This when Titm his affor ducing a Map of the Country, and making ciates heard, they exclaimed against it, say- demonstration how those places held all the ing, That if the King were suffered to retain rest in servility; that the Senate agreed to any thing in Greece, he would shortly get have it even so as they desir . When possession of all which he now rendred up. therefore the Embassadors of rhilip were The noise that they made came to Philips brought in, and began to have made a long

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who flood in doubt , lest a new Consul Towns? As for Corinth, whereto the Achamight happen to defraud him of the honour, ans had some right; (though their right which he expected by ending of the War. were no better, than that, having stoln it So he easily prevailed with the rest to as- from one Macedonian King in a night, they fent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, had, after mature deliberation, made it

without authority of the Senate, he fhould he unable to proceed resolvedly either in War or Peace. Further, he willed them to fend their feveral Embassadors to Rome. which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder Philip from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he perswaded King Aminander to make a journey to Rome in pertogether with the confluence of fo many Embassadors, would ferve to make his own actions more glorious in the City. All this to the fame end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had already (though as yet he knew not fo much)

The Embaffadors of the Greeks, when they care were taken, that the King should be ear : who thereupon defired a third day of Oration; they were briefly cut off in the meeting; and protested, that if he could not middest of their Preface, with this one deperswade them, he would suffer himself to mand: Whether their Mafter would veild up be perswaded by them. So the third day | Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. Hereto they they met early in the morning : at what made answer, That concerning those places, time the King intreated them all, that they the King had given them no direction or would with fincere affection hearken unto commission what to say or do. This was good offers of peace; and immediately con- enough. The Senate would no longers hearclude it, if they could like well of those ken to Philips defire of peace: wherein they Conditions which he had already tendred; faid he did no better than trifle. Yet might or otherwise, that they would make truce his Embassadors have truly said, That neiwith him for the present , and let him ther the Atolians, Acheans , nor any of their fend Embassadors to Rome, where he-would fellows, had in the late Treaty required by referr himself to the courtesse of the Se- name, that Chalcis and Demetrias should be yielded up. For which of them indeed This was even as Quintius would have it : | could make any claim to either of these ready condescended to give it back unto Wherefore they were all banished, and them, And this perhaps would have been their goods confiscated. The rest of the chief alledged, even against the Greeks, in excute Citizens that stayed behind, were comof the King, by some of T. Quintim his friends; that so he might have had honour Gold and Silver. Also a great imposition of to conclude the War, if a successor had been money was laid upon all those that were decreed unto him. But fince he was appoint thought able to pay it. Such as made their ed to continue General: neither his friends contribution readily, were dismissed withat Rome, nor he himself, after the return of out more a do. But if any stood long upon the Embassadours into Greece, cared to give the matter: or played the theeves in purear unto any talk of peace.

ken him, and joyned with their common had their torments to boot. This done, the enemies; thought even to deal with them Tyrant began to make popular laws: namein the like manner, by reconciling himfelf ly, such as might serve to make him graciunto Nabis, whom they hated most. There ous with the rascal multitude: abrogating were not many years past, fince the Laceda- all debts, and dividing the lands of the rich monians under Cleomenes, with little other among the poor. By such art of oppressing help then their own strength, had been al- the great ones, it hath been an old custom most strong enough both for the Macedoni- of Tyrants, to assure themselves of the Vulans and Acheans together. But now the con- gar for a time. dition of things was altered. Nabis his force As soon as Nabis had gotten Argos, He sent confifted, in a manner, wholly in his Merce- the news to T. Quintius and others to joyn paries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling with him against Philip. Titus was glad of himself King. Yet he forely vexed the Ache- it : so as he took the pains to cross over ans: and therefore seemed to Philip one the Streights into Peloponnesus, there to likely to stand him in great stead, if he meet with Nabis. They had soon agreed could be won. To this purpose it was (though King Attalus who was present with thought meet, that the Town of Argos, the Conful, made some cavil touching Arwhich could not otherwise be easily defend- | gos ) and the Tyrant lent unto the Roman, ed, should be configued over into his hands ; fix hundred of his Mercenaries of Crete: as in hope, that such a benefit would serve to also he agreed with the Acheans, upon a tie him fast unto the Macedonian. Philocles Truce for four moneths, reserving the final the Kings Lieutenant, who was appointed conclusion of peace between them until the to deal with Nabis, added further, That it War of Philip should be ended; which after was his Masters purpose to make a streight this continued not long. alliance with the Lacedamonian, by giving fome daughters of his own in marriage unto Nabis his fons. This could not but be well taken. Yet Nabis made some scruple in accepting the Town of Argos; unless by decree of the Citizens themselves he might be called into it. Hereabout Philocles dealt with the Argives : but found them so averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detelted the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. Nabis hearing of this. thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fleece them. So he willed Philocles. without more a do, to make over the Town which he was ready to recieve. Philocles accordingly did let him with his Amy into it strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip himself. with the Argives : who for very love had

away by bargain unto another) Philip had al- | fled out of the City at the first tumult. loyning their own goods: they were put to Philip feeing that his Acheans had forfa- the whip, and belides loss of their wealth.

### 6. XIV.

The battel at Cynoscephala, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as foon as he underflood that he was appointed to have command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the War. The like did Philip: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no less failed in his hopes of getting Nabis to friend in that by night 5 and gave him poffession of the War, meant afterwards wholly to rely upon

Titus had in his Army about fix and twenforsaken the Acheans, to take his part. Early ty thousand : and Philip a proportionable in the morning, the Tyrant made himself number. But neither of them knew the o Pho. is master of all the gates. A few of the prin-thers strength, or what his Enemy intended vir. To cipal men, understanding how things went, to do. Only Titus heard that Philip was in

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Thestaly, and thereupon addressed himself! As soon as he was on the hill-top; it did to feek him out. They had like to have met him good to fee that they of his own light unawares, neer unto the City of Phere: armature were busie in fight, almost at the where the vant-currers on both fides dif- very Camp of the Enemies; whom they covered each other; and fent word thereof had repelled fo far. He had also liberty to unto their feveral Captains. But neither of choose his ground, as might serve best his them were over-hafty to commit all to ha advantage; forasmuch as the Romans were zard upon to thort warning. The day fol- quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But lowing each of them fent out three hundred of this commodity he could make no great Horse, with as many light-armed Foot, to use: the roughness of the place among make a better discovery. There met, and those Dogs heads, as they were called, ferfought a long while: returning finally back ving nothing aptly for his Phalanx. Neverinto their icveral Camps, with little ad- theless he found convenient room, wherein vantage unto either fide. The Country at to marshall the one part of his Army: and bout Phera was thick fet with trees : and o- gave order unto his Captains, to follow therwise full of gardens and mud-walls; with the rest, embattelling them as they which made it unproper for the service of might. Whilest he was doing this: He perthe Macedonian Phalanx. Wherefore the ceived that his Hofemen and light armature King dislodged, intending to remove back began to shrink; as being fallen upon the into Scotufa, in the Frontier of Macedon; Roman Legions, by force whereof they where he might be plentifully served with were driven to recoyle. He sets forward all necessaries. Titus conceived aright his to help them : and they no less hastily meaning: and therefore purposed also to draw unto him for succour; having the march thitherwards; were it only to waste Romans not far behind them. the Country. There lay between them a great As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; ledge of hills, which hindered the one from Philip commanded those of his Phalanx to knowing what course the other took. Ne-charge their pikes, and entertain them. vertheless they encamped not far asunder, Here Titus found an extream difficult piece both the first and the second night; though, of work. For this Phalanx being a great neither of them understood what was be- square battel of armed pikes, like in all come of the other. The third day was very points to those which are now used in our tempestuous, and forced each of them to modern Wars: and being in like manner take up his lodging where he found it by used, as are ours; was not to be refisted by

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by a word figuifying as much. Cynoscephala, light.

chance. Then fent they forth discoverers the Roman Targettiers, as long as the Phaagain, in greater number than before. These lanx it self held together undissolved. The meeting together, held a long fight, where- Macedonians were embattelled in very close in at first the Macedonians had the worse, order: so that two of them stood opposite But Philip anon fent in such strong supply; to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of that if the relistance of the Etolians had the first rank had their points advanced not been desperate, the Romans their fel- two or three foot before their fore-manlows had been driven back into their Camp. Wherefore it is no marvel if the Romans Yet all reliftance notwithstanding, the Ma- gave back: every one of them being troucedonians prevailed : fo that Titm himfelf bled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; was fain to bring forth his Legions, that and not able to come nearer to the next of were not a little discouraged, by the defeat them, than the length of a dozenfoot; or of all their Horse, to animate those which thereabout. Titus finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly It was altogether besides the Kings pur- troubled: for that still the Phalanx bare pose to put the fortune of a battel in trust down all which came in the way. But in that day, with so much of his Estate as might the mean while he observed, That they thereon depend. But the news came to him which were appointed by Philip to make his thick and tumultuoully, how the enemies left wing, were not able through the much fled, and how the day was his own, if he unevenness of the ground, to put themcould use an occasion, the like whereof he selves in order: so as either they kept their should not often find. This caused him to places on the Hill-tops; or else (which was alter his purpose: insomuch as he embattel- worse) upon desire either of beholding the led his men; and climed up those hills, pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in which, for that the knops thereon had some the work, ran foolishly along by the side refemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, of their fellows, which were occupied in

Of this their diforder hemadegreat and work; and mainly helpful to making present use. He caused the right wing of of the Victory compleat. He considered his battel to march up the Hill against these that Philip, in pursuing the right wing of the ill-ordered troops: his Elephants leading Romans, was run on fo far, as that himfelf the way, to increase the terrour. The Mar with his follows, in mounting the Hill to edonians were readier to dispute what charge the left wing of the Macedonians, fould be done in fuch a case, than well ad was already gotten above the Kings head. vifed what to do; as having no one man ap Wherefore he turned to the left hand, and pointed to command that part inchief. In-making down the Hill after the Kings deed if they should have done their best, it lanx, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindercould not have ferved; fince the ground most ranks of the Phalanx, and all of them whereon they stood, made their weapons indeed save the first five, were accustomed, unuleful. For let it be supposed, that Pbi- when the battels came to joyning, to carry he having fix and twenty thouland in his their pikes upright; and with the whole Army (as he is faid to have been equal to weight of their bodies to thrust on their the Enemy in number) had four thousand fore-men: and so were they doing at the Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and four present. This was another great inconventthousand light armed : so shall there remain ence in the Macedonian Phalanx. That it fourteen thousand Pikes: whereof himself served neither for offence nor defence, exhad embattelled the one half in a Phalanx; cept only in Front. For though it were fo, the other half in the left wing, are they that Alexander, when he was to fight with whom Quintim is ready now to charge. Daring in Mesopotamia, arranged his Phalanx The Phalanx having usually fixteen in File, in such order, that all the four sides of it mult, when it consisted of seven thousand, were as so many Fronts looking fundry have well-near four hundred and forty in wayes, because he expected that he should rank: but four hundred would ferve, to be encompassed round: yet is it to be unmake a Front long enough; the other forty derstood, that herein he altered the usual or seven and thirty Files might be cut off, form; as also at the same time he embatteland reckoned in the number of the Target- led his men in loofe order, that fo with eafe tiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, they might turn their weapons which way as Polybine doth , to every man of them need should require. Likewise it is to be by, as Polybins doth, to every man or them need mount required.

White three froot of ground: this Front must have confidered, That Alexanders men being thus white three froot of ground: this Front must have confidered, That Alexanders men being thus white the confidered was a fit only to keep their own occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundifpofed, were fit only to keep their own dred and forty paces; that is, very near a ground; not being able to follow upon the quarter of a mile in length. Such a space enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could of open Champian, free from incumberance have marched backwards. But in this preof Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like im- fent case of Philip, there was no such provipediments, that must of necessity disjoyn sion for resistance. Therefore his men, being this close battel of the Phalanx, was not otherwise unable to help themselves, threw every-where to be found. Here at Cynofee- down their weapons and fled. The King phale philip had fo much room , as would himfelf had thought until now, that the foronly fuffice for the one half of his men; the tune of the battel was every where alike, rest were fain to stand still and look about and the day his own. But hearing the noise them , being hindred from putting them behindhim , and turning a little afide with a felves in order, by the roughness of the troop of horse, to see how all went; when Dogs beads. But the Romans, to whom all he beheld his men cafting down their weagrounds were much alike, were not hin-pons, and the Romans at his back on the dred from coming up unto them; nor higher ground; he prefently betook himfound any difficulty in mastering those Ene felt to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in ry first impression of the Elephants, caused sed in this overthrow) untill he was gotten them to give back; and the coming on of into his own Kingdom of Macedon. the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. There died of the Roman Army in this A Roman Tribune or Colonel, seeing the battel, about seven hundred: of the Macedovictory on that part affured, left the profe- nians about eight thousand were sain; and sution of it unto others: and being follow- five thouland taken prisoners. ed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (asthey might fall out) by some two thoufand men, took in hand a notable piece of

mies, whose feet were in a manner bound any place (except only a small while about by the discommodity of the place. The ve- Tempe, there to collect such as were disper-

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Philip commanded those of his Phalanz to knowing what course the other took. Ne-charge their pikes, and entertain them. vertheless they encamped not far asunder, Here Titus found an extream difficult piece both the first and the second night; though, of work. For this Phalanx being a great neither of them understood what was be-square battel of armed pikes, like in all come of the other. The third day was very points to those which are now used in our tempestuous, and forced each of them to modern Wars: and being in like manner take up his lodging where he found it by used, as are ours; was not to be resisted by chance. Then fent they forth discoverers the Roman Targettiers, as long as the Phaagain, in greater number than before. These lanx it self held together undissolved. The meeting together, held a long fight, where- Macedonians were embattelled in very close in at first the Macedonians had the worse, order: so that two of them stood opposite But Philip anon fent in fuch strong supply; to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of cedonians prevailed : fo that Titus himfelf bled (as it were) with ten enemies at once; was fain to bring forth his Legions, that and not able to come nearer to the next of werein flight.

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that if the relistance of the Ætolians had the first rank had their points advanced not been desperate, the Romans their sel- two or three soot before their fore-man. lows had been driven back into their Camp. Wherefore it is no marvel if the Romans Yet all relistance notwithstanding, the Ma- gave back : every one of them being trou-

were not a little discouraged, by the defeat them, than the length of a dozen foot; or of all their Horse, to animate those which thereabout. Titus finding this, and not knowing how to remedy it, was greatly

It was altogether besides the Kings pur-troubled: for that still the Phalanx bare pose to put the fortune of a battel in trust down all which came in the way. But in that day, with so much of his Estate as might the mean while he observed, That they thereon depend. But the news came to him which were appointed by Philip to make his thick and tumultuoully, how the enemies left wing, were not able through the much

which, for that the knops thereon had some the work, ran foolishly along by the side refemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, of their fellows, which were occupied in

Of this their disorder hemadegreat and work; and mainly helpful to making present use. He caused the right wing of of the Victory complear. He considered his battel to march up the Hill against these that Philip, in pursuing the right wing of the ill-ordered troops : his Elephants leading Romans , was run on fo far , as that himfelf the way, to increase the terrour. The Mar with his follows, in mounting the Hill to adonians were readier to dispute what charge the left wing of the Macedonians, fould be done in fuch a case, than well advised what to do; as having no one man appointed to command that part in chief. Indeed if they should have done their best, it lanx, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindercould not have served; since the ground most ranks of the Fhalanx, and all of them whereon they flood, made their weapons indeed fave the first five, were accustomed, unuseful. For let it be supposed, that Phihe having fix and twenty thousand in his their pikes upright; and with the whole Army (as he is faid to have been equal to weight of their bodies to thrust on their the Enemy in number) had four thousand fore-men: and so were they doing at the Horse, four thousand Targettiers, and sour present. This was another great inconvenitionand light-armed: so shall there remain ence in the Macedonian Phalanx. That it fourteen thousand Pikes: whereof himself served neither for offence nor defence, exsee as Polybins doth, to every man of them need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That Alexanders men being thus ry first impression of the Elephants, caused sed in this overthrow) untill he was gotten them to give back; and the coming on of into his own Kingdom of Macedon. the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. There died of the Roman Army in this victory on that part affured , lest the profe- nians about eight thousand were slain; and sution of it unto others: and being follow- five thouland taken prisoners. ed by twenty Enfignes or Maniples, that is, (asthey might fall out) by some two thoufand men, took in hand a notable piece of

had embattelled the one half in a Phalanx; cept only in Front. For though it were fo, the other half in the left wing, are they that Alexander, when he was to fight with whom Quintins is ready now to charge. Darius in Mesopotamia, arranged his Phalanx The Phalanx having usually fixteen in File, in such order, that all the four files of it must, when it considered of feven thousand, were as so many Fronts looking sundry have well-near four hundred and forty in rank: but four hundred would ferve, to be encompassed round: yet is it to be unmake a Front long enough; the other forty derstood, that herein he altered the usual make a Front long chough; and other sort, form; as also at the same time he embatteland reckoned in the number of the Target- led his men in loofe order, that fo with eafe tiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, they might turn their weapons which way occupied twelve hundred foot, or two hundisposed, were fit only to keep their own dred and forty paces; that is, very near a ground; not being able to follow upon the quarter of a mile in length. Such a space enemy, unless their hindmost ranks could of open Champian, free from incumberance have marched backwards. But in this preof Trees, Ditches, Hillocks, or the like im- fent case of Philip, there was no such provipediments, that must of necessity disjoyn fion for resistance. Therefore his men, being this close battel of the Phalanx, was not otherwise unable to help themselves, threw every-where to be found. Here at 63nofce-down their weapons and fled. The King Phale Philip had fo much room, as would himself had thought until now, that the foronly suffice for the one half of his men; the tune of the battel was every where alike, rest were fain to stand still and look about and the day his own. But hearing the noise them , being hindred from putting them behindhim, and turning a little afide with a felves in order, by the roughness of the troop of horse, to see how all went; when Dogs-beads. But the Romans, to whom all he beheld his men cafting down their weagrounds were much alike, were not him-pons, and the Romans at his back on the dred from coming up unto them; nor higher ground; he prefently betook himfound any difficulty in mastering those Ene felt to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in mies, whose feet were in a manner bound any place (except only a small while about by the discommodity of the place. The ve Tempe, there to collect such as were disper-

A Roman Tribune or Colonel, feeing the battel, about feven hundred: of the Macedo-

ø. X V.

T. Quintius falleth out with the Ætolians, mans quarrel with Antiochus.

noised through all Greece, that the Victory the Kingdom. Which done, he returned to at Conoscephale was gotten (in a manner) Thessalonica. wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the booty by sacking the swerable to his desire : but seeing what bad Macedonian Camp, whilest the Romans were fortune accompanied his affairs, in all other busied in the chale. Titus therefore being parts at the same time, he thought it wisoffended both at their vain-glory, and at dom to yield unto necessity; and therefore their ravenous condition; purposed to teach sent in all haste Limnens and Demosphene; them better manners, by regarding them as with Cycliadas the banished Achean, in flightly, as they thought highly of them- whom he reposed much confidence, Emselves. He also well perceived, That by bassadours unto Titus. These had confeusing them with any extraordinary favour, rence a long while in private, with Titus he should greatly offend the rest of his con- and some of his Roman Colonels: by whom federates in Greece; who detested the Ato they were gently entertained, and in very lians much more vehemently , than ever friendly wife dismissed. It feems that they had they had done the Macedonians. But this Commission, to refer all unto Titus his own displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

Larissa, a City in Thessaly, which he presently Truce for fifteen dayes : in which time, the took. Before his coming, Philip had fent King himfelf might come and speak with thither one of his Courtiers to burn all his the Roman General. In the mean feafon, letters, and passages whatsoever in writing, many suspicious rumours went of Titm, as betwixt him and others : of which many if he had been corrupted with great rewere there kept. It was well done of the wards from the King, to betray the Greek King, that among the cares of so much adhis Confederates. Of these bruits the Etoversity , he forgot not to provide for the lians were chief authors: who being wont fafety of his friends. Yet by thus doing, they to regard neither friendship nor honesty, of Larifa might well perceive, that he gave where profit led them a wrong way, judg-them as already loft. Wherefore we find not that they, or any of their neighbours, did day appointed for the meeting betwirt him make delay of opening their gates to Titus. and Philip , Titus had fent letters unto his At the same time, the Town of Leucas, border- Affociates; willing them to have their Aing upon Arcanania, was taken by the Roman gents ready by a time appointed, at the en-Fleet, and very foon after, all the Arcanani trance of Tempe, where the treaty should ans, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the be held. There when they were all affem-Etolians ever true to Philip; gave up bled, they entred into confultation before themselves unto the Romans, hearing of the the Kings arrival, what should be most ex-Victory at Cynoscephale. The Rhodians also pedient for the common benefit of them all, were then in hand with the conquest of Pa and for every state in particular. The poor rea, a Region of the Continent over against King Aminander belought them all, and the Island; whereof they had demanded especially the Romans; that they would restitution in the late Treaty of Peace. think upon him; and, considering his They did herein more manly , than any weakness which he confessed , make such other of the Greeks: forasmuch as they provision, that after the Romans had turned awaited not the good leafure of the Ro- their backs, and were gone home, Philip man; but with an Army of their own, might not wreak his anger upon him who and some help which they borrowed of was not able to result. Then spake Alexanthe Acheans and other their friends gave der, one of the Etolians: who commendbattel to Dinocrates the Kings Lieute ing Titus forasmuch as he had thus assembled

confequently recovered the whole Province. It angred Philip worse then all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his af. and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Li- and spoiling, as if all had been abandoned berty proclaimed unto the Greeks. The Ro- to their discretion. This made him gather an Army in all hafte of 6000. Foot, and 500 horse : wherewith coming upon them, he "He Ætolians wonderfully vaunted drave them, with little or no los of his own, themselves, and defired to have it and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of

In this one enterprise he had success anspleafure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battel, Titus made haste unto lifered id. There was granted unto him a nant. wherein they had the Victory, and the Confederates to advise upon their own minds freely: added, That in the main of It was to be hoped, that he would then at the purpose, which he had in hand, he was length give up to the Atolians a many of utterly deceived: for that by making peace Towns, (which he there named) bidding with Philip, he could neither affure the Ro- him speak whether he would or no. Hs anmans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their fwer was, that they might take them all. But liberty. There was, he faid, none other end Titte interpoling himself, said it should be to be made of the War, which could agree otherwife. These were Thessalian Towns, and either with the purpose of the Senate and should be all free; one of them only exceppeople of Rome, or with the fair promises ted, which not long ago had refused to made by Titus himself unto the Greeks, than commit it felf to the faith of the Romans, the chafing of Philip quite out of his King- and therefore should now be given to the dom. And to this effect he made a long dif- Atolians. Hereat Phaneas cried out, that it course. But Titus answered, That this Eto was too great an injury, thus to be defraudlian was ill acquainted, either with the good ed of the Towns that had sometimes bepleasure of the Senate and people of Rome, longed unto their Common-weal. Rather or with the laudable customs which they he willed Titus to consider, that by an angenerally held: for that it was not the cient Covenant between him and the Romanner of the Romans, to feek theutter de- mans, all the Towns taken ought to be struction of any King or Nation, at such time their own, and the Romans to have nothing as they first made War with them, until by fave the pillage and captives. It is true, fome rebellion they found it a matter of ne- that there had been such a condition in the cessity, to take such a rigorous course. And former War: but it ceased to be of any vahereof he alledged the Carthoginians as a lidity, as foon as the Atolians made peace notable example: adding, That victory, to with Philip. And thus much Titus gave them generous minds, was only an inducement to to understand; asking them whether they moderation. As concerning the publick be- thought it reasonable, that all the Towns nefit of Greece, it was (he faid) expedient, in Greece, which had let in the Romans by that the Kingdom of Macedon should be composition, should be delivered into subjegreatly weakned and brought low; not that ction of the Atolians. The rest of the Confeit should be utterly destroyed : forasmuch derates were very much delighted with these as it served as a bar to the Thracians, Gaules, angry passages between the Romans and the and a multitude of other falvage Nations, which would foon over-flow the whole con- fear any hard measure; fince Titue was fo tinent of Greece, if this Kingdom were not earnest in the behalf of those Thessalians, to interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that give them liberty, though they had flood if Philip would yield unto those demands, out against him, even till very fear made thought otherwise, it should be at their neths. own pleasure, to take Counsel apart for themselves as they thought good. Then be- peace so readily to the Macedonians , besides gan Phaneas, another of the Etolians, to fay, that laudable custom by him before alledgthat all was come to bothing : for that ere ed, was, the fame of Antiochus his coming long, Philip would trouble all the Greeks, no with an army from Syria, and drawing near less than he had done in time before. But toward Europe. He had also perhaps yet a Titue interrupted him , and bade him leave greater motive ; even the confideration that his bablings; faying, That himself would take his successor m ght happen to defraud him such order, as that Philip, were he never so of the honour, if the War should happen defirous, should thenceforth not have it in to be protrected. And he was in the right, his power to molest the Greeks.

whom Titus used friendly : and suffering him States of Greece, came unto Rome, new Conto repose himself that night, held a Coun- suls were choten: who (especially the one cel the day following : wherein the King of them) stood very earnestly against the yielded unto all that had been required at peace; alledging frivolous matter of their his hands; offering yet further to stand to own suspition, in hope to get the honour of the good pleasure of the Senate, if they concluding the War. The Senate began to would have more added to the Conditions | be doubtfully affected, between the Embaffa-

good, and had willed them to deliver their Phaneas the Atchan, infulting over him, faid Atolians : neither had they great reason to wherewith he had pressed him in the former them open their gates. Wherefore they op-Treaty; then was there no reason to de- posed not themselves; but gave their conny him peace. As for the Ætolians: if they lent willingly unto a Truce for four Mo-

The chief cause that moved Titus to grant For when his letters, together with Embaf-The next day King Philip came thuher: fadors from the Macedonian , and fundry

Qoooo

ever was demanded; and the letters of Ti- formerly had made. Letters also were then two, preffing them to accept this offer, on the fent by Titus unto Prufias King of Bithmia. one fide, and the importunity of the Conful giving him to understand, what agreement on the other; who faid, that all these good- was made with Philip in behalf of the Greeks; ly shews were fraudulent, and that the King and how the Senate held it reasonable, that would rebel, as foon as the Army was the Ciani, most miserably spoiled and oncalled out of Greece. But the matter was ta- pressed by Philip, to gratifie this Bithynian ken out of the Senators hands by two of the his fon-in-law, thould be restored to liberty. Tribunes, that referred it to an Affembly of and permitted to enjoy the same benefit of the People; by whose soveraign authority the Romans, which other of their Nation it was concluded, that peace fould be did. What effect these letters wrought, it granted to the King. So ten Embassadors was not greatly material; since the Ro-were sent from Rome, over into Greece: in mans were shortly bussed with Antiochus. which number were they that had been in such wise, that they had not leisure to exby their advice, that Titus should go through will. with the business of Peace. These would All Greece rejoyced at the good bargain very fain have retained those three impor- which Titus had made with Philip. Only tant Cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Deme- the Etolians found themselves agrieved tries, until the estate of Greece were some that they were utterly neglected : which was what better fetled. But finally, Titus pre- to the rest no small part of their contentvailed fo, that Corinth was (though not im- ment. The Beotians continued to favour the mediately) rendred unto the Acheans; and Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much all the other Greek Towns which Philip trouble unto themselves. There were some held, as well in Alia as in Greece, restored un- among them well-affected to the Romans: to liberty.

Philip, were, That before the celebration they were no better than loft, for the good Example of the next \* Isthmian Games , He should will which they had born unto him; unless withdraw his Garrifons out of all the Greek at this time, when he lay close by them with Towns which he held, and confine them over his Army, their Prætor, which was head of to the Romans: That he should deliver up the opposite Faction, might be made away. unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, Titus refused to have a hand in the executiand all Renegado's. Likewise all his Ships on, yet nevertheless did animate them in of War, referving to himself only five of the their purpole. So they committed the fact. leffer fort, and one of extraordinary great- and hoped to have kept themselves undisness, wherein fixteen men laboured at eve-covered. But when the murder came out, ry oar : Further, that he should pay a and somewhat was confessed by those which thousand talents, the one half in hand, the were put to torture: the hatred of the peoother in ten years following, by even portible brake out violently against the Roman:
\*Livila3. ons. Hereto \* Livie adds, That he was forin such wise, that howsoever they durst not bidden to make War out of Macedon, with- take Arms against them, yet such of them out permiffion of the Senate. But I find not as they found stragling from their Camp, that he observed this Article; or was at they murdered in all parts of the Counany time charged with the breach of it. Four try. This was detested within a while, and hundred talents he had already delivered many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon to Titus, together with his younger (on De- Titus requires of the Baotians, to have the metrius, to remain as hostage for his true murderers delivered into his hands; and for dealing in this matter of peace, at such time live hundred Souldiers, which he had lost as he litely fent his Embassadors to Rome : by them, to have paid unto him five hundred stage, remained still in custody of the Ro- wasting their Country; and besiegeth two

dors of Philip, offering to stand to whatfo- | mans, as a part of the bargain which Titue Confuls before Titus: and it was ordained amine the conformity of Prusas to their

who, seeing how things were like to go, The Conditions of Peace granted unto made their complaint unto Titue; faying, that when it was promifed, that the money, and talents. In stead of making any such amends, his fon, should be restored back unto him, if they paid him with excuses; which he the Senate were not pleased with the agree- would not take as good satisfaction. He ment. Whither this money were reckoned sends Embassadors to the Acheans, and Atheas part of the thousand talents, I cannot nians, informing them what had hapned: find : and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch and requested them not to take it amis, as young Demetrius, who, together with though he dealt with these their friends as thos four hundred talents, was given for hothey had deserved. Herewithal he falls to

fuch Towns of theirs, as did feem to be most | unto their Lord, That he should do well to culpable of the murders lately done. But abstain from the free Cities in Afia, and not the Embaffadors of the Acheans and Atheni- vex them with War: as also to restore whatans (especially of the Acheans, who offered, (oever he had occupied, belonging to the if he needed them, to help him in this Wars, Kings, Ptolomy or Philip. Moreover they wilvet besought him rather to grant peace unto led him by these his Embassadors, that he the Beotians) prevailed fo far with him, that should not pass over his Army into Europe; he was pacified with 30. talents, and the pu- adding, That some of them would visit him

of the History of the World.

many States of Greece distracted: some they fell to accomplishing their promises among them rejoycing that they were free unto the Greeks; to the rest they gave what from the Macedonian; others greatly doubt- they had promifed. But the Phocians and Loing, that the Roman would prove a worfe crians they gave unto the Etolians; whom neighbour. The Etolian would have been they thought it no wisdom to offend overglad of any Commotion; and therefore much, being shortly to take a greater work published rumours abroad, That it was the in hand. The Acheans of Phthiotis they anpurpose of the Romans, to keep in their own nexed unto the Thessalians; all save the hands all those places, wherein Philip lately Town of Thebes in Philiptis, the same which had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the had been abandoned by T. Quintius to the rest of the Greeks, conceive, that this Mace Atolians in the last Treaty with Philip. The donian War ferved as an introduction to the Atolians contended very earnestly about War to be made in Assa against King Antio- Pharfalus and Lencas. But they were put off chus; where grew the fruit, that was to be with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto reaped of this and many other victories. the Senate: for howsoever somewhat the Wherefore to flay the progress of bad ru-mors, when the Islames were held, meet that they should have their wills, as which in time of peace were never without it were in despight of Titus. So the Acheans great solemnity and concourse; Titus in were restored Corinth, Triphylia, and Herea. that great affembly of all Greece, caused pro- So the Corinthians were made free indeed, clamation to be made by found of Trumpet (though the Romans yet a while kept the to this effect, That the Senate and people of Acrocorinthus) for that all which were par-Rome, and Titus Quintius Flaminius the Ge- takers of the Achaan Common-wealth, enneral, having vanquished King Philip and joyed their liberty in as absolute manner as the Macedonians, did will to be at liberty, they could desire. To Pleuratus the Illyrian free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, were given one or two places, taken by the and living at their own Laws, the Corinthi- Romans from Philip: and upon Aminander ans, Phocians, Locrians, Eubwans, Acheans were bestowed those Castles, which he had of Phibiotis, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Per- gotten from Philip during this War; to reign rhebians. The suddenuess of this Procla in them, and the grounds which they commation aftonished men: so as though they manded, as he did among his Athamanians. applauded it with a great shout, yet present- The Rhodians had been their own Carvers. ly they cried out to hear it again, as if they Attalus was dead a little before the Victodurst scarce credit their own ears. The Greeks ry; and therefore lost his share. Yet many were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving that were with Titus in Councel, would thanks; which they rendred now to T. Quin- have given the Towns of Oreum and Euretia, tins with fo great affection, as that they in the Isle of Enbara, to his fon and succeshad well near smothered him, by thronging for King Eumenes. But finally it was couofficiously about him.

in their War against Antiochus, then could Kingdom of Macedon, bordering on Epirus, dence hereof, no sooner were the Isthmian | cause it was also set at liberty, and made it a games at en end, than Titus, with the Romans free eftate by it felf. that were of his Councel, gave audience to Hagessanax and Lyssa, King Antiochus his ed, that all care should be used, not how

nihments of fuch as were known offenders. in person ere it were long, to talk with him In like fort, though not fo violently, were further concerning these points. This done. cluded, that these as well as the rest of the This good will of the Greeks, was like to Eubwans, should be suffered to enjoy their be much more available unto the Romans liberty. Orestes, a little Province of the have been the possession of a few Towns, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, yet yea, or of all those Provinces which were yielded unto the Romans long ere this, and named in the Proclamation. Upon confi- fince continued true to them: for which

Embassadors: whom they willed to signifie to avoid the War with King Antiochus, but

perity. Wherefore Embassadors were sent, against this King, the Romans now had, or both to Antiochus himself, to pick matter of shortly after found: as also how their Emquarrel; and about unto others, to pre- baffadors and Agents dealt and fped abroade dispose them unto the affisting of the Romans I refer unto another place.

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how to accomplish it with most ease and prof- | therein. What ground and matter of Was

CHAP. V.

The Wars of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his Adherents.

ø. I.

What Kings of the races of Seleucus and Ptolomy reigned in Afia and Egypt before Antiochus

by Ptolony Caraunus, at an Altar called Ar- He took in hand an enterprise against Ptoloread that any mans life hath been preserved, the Chaldean dedicated his History of Allyor any mischance avoided by the predicti- ria; the same which hath fince been excelons of such Divellish Oracles. Rather I be- lently falisfied by the Friar Annius. He left lieve , that many such predictions of the behind him one son , called Antiochun Theor; Heathen gods, have been ante-dated by their and one daughter, called Apame, that was Priests; or by others, which devised them married unto the King of Cyrene. So he died after the event.

Selencus, was dearly beloved of his father: Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and who furrendred unto him his own wife fiftieth year of the Kingdom of the Greek, Stratonica, when he understood how much when he had reigned ninteen years. the young Prince was enamoured on her. Antiochin , furnamed Thees , or the god, Wherefore Ptolomy Ceraunus had great cause had this vain and impious title given to him, to fear, that the death of selencus would not by flattery of the Milestans; whom he delibe unrevenged by this his Successor. But vered from Timarchus, a Tyrant that oppres-Antiochus was contented to be pacified, ei- sed them. He held long and difficult, but ther with gifts , or perhaps only with fair fruitless War with Ptolomy Philadelphas words containing himself within Asia; and King of Egypt; which finally he compoundletting Cerannus enjoy that quietly , which ed, by taking to wife Berenice the daughter he had purchated in Europe, with the blood of Ptolomy. of Selencus. It is said of this Antiochus, that although he married with the Queen Straterine, S. Hierom and other Interpreters have he forbore to embrace her , till his father Kings daughter of the South shall come to the was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous King of the North to make an agreement; and love was partly, if not chiefly, that cause of that which followeth. his not profecuting that revenge, whereunto Ptolomy Philadelphin was a great lover of Nature should have urged him. Afterwards Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his he had Wars with Antigonie Gonatus, and incestuous marriage with his own Sister Arwith Nicomedes King of Bithjuia. Alfo Luta- finoe) a very excellent Prince: howfoever, rise and Leonorius Kings or Captains of the the worthieft of all that race. It was he Gauls, were set upon him by the same Nico- that built, and furnished with Books, that famedes. With these he fought a great battel: mous Library in Alexandria: which to

Telencus Nicanor, the first of his race, wherein, though otherwise the enemies had King of Alia and Syria, died in the end all advantage against him, yet by the terror of the hundred twenty and fourth of his Elephants, which affrighted both Olympiad. He was treacheroully slain their horses and them, he won the Victory. gos; having (as is faid ) been warned be my Philadelphus: but finding ill fucces in Gariet fore by an Oracle, to beware of Argos, as the beginning, he foon gave it over. To this had the fatal place of his death. But I never King Antiochus Soter it was , that Berofus Page. about the end of the hundred twenty and Antiochus Soter, the fon and heir of this ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the

tonica in his fathers life, yet out of modelty understood that Prophecy of Daniel : The Daniel

held in liavery throughout all Hegypt; and out her brother troomy Emergers Aing of Hegypt, came to refeue her with an Army; though too late; for fine was flain before.

Wherefore the Hegger spielding unto the Kings defire, prefented him with an Hebrew copy: which function in the Hebrew copy: which function in the Hebrew copy: which function in the Hebrew copy: which function in the Hebrew copy: which function in the Hebrew copy: which function is Father, that had fifteen for the Hebrew copy: which function is a function of the Hebrew copy: which function is the Hebrew copy: which function is the Hebrew copy: which function is the Hebrew copy: which function is the Hebrew copy: which is

called) the Seventy, Jesse the son of Syrach, Ptolomy Energetes, who came against him, is thought by Genebrard to have been one; had not been drawn back into his own who that he lived in this Age, it feems to me Countrey, by some Commotions there in very sufficiently proved by Jansenius, in his hand. For there were none that would bear Preface unto Ecclesafticus. The whole armes against Ptolomy, in defence of their passage of this business between Philadel own King: but rather they sided with the phus and the high Priest, was written (as Egyptian; who took Laodice the Kings mo-(a) Josephow affirms) by Ariftem that was ther, and rewarded her with death as the (i) M. (a) Josephus america) by Aristan that was that, and the selection of the employed therein. Forty years Ptolomy Philadelphus was King; reckoning the time ing freed from this invation, by occasion of ights wherein he joyntly reigned with his fa-thole domestical troubles which recalled lock ther. He was exceedingly beloved of his maker the people; and highly magnified by Poets, and dangerous piece of work, even to make War other Writers. Towards his end he grew upon his own subjects, because of their bad more voluptuous, than he had been in his affection towards him; when it had been former years: in which time he boafted, much better, by well deferving to have that he alone had found out the way how changed their hatred into love. A great ame the that he alone had round out the way now the that he alone had round out the way now the that he alone had round out the way now the that he prepared: in furnishing and manunto his honourable deeds, it might have ing whereof he was at such charges, that he ftood with reason : otherwise the Gout, scarce left himself any other hope, if that thick the with which he was often troubled, was should miscarry. Herein he embarqued himwith which he was own errour. He felf, and putting to Sea, did meet with fuch the men was the first of the Kings derived from 4sold keanders Successors, that entred into League a very few of his friends that hardly escafee lie keanders Successors, that entred into League a very few of his friends that hardly escafee lie in the call and the sold in the call and the control of the call and the control of the call and the control of the call and the control of the call and the control of the call and th the last among those Royal Families, which else in a manner than his naked body, turni the last among those to

wan me med Most; it may be now much more jully suspected: since a new Edition of & h come torth; paged from sauts; (as the Papills term those bods, wherein drey have changed what they please) and let forth by Midthispirate Celega An Dom. 1578.

adorn and to honour the more, he fent unto | murdered Berenice, together with a fon that Eleazar, then high Priest of the Jews, for the had born to Antiochus. Juline reports, 190, 127, the Books of Moles and other Scriptures, that Berenice faved her felf, together with The benefits of this King unto the Jews had the young Prince her child, a while in the formerly been very great; for he had fet Sanctuary at Daphne : and that not only at liberty as many of them, as his father fome Cittee of Asia prepared to succour her, held in savery throughout all #gpp; and but her brother Ptolomy Energeter King of

Ptolomy caused to be translated into Greek, years been King, began his reign. His subby seventy two of the most grave and jects were highly offended at his wicked learned persons that could be found among nature; which they discovered in his first all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his E-Interpreters, or (as they are commonly state would have been much endangered, if with the Romans: as also his off spring was ped. This calamity, having left him nothing ed nevertheless to his great good; as anon after it feemed. For when his subjects understood in what fort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences : they had commiseration of his Fittate; and, prefuming that he would Antiochmo Theos had another wife called thenceforth become a new man, offered un-Lasdice, at such time as he married with Be- to him their service with great alacrity. This remice the daughter of this Ptolomy. After revived him, and filled him fuch a spirit; as his fecond marriage, he used his first wife thinking himself well enough able to deal with no better regard, then if she had been with the Agoptian, he made ready a mighty his Concubine. Laodice hated him for this: Army for that purpole. But his fortune was yet adventured not to feek revenge, until no better at Land, that it had been at Seaher own fon Selencus Callinicas was of ability He was vanquished by Ptolomy in a great tobe King. This was two or three years af- battel: whence he escaped hardly; no better the death of Ptolomy Philadelphus : at ter attended , than after his late Shipwrack. what time she poysoned her husband Theos; Hasting therefore back to Antioch, and fearand, by permiffion of selences her fon, ing that the enemy would foon be at his

neels ; He wrote unto his brother Antiochus | Antiochus Hierax (or the Hawk) which furmierax wholay then in Asia, praying him to name was given him, because he soughthis bring fuccour with all speed; and promi- prey upon every one, without care whether nog, in recompence of his faith and dili- he were provoked or not) foared away as far sence, the Dominion of a great part of Asia. as he could, both from his brother, and from antiochus was then but fourteen years old, his own Gaules. Having fetcht a great com-

extreamly ambitious; and therefore pass through Mesopotamia and Armenia. He ad of fuch an occasion to make himself fell at length in Cappadocia; where his fat. He levied a mighty Army of the ther-in-law King Artamenes took him up. wherewith he fet forward to help He was entertained very lovingly in outbrother, or rather to get what he could ward shew; but with a meaning to betrav nimfelf. Hereof Ptolomy being adver- him. This he foon perceived: and theretiled; and having no defire to put himfelf fore betook him to his wings again; though in danger more then he needed; took Truce he knew not well, which way to bend his with Seleucus for ten years. No fooner was flight. At length he resolved to bestow him-Selencus treed from this care of the Agypti- felt upon Ptolomy; his own conscience telling an War, but his brother Anticchus came up him, what evil he had meant unto Selencus on him, and needs would fight with him, his brother; and therefore what little good as knowing himself to have the better Ar- he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. my. So Selenem was vauquished again; Infidelity can find no fure harbour. Ptolomy and faved himself with so tew about him, well understood the perfidious and turbuthat he was verily supposed to have perith- lent nature of this Hierax. Wherefore he ed in the battel. Thus did Gods Justice laid him up in close prison : whence though take revenge of those murders by which the by means of an harlot, he got out; yet fly-Crown was purchased; and settled (as ing foom his keepers, he fell into the hands of might have been thought) on the head of thieves, by whom he was murthered. Near this bloody King. Antiochus was very glad about the fametime died Selencus. The Parto hear of his brothers death, as if thereby thians and Bactrians had rebelled against he had purchased his hearts desire. But the him, during his Wars with his brother. He Gaules, his Mercenaries, were gladder then therefore made a journey against Arlaces he, For when he led them against Eumenes founder of the Parthian Kingdom: wherein King of Pergamus, being in hope to get ho- his evil fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, nour by making a Conquest in the beginning adhered so closely to him, that he was taken of his Reign : the e perfidious Barbarians prisoner. Arfaces dealt friendly with him, took counsel against him, and devised how to and dismissed him, having every way given ftrip him of all that he had. They thought him royal entertainment : but in returning it very likely, that if there were none of the home, he brake his neck by a fall from his Royal house to make head against them; horse, and so ended his unhappy reign of it would be in their power, to do what twenty years. He had to wife Laodice the should be best pleasing to themselves, in the sister of Andromachus, one of his most trusty lower Alia. Wherefore they laid hands on Captains: which was father unto that Aches Antiochie; and enforced him to ransome us, who making his advantage of this affihimself with money, as if he had been their nity, became shortly after (as he stiled hime lawful Prisoner. Neither were they so con-self) a King; though rather indeed, a great tented: but made him enter into such Com troubler of the world in those parts. By polition with them, as tended but little to Laodice he had two fons; Selencus the third, his honour. In the mean while Seleucus had furnamed Ceraunus; and Antiochus the gathered a new Army: and prepared once third, called afterwards the Great. more to try his fortune against his brother. Selencus Ceraunus reigned only three Eumenes hearing of this, thought the feafon years: in which time he made War upon fit for himself, to make his profit of their Attalus the first, that was King of Pergamus. discord. Antiochus fought with him, and Being weak of body through fickness, and was beaten : which is no great marvail, in want of money, he could not keep his fince he had great reason to it and in no less men of War in good order: and finally he fear of the Gaules, his own Souldiers, than was flain by treason of Nicanor and Apaturiof the enemy with whom he had to deal. us a Gaule. His death was revenged by Ache-After this, Eumenes won much in Afia; us, who slew the Traitors, and took charge whilest Antiochus went against his brother. of the Army : which he ruled very wisely, In the second battel, fought between the and faithfully a while; Antiochus the bro-

brethren, Selencus had the upper hand: and ther of Selencus being a Child. ø.II. 6. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus his reign. of Ptolomy Euergetes, and Philopater. Kings of Agypt. War between Antiochus and Philopater. The rebellion of Molo: an expedition of Antiochus against him. Alexander.

Ntiochus was scarcely fifteen years old, was unto his Lord, and finally unto him-felf; the success of things will shortly dif-Not long after

nearest unto Egppi, were held by the Egppii all the Countrey, as far as unto Babylon.

42; either as having fallen to the share of Xenætus, whilest he was yet on his journey,

riolomy the first, at iten time as the great Anticonus was vanquithed and flain in the battel at Islus; or as being won by this Euergetes, in the troublesome and unhappy reign of Selenens Callinious. The victories of this Energetes in Syria, with the contentions that lafted for many fucceeding ages The recontinuance of Antiochus hu Egypti- between the Ptolomies and the Selencide: an War : with the passages between the two were all foretold by Daniel in the Prophecy Kings: the Vittory of Ptolomy , and peace before cited , which is expounded by S. concluded. Of Achæus, and his rebellion; Hierome. Thus Ptolomy Energetes reigned his greatness, and his fall. Antiochus his six and twenty years; and died towards expedition against the Parthians, Battrians, the end of the hundred thirty and ninth and Indians. Somewhat of the Kingsreign- Olympiad. It may feem by that which we ing in India, after the death of the Great find in the Prologue unto Jefus the fon of Syrach his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For Siracides there faith that he came into Egypt in the eight A when he began his reign , which lasted and thirtieth year , when Euergetes was fix and thirty years. In his minority he was King. It may therefore be, That either this wholly governed by one Hermias, an ambi- King reigned long together with his father: tious man, and one which maligned all ver- or that those eight and thirty years were the tue, that he found in any of the Kings faith- years of Jefus his own age; if not perhaps ful fervants. This vile quality in a Coun-reckoned (as the Jews did otherwhiles fellor of fuch great place, how harmful it reckon) from some notable accident that

Not long after the death of Euergetes. Hermias the Counsellor, and in a manner Soon after the beginning of Antiochus his the Protector of King Antiochus, incited his reign . Ptolomy Energetes King of Ægypt di- Lord unto War against the Ecoptians : for ed, and lest his heir Ptolomy Philopater, a the recovery of Colofyria and the Countries young Boy likewife, as hath elfewhere been adjoyning. This Counfel was very unfeaforemembred. This was that Energetes, who nably given, when Molo, the Kings Lieuterelieved Aratus and the Acheans: who af- nant in Media, was broken out in rebellion, terwards took part with Cleomenes: and and fought to make himfelf absolute Lord lovingly entertained him, when he was cha- of that rich Country. Nevertheless Hermifed out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatus. He as, being more froward than wife, maintainannexed unto his Dominion the Kingdom ed stiffely, that it was most expedient and of Cyrene by taking to wife Bernice, the agreeable with the Kings honour, to fend daughter of King Magas. He was the third forth against a rebellious Captain , other of the Ptolomies; and the last good King of Captains that were faithful; whilest he in that race. The name of Energetes, or the person made War upon one that was like doer of good, was given to him by the himself, a King. No man durst gain-fay the Egyptians; not fo much for the great spoils resolution of Hermias; who therefore sent which he brought home, after his victories | Xenætas an Achean, with fuch forces as he in syria; as for that he recovered some of thought expedient, against the Rebel; those Images or Idols, which Cambyses, when whileit in the mean season an Army was he conquered Agypt, had carried into Per preparing for the Kings expedition into Casa. He was ready to have made War upon lossina. The King having marched from the Jews, for that Onias their high Priest, Apamea to Laodicea, and so over the Desarts out of meer covetoulness of money, refu-into the Valley of Malfias, between the fed to pay unto him his yearly tribute of Mountains of Libanus and Anti-libanus, 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wif- found his way there stopped by Theodotus dom of Josephus a Jew, to whom afterwards an Atolian, that ferved under Ptolomy. So he let in farm the Tributes and customs that he consumed the time there a while to none belonged unto him in those parts of Syria effect: and then came news, that Xenætas, which he held. For Calofyria, with Palastina, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole and all those parts of the Country that lay Army; and Molo thereby become Lord of

and drew near to the River of Tygris, re- | Sea, or Bay of Persia, He hasted unto sula: against their wills drawn by their Comman- there to give order concerning this business. with him, died fighting in defence of the their own swords. Camp: the rest were slaughtered without After this Victory , came joyful news, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the Province of Babyloniu, and all the Countrey down to the red it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it

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ceived many advertisements, by such as fled where at his first coming, he won the City; over unto him from the Enemy, That the but failing to take the Castle that was exfollowers of Molo were, for the most part, ceeding strong, returned back to Selencia.

der to bear arms against their King. This The report of these things coming to Anreport was not altogerher falfe; but Alolo tiochus, whilest he lay (as is said before) in himself stood in some doubt lest his follow- the Vale of Mapfyas; filled him with great ters would leave him in time of necessity. forrow, and his Camp with trouble. He took

\*\*Emeries\*\* therefore making shew, as if he had Counsel what to do in this needfull case: prepared to pass the River by Boats in face and was well advised by Epigenes, the best of his enemy; left in the night time such man of War he had about him, to let alone as he thought meet to defend his Camp: this enterprise of Caloffria; and bend his and with all the flower of his Army went forces thither, where more need required over Tygri, in a place ten miles lower than them. This Counsel was put in execution Mole his Camp. Mole heard of this, and fent with all convenient hafte. Yet was Epigenes forth his horse to give impediment: but offmissed by the way, and soon after flain. hearing that Xenatas could not fo be stop- by the practice of Hermias: who could not ped, He himfelf difloeged, and took his endure to hear good Counsel given, conjourney towards Media; leaving all his bag-gage behind him in his Camp. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his own presence of the King was more available, Souldiers; or whether thereby to deceive than any odds which he had of the Rebel his Enemy: the great folly of Xenatas made in strength. Molo distrusted his own followhis stratagem prosperous. For Xenetas, haders : and thought, that neither his late ving born himself proudly before, upon the good success, nor any other consideration, countenance of Hermias, by whom he was would ferve to hold them from returning to advanced unto this charge; did now pre- the Kings obedience, if once they beheld fume that all should give way to his authori- his person. Wherefore he thought it safest ty, without putting him to much trouble of for him to affail the Kings Camp in the night using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his time. But going in hand with this, He was men to feast with the provisions which they discovered by some that fled over from him found ready in the forfaken Camp : or ra- to the King. This caused him to return back ther he commanded them so to do, by mak- to his Camp: which by some errour, took ing Proclamation, That they should cherish alarm at his rturn: and was hardly quiup themselves against the journey, which eted, when Antiochus appeared in fight. The he intended to take the next day, in purtuit King was thus forward in giving battel to of the Rebels that fled. And to the same Molo, upon considence which he had that purpose he busied himself, in transporting many would revolt unto him. Neither was the remainder of his Army , which he had he deceived in this his belief. For not a few left on the other side of Tygris. But Moio men or Ensigns: but all the left wing of the went no further that day, than he could enemy which was opposite unto the King, easily return the same night. Wherefore changed side forthwith as soon as ever they understanding what good rule the Kings had fight of the Kings person; and were men kept : he made such hatte back unto ready to do him service against Molo. This them, that he came upon them early in the was enough to have won the Victory: but morning; whileft they were yet heavy with Molo (hortned the work, by killing himfelf; the Wine and other good cheer that they had as did also divers of his friends, who for fear spent at supper. So Xenatus and a very few of torments, prevented the Hang-man with

making refiftance; and many of them ere that the Queen Laodice daughter of Mithrithey were perfectly awake. Likewife the dates King of Pontas, which was married un-Campon the other fide of Iggris, was eafily to Antiochin a while before, had brought taken by Molo: the Captains flying thence, forth a fon. Fortune feemed bountiful unto to save their own lives. In the heat of this the King : and therefore he purposed to Victory, the Rebel marched unto Seleucia, make what use he could of her friendly difonly to terrifie the Barbarians, that borde- | with fuch infidelity, as any offender might red upon him. Hereunto his Counsellor Her- know to be unpardonable. By these means miss gave affent : not fo much respecting he emboldned the Traitor : who being althe Kings honour, as confidering what good ready detected, might better hope to mainmight thereby happen to himself. For if it tain his former actions by strong hand, than should come to pass, that the King were to excuse them or get pardon by submission. raken out of the World by any casuality: Antiochus had at that time a vehement dethen made he no doubt of becoming Prote- fire to recover Caloffria, or what elfe he for to the young Prince; and thereby of could, of the Dominions of Ptolony Philolengthening his own Goverment. Antio- pater in those parts. He began with Seleuchus therefore went against Artabanes, who cia, a very strong City near to the mouth reigned among the Atropatians; having the of the River Orontes; which ere long he greatest part of his Kingdom situate between won, partly by force, partly by corrupting the Castian and Euxine Sea. This barbarous with bribes the Captains that lay therein. King was very old and fearful; and there This was that Selencia, whereto Antigonus fore yielded unto what foever conditions the Great, who founded it, gave the name of it pleased Antiochus to lay upon him. So Antigonia: but Seleucus getting it shortly inthis journey Antiochnes got honour, fuch after, called it Selencia; and Ptolomy Exeras well contented him; and then returned getes having lately won it, might if it had so had been concealed.

homewards. Upon the way, a Physicion of pleased him, have changed the name into his brake with him as concerning Hermias; Ptolomais. Such is the vanity of men, that informing him truly how odious he was to hope to purchase an endless memorial unto the people; and how dangerous he would their names, by works proceeding rather be shortly unto the Kings own life. Antio-from their greatness, than from their ver-ches believed this, as having long suspected tue; which therefore no longer are their the same Hermias; but not daring for fear of own, than the same greatness hath continuhim to utter his suspitions. It was therefore ance. Theodotus the Etolian, he that before agreed, that he should be made away on the had opposed himself to Antiochus, and defudden: which was done, he being trained fended Calofyria in the behalf of Ptolomy; forth by a fleight, a good way out of the wasnow grown forry, that he had used so Camp, and there killed without warning or much faith and diligence, in fervice of an undisputation. The King needed not to have thankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore used so much art in ridding his hands of a asa Mercenary, he began to have regard to man so much detested. For howsoever he his own profit : which thinking to find greaseemed gracious whilest he was alive: yet ter, by applying himself unto him that was they that for fear had been most obsequious (questionless) the more worthy of these two to him, whilest he was in case to do them Kings; he offered to deliver up unto Antiohurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speak chus, the Cities of Tyrus and Ptolomais. of him as he had deserved, when once they Whilst he was devising about this Treason, were secure of him: yea, his wife and chil- and had already sent messengers to King dren, laying then at Apamea, were stoned to Antiochus: his practice was detected, and he death by the wives and children of the Ci belieged in Ptolomais by one of Ptolomies tizens ; whose indignation brake forth Captains, that was more faithful than himthe more outragiously, the longer that it felf. But Antiochus hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captain who met him on the About these times, Acheus (of whom we way: and afterwards got possession, not onspake before) thinking that Antiochus might ly of Tyrus and Ptolomais, with a good Fleet happen to perish in some of these expediti- of the Egyptian Kings that was in those Haons which he took in hand; was bold to fet a vens : but of fo many other Towns in that Diadem upon his own head, and take upon Country, as emboldned him to think upon him as a King. His purpose was to have in- making a journey into Egypt it self. Agathovaded Syria: but the fame of Antiochus his cles and Solibius bore all the fway in Egypt returning thitherwards, made him quit the at that time : Ptolomy himself being loath to enterprise; and study to set some handsome have his pleasures interrupted, with business colour on his former presumption. It is ve- of so small importance, as the safety of his ry strange that Antiochus neither went Kingdom. Wherefore these two agreed against Acheus; nor vet dissembled the no- together, to make provision as hastily, tice which he had taken of these his traite- and yet as secretly as might be for the War: rous purposes: but wrote unto him, signify- and nevertheless at the same time, to ing that he knew all, and upbraiding him press Antiochus with daily Embassadours

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These were all entertained in Memphis, by Agathocles and Sosibius: who intreated the end of their disputation, as far from them to deal effectually with Antiochus. But concluding, as at the beginning. Ptolomy dewhilft this treaty lasted, great preparations manded restitution; Ansiochus thought, that were made at Alexandria for the War: he had not as yet gotten all that was his wherein these two Counsellors perswaded own : Also Ptolomy would needs have Achathemselves reasonably, that the victory us comprehended in the league between would be their own; if they could get, for them, as one of their Confederates; But Anmoney, a sufficient number of the Greeks to tiochus would not endure to hear of this, take their parts. Antiochus heard only what exclaiming against it as a shameful thing, was done at Memphi, and how desirous the that one King should offer to deal so with Governours of Agypt were to be at quiet : another, as to take his rebel into protection. whereunto he gave the readier belief, not and feek to joyn him in Confederacy with only for that he knew the disposition of Ptolong, but because the Rhodians, and other was expired, and Antischus prepared to take Embaffadours, coming from Memphis, dif- the field again: contrary to his expectation. courfed unto him all after one manner; as be- he was informed, That Ptolomy, with a very ing all deceived by the cunning of Apathocles and his fellow : Antiochus therefore ha- out of Egypt. Setting forward therefore to ving wearied himfelf, at the long fiege of a meet with the Enemy, he was encountred Town called Dura, which he could not win : on the way by these Captains of Ptolong, and being desirous to refresh himself and his that had resisted him the year before. They Army in Selencia, during the winter which held against him the passages of Libanus, then came on, granted to the Agyptian a whence nevertheless he drave them: and Truce for four moneths, with promife that proceeding onward in his journey, won fo he would be ready to hearken unto equal many places, that he greatly encreased his Conditions, when they should be offered. It reputation; and thereby drew the Arabians, was not his meaning to be so courteous, as with divers of the bordering people, to he would fain have seemed, but only to bull become his followers. As the two Kings his enemies afleep, whilest he took time to drewnear together : many Captains of Ptorefresh himself; and to bring Achem to some long for sook his pay, and fled over to Antiegood order, whose treason daily grew more chus. This notwithstanding, the Agyptian open and violent. The same negligence had the courage to meet his enemy in the which he thought the Egyptian would have field. The battle was fought at Raphia: where used, he used himself, as presuming that when it was not to be decided, whether the Eg-

courtefie of the Greeks, desiring to take up of Babylon, and the Countries about the River of Euphrates. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in his own Soveraign Lord. When the Truce puissant Army, was coming up against him time of the year better ferved, little force ptians, or the Asiatiques were the better Soulwould be needful; for that the Towns diers, (for that the strength of both Armies would voluntarily yield unto him, since Pto- consisted in Mercenaries, chiesty of the long provided not for their defence. Nevertheles, he gave Audience to the Embassa of the Kings was the more fortunate. Ptolodours, and had often conference with those my, with Arsmoe his Sister and Wife, rode that were fent out of segpt : pleafing him- up and down encouraging his men; the like felf, well to dispute about the justice of his did Antiochus on the other side : each of quarrel which he purposed shortly to make them rehearling the brave deeds of his Angood by the fword, whether it were just or cestors; as not having of their own, whereby no. He faid, that it was agreed between Se to value themselves. Antiochus had the more leucus his Ancestor, and Ptolomy the Son of Elephants, as also his being of Asia, had they Laci, That all Syria, if they could win it from been fewer, would have beaten those of Antigonus, should be given in possession to Africk. Wherefore by the advantage of those Selencus : and that this bargain was after | bealts, He drave the Enemies before him, ward ratified, by general consent of the in that part of the battel wherein he fought Confederates, after the battel at Ipfus. himself. But Ptolomy had the better men But Piolomies men would acknowledge no by whose valour he brake the Gross of his fuch bargain. They said that Ptolomy the enemies battel, and won the victory:

whilest Antiochus was heedlesly following rable. As for the Egyptian, he was not only upon those, whom he had compelled to re- flothful, but hindred by a rebellion of his tire. Antiochus had brought into the field a- own subjects, from helping his friends hove leventy thousand foot, and fix thousand abroad. For the people of Egypt, of whom horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten Ptolomy, contrary to the manner of his Prothousand foot, and not four hundred horse; genitors, had armed a great number to yet the fame of his overthrow took from ferve in the late expedition; began to enterhim all those places which he had lately won. tain a good opinion of their own valour, When therefore he was returned home to thinking it not inferiour to the Macedonian. Antioch: He began to stand in fear, lest Pto- Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as lams and Acheus, fetting upon him both at formerly they had done: fince they less efteeonce, should put him in danger of his whole med, than they had done, the force of the Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors Kings mercenary Greeks: which had hitherto the Egyptian, to treat of peace; which to kept them in straight subjection. Thus with the tedious business of War. So Ptolomy force of the multitude was finally broken; vet having staid three moneths in Syria, re- King Ptolomy thereby wasted much of his turned home into Egypt, clad with the re- strength, and much of histime, that might putation of a Conqueror; to the great ad- have been spent, as he thought, much better miration of his subjects and all those that in revelling: or, as others thought, in sucwere acquainted with his voluptuous and couring Acheus. As for Antiochus, He had flothful condition.

between these two Kings : or if he had on of War against Acheus. To this purbeen included therein; yet would not the pose he entred into League with Attalus; Repptian have taken the pains, of making a that so he might distract the forces of his fecond expedition for his fake. The belt Rebel, and find him work on all sides. Fiwas, that he thought himself strong enough, nally, his diligence and fortune were such, if fortune were not too much against him, to that within a while he had pent up Acheus deal with Antiochus. Neither was he con- into the City of Sardes; where he held him fident without great reason: for besides his about two years besieged. The City was very many victories, whereby he had gotten all strong, and well victualled: so as there appeathat belonged unto Antiochus on this fide of red not, when the second year came, any Tanus, he had also good success against At- greater likelihood of taking it, than in the talus King of Pergamus: that was an able first years fiege. In the end, one Lagoras a man of War, and commanded a strong Ar- Gretan found means how to enter the Townmy. Neither was he, as Molo the Rebel had The Castle it self was upon a very high been, one of mean regard otherwise, and rock, and in a manner impregnable; as alcarried beyond himself by apprehending so the Town-wall adjoyning to the Castle, in

no fooner made his peace with the Egyptian, Achens was not comprised in the league than he turned all his care to the preparatithe advantage of some opportunity: but that part which was called the Same, was Coulin-german to the King, as hath been in like manner fituate upon steep Rocks, shewed before; and now lately the Kings and almost inaccessible; that hung over a brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger deep bottom, whereinto the dead carkales daughter of the same Mithridates King of of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and some-Pontus, which was also called Laodice, as was times of men, used to be thrown. Now it was her Sifter the Queen , Antiochus his wife. observed by Lagoras , that the Ravens and These things had added Majesty unto him, other birds of prey, which haunted that and had made his followers greatly to re- place by reason of their food which was there spect him, even as one to whom a Kingdom never wanting, used to flye up unto the top was belonging. Neither made it a little for of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the wals, him, That King Piolomy of Egypt held him where they rested without any disturbance. in the nature of a friend : and that King An- Observing this often, he reasoned with himticchus was now lately vanquished in the self, and concluded that those parts of the battel at Raphia: and had thereby loft all his wall were left unguarded, as being thought gettings in Spria. But all these hopes and unapproachable. Hereof he informed the likelihoods came to nothing: for the King King: who approved his judgement, and gave of Pontus, if he would meddle in that unto him the leading of such men, as he dequarel between sons-in-law, had no rea- fired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. fon to take part against the more honou- The success was agreeable to that which

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Lagoras

Lagoras had afore conceived: and though in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambylus with much labour, vet without resistance, he whom Bolis had won unto the business, did scaled those rocks, and whilest a general as- somewhat trouble him. They were men fault was made, entred the Town in that part, to him unknown: and Cambylus was a folwhich was at other times unguarded, then lower of Antiochus; under whom he had the unthought upon. In the same place had the command of those Cretans, which held one Persians, under Cyrus, gotten into Surdes ; of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of when Crasus thought himself fecure on that Sardes. Nevertheless other way to escape he fide. But the Citizens took not warning faw none, than by putting himfelf to some by the example of a loss of many ages pair: adventure. When the mellenger had thereand therefore out of memory. Achem held fore passed often to and fro, it was at length ftill the Castle: which not only seemed by concluded, That Bolis himself should come nature impregnable, but was very well sto- speak with Achem, and conduct him forth. red with all necessaries, and manned with a There was none other than good faith meant fufficient number, of fuch as were to him well by any of the rest, save only by Bolis and unto their fide. But the Contents of the Epithan he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the Critists in elsering
the which were that he should be considered that were always Lyars, evil brafts, and flow bellies. (e)? Pul. 18/14. It

assured. Antiochus therefore was constrained Cambylus; which were Cretans, and (as all theles. to waste much time about it: having none their Countrymen, fome few excepted, have I do not other hope to prevail, than by familhing the been, and still are, ) false knaves. These two there are inclosed. Besides the usual rediousness of held a consultation together, that was, assumed expectation, his business called him thence (a) Polybim observes it, rightly Cretical: nei- Edecu expectation, his buttiers cancer than the activities away into the higher Asia, where the Ballri-ther concerning the safety of him whose deans, and Parthians with the Hyrcanians, had liverance they undertook, nor touching the tal, who erected Kingdoms taken out of his Domini-discharge of their own faith; but only how in his his ons, upon which they still incroached to get most with least adoe and danger to standard But he thought it not fafe, to let Acheus themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first libes, break loofe again. On the other fide there of all, they would equally share between he trade were some Agents of Piolomy the Egyptian, them ten Talents, which they had already con our and good friends unto Achem; that made received in hand : and then, That they would have it their whole study, how to deliver this reveal the matter to Antiochus; offering to Comm, befieged Prince. If they could refcue his per- deliver Achem unto him, if they might be with all fon, they cared for no more: but prefumed well rewarded both with prefent money, and and we that when he should appear in the Countrys with promise of consideration answerable though the would soon have an Arto the greatness of such a service, when it is to the greatness of such a service, when it is to the greatness of such a service, when it is to the greatness of such a service, when it is to the greatness of such a service, when it is to the greatness of such a service, when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such a service when it is to the greatness of such as the such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the greatness of such as the service when it is to the service when it is to the servi my at command, and be strong enough to should be dispatched. Antiochus hearing this lean de hold antiochus as hardly to work as at promise of Cambylus, was no less glad, than anas, san bride of Cambylus, was no les one Bolis a Cretian, that was acquainted the comfortable promifes of Bolis. At my and well with all the wayes in the Country, and length when all things were in readinds on the man and the comfortable promifes of Bolis. particularly with the by paths and exceed- both fides , and that Bolis with Arians ciling ing difficult passages among those Rocks, wasto get up into the Castle, and conveigh a Pein, whereon the Castle of Sardes stood. Him Achess thence: He first went with Camp-the tast they rempted with great rewards, which he Iso to speak with the King, who gave him ve bendan thould receive at the hands of follows, as ry private audience; and confirmed unto the bands of follows. well as of Achem ; to do his best for per- him by word of mouth the affurance of his weight formance of their desire. He undertook the liberal promises. And after that, putting honor business: and gave such likely reasons of on the countebance of an honest man; and to be bringing all to good effect, that they wrote of one that was faithful unto Ptolomy; whom foliar tinto Achem, by one Arianus, a trufty mellenger, whom Bolis found means to conveigh inmus up into the Castle. At his coming this looper to the Caftle. Theraith of these Negotiators ther, he was lovingly entertained 5 yes forms Achem held most assured. They also wrote questioned at large by Achems, touching all Archem unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, the weight of the business in hand. But he elim wherewith none fave he and they were ac discoursed so well, and with such gravity; shered quainted : whereby he knew, that it was no that there appeared no reason of district large faired device of his Enemies, in the name ing either his faith or judgement. He hard of his friends. As for the meffenger, he was was an old Souldrer, had long been a me a trufty fellow, and one whom Aches; Captain under Ptolomy, and did not thruft of found by comments of the com found by examination, heartily affected himself into this business; but was invited in the business; but was invited in the business.

And in such order came they now forth : him belonging in the lesser Afia. Arianus going before as Guide : the rest fol- Some years passed after this, ere Antiochus lowing as the way ferved, and Bolis in the was ready for his expedition against the Rear. Achens made none acquainted with his Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians purpose, till the very instant of his depar-were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, ture. Then fignified he the matter to his Wife and commonly subject unto those that ruled Disdice; and comforting her with hope as in Media. In the great shuffling for Provin-

by honourable and faithful me. He had fall of them very officious towards Achaus; also taken a safe course, in wining (as it lending him their hands, and taking such feemed) that other Country-maiof his, who care of him, as easily gave Eolis to understand kept a Fort that itood in thei way; and that he was the man; and fo by their unfeathereby had already fundry tmes given fonable duty, they undid their Lord. When fase passage and repassage unto Aianus. But they came to the place where Cambylus lay against all these comfortable bpes , the in wait, Bolis whistled, and presently clapsed importance of fo great an advenure stirred Acheus about the middle, holding him falt up fome diffidence. Acheus therefore dealt that he could not ftir. So they were all tawifely, and faid, that he word yet stay ken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith in the Castle a little longer: bt that he to Antiochus; who sate up watching in his meant to fend away with Boli three or Pavilion, expecting the event. The light of four of his friends; from whon, when he Achaus, brought in bound unto him, did fo received better advertisement, concerning astonish the King that he was unable to speak the likelihood of the enterpile, then a word, and anon brake out into weeping. would he issue forth himself. Hereby he Yet was he before informed of the plot, took order, not to commit himelf wholly which might have kept him from admiratiunto the faith of a man unknovn. But as on: as also the next morning betimes, assem-Polybius well notes, he did not consider that bling his friends together, he condemned Ahe played the Cretian with a ma of Crete: chaus to a cruel death: which argues, that he which is to say, that he had to do with one, was not moved with pity towards this unwhose knavery could not be avoided by cir happy man. Wherefore it was the general recumspection. Bolis and Cambylw had laid gard of calamities, incident unto great their plots thus, That if Acheus came forth fortunes, that wrung from him thefe tears : as alone, then should be easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accomboth him and his friends to wonder: though panied with many of his friends, hen should it be so, that such a course as this of his, in Arianns be appointed to lead the vay, as one imploying two mischievous knaves against that of late had trodden it oft : and Bolis fol one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; aclowing behind, should have at eye upon cording to that Spanish Proverb, A un traj-Achens to prevent him, not only from cica dor dos allevosos. The death of Achens ping in the tumult, but from breaking his brought fuch aftonishment upon those which own neck, or otherwise killinghimself: to held the Castle, that after a while they gave the end that being taken alive, he might be up the place and themselves unto the King; to Anticolns the more welcome Present. whereby he got entire possession of all to

well as he could, appointed four of his speces, after the death of Alexander the Governctal friends to bear him company. They ment over them was committed by Antipawere all disguised : and one of them alone ter, to one Philip, a man of small regard: took upon him to have knowledge of the foortly they tell to Eumenes; then to Antigo-Greek tongue; fpeaking & answering as need "" : and from him, together with the Meder, Mould require for all , as if the reft had been to Selencus ; under whose posterity they Barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily continued until the Reign of Selencus Calinideviling upon his business, and much perple- cus, being ruled by Lieutenants of the sy-red: For (faith Polybius) though he were of rian Kings. The lustful insulency of one of Crete, and prone to furmife any thing to the these Lieutenants, together with the miswijfilief of another; yet could be not fee in fortune of Callinicus, that was vanquished and The dark, nor know which of them was Ache- thought to be flain by the Gauls , did ftir m; to whether Acheur himself were there. up Arfaces, a nobleman of the Countrey, to The way was very uneafie, and in some seek revenge of injuries done, and aniplates dangerous; especially to those that mate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings the wit not. Wherefore they were fain to Lieutenant; made himself King of the Thay in divers places, and help one another up. Parthians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought profor down. But upon every occasion they were peroully with those that disturbed him in Lagoras had afore conceived: and though in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambylme with much labour, vet without resistance, he whom Bolis had won unto the business, did scaled those rocks, and whilest a general as somewhat trouble him. They were men fault was made, ettred the Town in that part, to him unknown: and Cambylus was a folwhich was at other times unguarded, then lower of Antiochus; under whom he had the unthought upon. In the same place had the command of those Cretans, which held one Persians, under Cyrus, gotten into Sardes; of the Forts that blocked up the Castle of when Gress thought himself secure on that Sardes. Nevertheless other way to escape he fide. But the Citizens took not warning faw none, than by putting himself to some by the example of a lois of many ages pair adventure. When the mellenger had thereand therefore out of memory. Achem held fore passed often to and fro, it was at length ftill the Castle: which not only seemed by concluded, That Eolis himself should come nature impregnable, but was very well fto- speak with Achem, and conduct him forth. red with all necessaries, and manned with a There was none other than good faith meant fufficient number, of fuch as were to him well by any of the rest, save only by Bolis and found by examination, heartily affected himself into this buffness; but was invited is in which were that he should be confident that were always Lyan, evil brafts, and flow belies. (e) 2 pd. bill. it.

affured. Antrochus therefore was constrained Cambylus; which were Cretans, and (as all therefore to waste much time about it: having none their Countrymen, fome few excepted, havel do my other hope to prevail, than by familhing the been, and still are,) false knaves. These two calling inclosed. Besides the usual tediousness of held a consultation together, that was, ashmed expectation, his business called him thence (a) Polybim observes it, rightly Cretical: nei- Edent away into the higher Afia, where the Balliri- ther concerning the fafety of him whole de desired ans, and Parthians with the Hyrcanians, had liverance they undertook, nor touching the in, who erected Kingdoms taken out of his Domini-discharge of their own faith; but only how his las ons, upon which they still incroached, to get most with least adoe and danger to find But he thought it not fafe, to let Acheus themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first lines, break loofe again. On the other side there of all, they would equally share between he trade were some Agents of Piolomy the Egyptian, them ten Talents, which they had already each out and good friends unto Achem; that made received in hand: and then, That they would have it their whole study, how to deliver this reveal the matter to Antiochus; offering to Com besieged Prince. If they could rescue his per- deliver Achans unto him, if they might be with a fon, they cared for no more: but prefumed well rewarded both with prefent money, and and and the that when he should appear in the Countrys with promise of consideration and when he would soon have an Arto the greatness of such a service, when it he country are command, and be strong enough to should be dispatched. Antiochus hearing this leam my at command, and be triong enough to hold Antrochus as hardly to work as at promife of Cambylus, was no less glad, than mins, hold Antrochus as hardly to work as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with were the friends of Achieus well pleafed with inferi one Bolis a Cretian , that was acquainted the comfortable promifes of Bolis. At my well with all the wayes in the Country, and length when all things were in readiness on dies, particularly with the by paths and exceed-both fides, and that Bolis with Ariand clies ing difficult passages among those Rocks, wasto get up into the Castle, and conveigh and on wherein the Castle of Sardes stood. Him they rempted with great rewards, which he less to speak with the King, who gave him vefliould receive at the hands of Ptolomy, as ry private audience; and confirmed unto well as of Achem 5 to do his best for per- him by word of mouth the affurance of his west formance of their defire. He undertook the liberal promifes. And after that, putting ham business: and gave such likely reasons of on the countebance of an honest man, and on a bringing all to good effect, that they wrote of one that was faithful unto Ptolomy, whom by hot unto Achem, by one Arianm, a trufty meffen- he had long ferved, he accompanied driager, whom Bolis found means to conveighin must up into the Castle. At his coming this to the Castle. The faith Chastle Described News up into the Castle. to the Cassle. The faith of these Negotiators ther, he was lovingly entertained; yet son Achem held most assured. They also wrote questioned at large by Achem, touching H Andrew unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, the weight of the business in hand. But he of in wherewith none fave he and they were ac discoursed so well, and with such gravity sees quainted: whereby he knew, that it was no that there appeared no reason of district. Fained device of his Enemies, in the name ing either his faith or judgement. He the one of his friends. As for the meffenger, he was was an old Souldier, had long been a media a trufty fellow, and one whom Achana Captain under Ptolomy, and did not thrust din a

kept a Fort that itood in thei way; and that he was the man; and fo by their unfeathereby had already fundry tme; given fonable duty, they undid their Lord. When fafe paffage and repaffage unto sianus. But they came to the place where Cambylus lay against all these comfortable boes, the in wait, Bolis whistled, and presently clapsed importance of fo great an advenure stirred Achaus about the middle, holding him falt up fome diffidence. Acheus therfore dealt that he could not stir. So they were all tawisely, and said, that he word yet stay ken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith in the Castle a little longer: bt that he to Antiochus; who sate up watching in his meant to fend away with Boli three or Pavilion, expecting the event. The fight of four of his friends; from whon, when he Achem, brought in bound unto him, did fo received better advertisement, concerning astonish the King that he was unable to speak the likelihood of the enterptie, then would he iffue forth himfelf. Hereby he took order, not to commit himelf wholly which might have kept him from admiratiunto the faith of a man unknown. But as on: as also the next morning betimes. assem-Polybius well notes, he did not consider that bling his friends together, he condemned Ahe played the Cretian with a mn of Crete: chaus to a cruel death: which argues, that he which is to fay, that he had to do with one, was not moved with pity towards this unwhose knavery could not be avoided by cir happy man. Wherefore it was the general recumspection. Bolis and Cambyles had laid gard of calamities, incident unto great their plots thus, That if Acheus came forth fortunes, that wrung from him these tears : as alone, then should be easily be tiken by the also the rarity of the accident, that made ambush prepared for him: if he were accom- both him and his friends to wonder: though panied with many of his friends, hen should it be so, that such a course as this of his, in Arianni be appointed to lead the vay, as one imploying two mischievous knaves against that of late had trodden it oft : and Bolis fol one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; aclowing behind, should have at eye upon cording to that Spanish Proverb, Aun tray-Acheus to prevent him , not only from cica dor dos allevofos. The death of Acheus ping in the tumult, but from breaking his brought fuch altonishment upon those which own neck, or otherwise killinghimself: to held the Castle, that after a while they gave the end that being taken alive, he might be up the place and themselves unto the King; to Antischus the more welcome Present. whereby he got entire possession of all to And in fuch order came they now forth : him belonging in the lefter Afia. Arianus going before as Guide : the rest fol-

by honourable and faithful me. He had fall of them very officious towards Achaus; also taken a safe course, in wining (as it lending him their hands, and taking such feemed) that other Country-maiof his, who care of him, as easily gave Eolis to understand

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Some years passed after this, ere Antiochus lowing as the way served, and Bolis in the was ready for his expedition against the Rear. Achieus made none acquainted with his Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians purpose, till the very instant of his depar- were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, ture. Then fignified he the matterto his Wife and commonly subject unto those that ruled Libdice; and comforting her with hope as in Media. In the great shuffling for Provinwell as he could, appointed four of his fpe- ces, after the death of Alexander the Governcial friends to bear him company. They ment over them was committed by Autipawere all disguised: and one of them alone ter, to one Philip, a man of small regard: took upon him to have knowledge of the fhortly they tell to Eumenes; then to Antigo-Greek rongue; fpeaking & answering as need "us . and from him, together with the Medes, fibild requirefor all, as if the reft had been to Seleucus; under whose posterity they Barbarians. Bolis followed them, craftily continued until the Reign of Selencus Calinideviling upon his businels, and much perple- cm, being ruled by Lieutenants of the syred: For (faith Polybins) shough he were of rran Kings. The luftful infolency of one of Crete, and prone to surmise any thing to the these Lieutenants, together with the miswifelief of another; yet could he not fee in fortune of Callinicus, that was vanquished and Medalk, nor know which of them was Ache- thought to be flain by the Gauls , did ftir wit dir whether Acheus himself were there. up Arfaces, a nobleman of the Countrey, to The way was very uneafie, and in some seek revenge of injuries done, and aniplates dangerous; especially to those that mate them to rebel. So he slew the Kings kuswit not. Wherefore they were fain to Lieutenant; made himself King of the "hay in divers places, and help one another up. Parthians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought profor down. But upon every occasion they were peroully with those that disturbed him in

his beginnings; and took Selencus Callinicus | The issue tereof was such as gave to neiprisoner in battel, whom he royally enter- ther of thekings hope of accomplishing his tained and diffified. Hereby he won repu- defires, withut exceeding difficulty. Wheretation as a lawful King: and by good go- fore Arfaces raved peace, and at length obvernment of his Countrey, procured unto tained it: miochus thinking it not amis. himself such love of his Subjects, that his to make his a friend, whom he could not name was continued unto his fucceflors; like make a subjet. as that of the Ptolomies in Egypt, and that of the next expedition of Antiochus, was the Cafars afterwards in Rome. Much about against Entydemus King of the Backrians; the same time the Eastrians rebelled : one that inced had not rebelled against him shough these at length, and all belonging or his Ance:ors:but having gotten the Kingunto the Seleucide beyond Euphrates, increa- dom from nose that had rebelled, kept it fed the Parthians dominion. Now Antiochus himfelf. Vith Euthydemus he fought a batwent against them with so strong an army, tel by the Rver Artus, where he had the Vithat they durst not meet him in plain field; ctory. But the Victory was not so greatly but kept themselves in woods or places of to his honor, as was the testimony which he ftrength, and defended the Straights and gave of his swo private valour, in obtain-passages of mountains. The resistances they ing it. Hewas thought that day to have demade availed them not. For Antiochus had meaned hin more courageously, than did with him fo great a multitude, and fo well any one mas in all his Army. His horse was forted, as he needed not to turn out of the flain under him; and he himself received way, from those that lay fortified against a wound in ais mouth, whereby he lost some him, in Woods and Straights between their of his teethAs for Euthydeman, He withdrew mountains; it being easie to spare out of so him elf bacs unto the furthermost parts of great a number, as many as fetching a com- his Kingdom, and afterwards protracted chus hereby found, That Arfaces was no thought requisite. thing strongly provided for the War.

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pass about, might either get above the ene- the War, seeking how to end it by compositimies heads; or come behind, and charge on. So Enbassadors passed between the them on the back. Thus did he often imploy Kings: Attoches complaining, That a against them his light armature: wherewith Countrey of his was unjustly usurped from he caused them to dislodge, and give way him: Enthylemne answering, That he had unto his Phalanx; upon which they durft not won it from the children of the Ufurpers: adventure themselves in open ground. Ar- and further, That the Ballrians, a wild Nafaces, the second of the name, (for his father tion, could hardly be retained in order, save was dead before this) was then King of Par by a King of their own; for that they borthis : who though he was confident in the dered upon the Scythians, with whom if they fidelity of his own subjects; yet seared to should join, it would be greatly to the danencounter so mighty an Invader. His hope ger of all the Provinces that lay behind was, that the bad wayes and Desarts would them. These allegations, together with his have caused Antiochus, when he was at own weariness, pacified Antiochus, and Echatane in Media, to give over the jour- made him willing to grant Peace, upon reaney, without proceeding much further. fonable Conditions. Demetrine, the fon of This not fo falling out : He caused the Enthydemus, being a goodly Gentleman, and Wels and Springs in the Wilderness, through employed by his father, as Embassador in this which his Enemy must pass, to be dammed Treaty of Peace, was not a little available unup and spoiled. By which means, and the to a good conclusion : for Antiochus liked refistance before spoken of, when he could him so well, that he promised to give him in not prevail, He withdrew himself out of marriage, one of his own daughters; and the way; fuffering the Enemy to take therewithal permitted Euthydemus to retain his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Count the Kingdom, causing him nevertheless to trey : wherein without some Victory obtain- deliver up all his Elephants; as also tobind ed , he could make no long abode. Antio- himself by oath, to such Covenants as he

So Antiochus leaving the Ballrian in quiet, Wherefore he marched through the heart of made a journey over Caucausus, and came Parthia: and then forward into Hyrcania to the borders of India, where he renewed where he wan Tambrace, the chief City with Sophagafenus, King of the Indians, the of that Province. This indignity and ma fociety that had been between their Anosny other losses, caused Arfaces at length, stors. The Indians had remained subject unwhen he had gathered an Army that feem to the Macedonians for a little while, after ed strong enough, to adventure a battel. Alexanders death. Eumenes in his War against Antigonus, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when Antigonus (after his victory ) turned Westward, and The level reign of Ptolomy Philopater in Awas overbusied in a great Civill War : then did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, ftis up his Country men to rebellion; making himself their Captain, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he soon changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Majesty of a King. Finally he got unto himfelf (having an Army of fix hundred thousandmen) if not all India, yet as much of it as had been Alexanders. In this estate he had well confirmed himfelf, ere Selencus Nicanor could find leifure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himfelf at the coming of Selencus; but met him in the field, as ready to defend his own, fo strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented to make both peace ment of his Empire. Within two or three and affinity with him, taking only a reward years Ptolomy Philopater died : leaving his of fifty Elephants. This League, made by fon Ptolomy Epiphanes, a young Boy, his fucthe Founders of the Indian and Syrian King- cellour in the Kingdom: unlikely by him to doms, was continued by some offices of love be well defended against a neighbour so between their children, and now renewed mighty and ambitious. This Ptolomy surnaby Antiochus: whose number of Elephants med Philopater, that is to say, a lover of his were increased thereupon, by the Indian Father, is thought to have had that surname King, to an hundred and fifty: as also he was given him in meer derision; as having made promifed, to have some treasure sent after away both his Father and Mother. His him; which he left one to receive. Thus young years being newly past, his childparted these two great Kings. Neither had hood when he began to reign, may seem to

only in feeming.

6. 11 I.

gypt: with the Tracical end of his favourites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young child Ptolomy Epiphanes, the fon of Philopater. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. He feeks to hold amity with the Romans. who make friendly shew to him; intending nevertheless to have war with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrel

"His expedition being finished, Antiochus had leifure to repole himself a while ; and ftudy which way to convert the terrour of his puissance, for the enlargethe Indians, from this time forwards in many discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his generations, any business worthy of remem | Fathers death : yet the beastliness of all his brance with the Western countries. The po- following life, makes him not unlike to have sterity of Sandrocottus is thought to have done any michief, whereof he could be retained that Kingdom unto the dayes of accused. Having won the battles at Raphiah, Augustus Cafar: to whom Porus, then reign- He gave himself ever to sensuality, and was ing in India, fent Embaffadors with prefents, wholly governed by a Strumpet called Agaand an Epiftle written in Greek, wherein thoclea. At her instigation He murdered his among other things, he faid, That he had own wife and fifter; which had adventured command over fix hundred Kings. There is her felf with him, in that only dangerous alfo found, scattered in fundry Authors, the action by him undertaken and performed mention of fome which held that Kingdom, with honour. The Lieutenant-ships of his in divers Ages, even unto the time of Con Provinces, with all Commands in his Army, fantine the Great : being all peradventure and Offices whatfoever, were wholly referof the fame race. But Antiochus, who in this red unto the disposition of this Agathoclea. Treaty with Sophagafenus carryed himself as and her brother Agathoeles, and Oenanthe a the worthier person, receiving presents and filthy bawd that was mother unto them after marching home through Drangiana both. So these three governed the Realmat and Carmania, with such reputation, that all their pleasure, to the great grief of all the the Potentates, not only in the higher Alia, Countrey, till Philopater died; who having but on the hither side of Taurus, humbled reigned seventeen years, lest none other son themselves unto him, and called him The than Ptolomy Epiphanes, a child of five years Great : faw an end of his own greatness old, begotten on Arstone that was his fister within few years ensuing, by presuming to and wife. After the Kings death Agathocles stand upon points with the Romans: whose began to take upon him, as protector of Greatness was the same in deed, that his was young Epiphanes, and Governour of the Lund. He affembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not

CHAP. V.

all born in Macedonia, but the race of those whom he suspected of conspiracy against bringing forth unto them his lifter Agatho. room of the Palace, and there stripped our clea, with the young King in her arms; be- of all his apparel to be tormented. But gan a folemn Oration. He told them, That whileft the whips were brought forth, and the deceased Father of this their King , had all things even in a readinets for that purfifter; but unto the faith of them : on whole Agathocles, a fad report of Tlepolemus his bevaliant right hands, the whole state of the ling at hand. Hereupon the Examiner . and therefore that they would be faithful, and, of the room; leaving Moeragenes the Soulas great need was, defend their King against dier alone by himself, and the doors open. row, and counterfeiting tears: yet the Blahad conceived extream hate, against these pieces. three pernicious Misgovernours of the old

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that abode in Egypt with Ptolomy the first , him; and delivered him unto a follower of and would not be accounted Agyptians; as his own, to be examined by torture. This neither would the Kings themselves) and poor Souldier was carried into an inner committed the child into the arms of his pose, there was brought unto the minister of Kingdom did now rely. He besought them his Torturers, one after another, went out the Treason of one Tlepolemus an ambitious He perceiving this, naked as he was, conman; who traiteroully went about to let the veighed himself out of the Palace, and got Diadem upon his own head, being a meer unto the Macedonians of whom he found ftranger to the Royal blood. Herewithall some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The he produced before them a witness, that Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance should justifie his accusation against Tlepole- of their Priviledges, as are the Turks Tanimus. Now though it were fo, that he deli- zaries. Being allured therefore that one of vered all this with a fained passion of for their fellows had thus been used, they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the cedons that heard him, regarded not any Palace: crying out, That they would fee word that he spake; but stood laughing, the King, and not leave him in possession of and talking one to another, what a thame- a dangerous man. The whole multitude in less dissembler he was to take so much upon the City, with loud clamours, made no less him, as if he knew not how greatly he was ado than the Souldiers, though to less effect. hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he So the old Bawd Genantha fled into a Temthat had called it, being scarce aware how ple: her Son and Daughter stayed in the Agathocles therefore, whom the old Kings Court, until the King was taken from them, favour had made mighty, but neither wife and they, by his permission which he casily nor well qualified thought to go to work, as gave, and by appointment of those that now had formerly been his manner; by using his had him in their hands, delivered up to the authority, to the suppression of those that sury of the people. Agathocles himself was he distrusted. He haled out of the Temple stabbed to death, by some which therein the mother-in-law of Thepolemus; and cast did the Office offriends; though in manner her into prison. This filled Alexandria with of enemies. His fifter was drag'd naked up rumours, and made the people (though ac and down the streets; as was also his mocustomed to fuffer greater things, whilest ther, with all to them belonging; the enrathey were committed in the old Kings ged multitude committed upon them a barname) to meet in knots together, and utter barous execution of justice: biting them, one to another their minds, wherein they pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in

These troubles in Egypt, served well to King. Besides their consideration of the pre- stir up King Antiochus; who had very good fent injurie done to Tlepolemus, they were leasure, though he wanted all pretence, to somewhat also moved with fear of harm; make war upon young Piolomy. Philip of which in way of requital, Tlepolemus was Macedon had the same desire to get what likely to do unto the City. For he was parthe could of the childes estate. But it thought a man most unapt for Government, hapned well, that Ptolomy Philopater in the as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Soul Funich War, which was now newly ended, dier, and well beloved of the Army. It was had done many good offices unto the Roalso then in his power, to stop the provision mans. Unto them therefore the Egyptians of victuals which was to come into Alexan- addressed themselves, and craved help a dria. As these motives wrought with the gainst these two Kings: who though they people, so by the remedy which Agathocles secretly maligned one the other; yet had used, were the Macedons more hastily, and entred into covenant to divide between more violently stirred unto uproar. Hefe-them all that belonged unto this Orphan; creily apprehended one of their number | whose Father had been confederate with

themboth. So \* M. Lepidus was fent from That thefe his Embafiadors were lovingly beginning of the War with Thilip, as hath nation of what belonged unto their honour. ere all these Victories of Scopus came to no- irresolution, how not with standing his atthing. For the very next year following, tempts upon both of their Kingdoms, he ofwhich was (according to Enfebius) the fame fered one of his Daughters to Ptolomey, and rest, the Jews, with great willingness, re- he sought to make of each of them a spoil. therefore by him very gently entreated.

hear to invade; and gave it out, that he over-fwelling-fortunes. Howfoever it was, meant to bestow a Daughter of his own in he sent an Army to Sardes by Land. under Marriage unto Ptolomey: either hoping, as two of his Sons: willing them there to stav may feem, that the Country would willingly for him; whilest he himself, with a Fleet submit it self unto him, if this young Child of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred parts of Asia, whilest Philip was held over- places as held for the Egyptian. It was a noclude a perfect Amity between him and coming should tend unto any hurt, either of them. It is not lightly to be over-passed, them, or of their Confederates. As touching

Rome, to protect from all violence the King entertained at Rome; and dismitted, with a of Egypt; especially against Antiochus. As Decree and answer of the Senate, altogefor the Macedonian; he was very foon found ther to the honour of King Antiochin. But buffed with War at his own Doors. Also this answer of the Romans was not fincere; Scopus the Ætolian, being a Penfioner to the being rather framed according to regard of Fgyptian, was sent into Greece to raise an Ar- the Kings good liking, than of their own inmy of Mercenaries. What Lepidus did in tent. They had not yet made an end with Egypt, I do not find: and therefore think it Philip: neither would they gladly be trounot improbable, that he was fent thither bled with two great Wars at once. Whereonly one of the three Embassadors, in the fore, not standing much upon the nice examiheen shewed before. As for Scopas; he short- they were content to give good words for ly after went up into syria with his Army; the present. In the mean time Antiochus fights where, winning many places, among the rest with Scopas in Syria, and shortly prepares to of his Acts, he subdued the Jews, who seem win some Towns elsewhere, belonging unto to have veilded themselves a little before un- Ptolomy; yet withall he sends an Army to Antiochus, at such time as they saw Westward, intending to make what profit him prepare for his War, and despaired of he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise receiving help from Egypt. But it was not long it is confiderable, as an argument of his much year that Philip was beaten at Cynoscephala; another to Eumenes the Son of Attalus, new-Antiochus vanquished Scopas in battel, and ly King of Pergamus: feeking each of their recovered all that had been loft. Among the friendinips at one and the same time, when turned under his obedience; and were Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable defire of The Land of Egypt, this great King did for- Repugnancies, which is a difease of great and should happen to miscarry; or else that greatother Vessels, intended to pass along by the ter purchase might be made in the Western Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such laboured by the Romans. It appears that he table act of the Rhodians, that, whileft the wasvery much distracted; hunting (as we War of Philip lay yet upon their hands, they fay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The adventured upon this Great Antiochus. They quarrels between Attalus, Philip, and the fent unto him a proud Embassage; whereby Greeks, promised to afford him great advan- they gave him to understand, That if he pastage, if he should bring his Army to the Hel- sed forward beyond a certain Promontory in lespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt Cilicia, they would meet with him, and fight being such as hath been declared, seemed with him; not for any quarrel of theirs unto easily to be swallowed up at once. One him; but because he should not joyn with while therefore he took what he could get Philip their enemy, and help him against the in Spria: where all were willing (and the Romans. It was infolently done of them, nei-Jews, among the rest, though hitherto they ther seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such lihad kept faith with the Egyptian ) to yield mits unto the King : yet he tempered himhim obedience. Another while, letting Egypt felf, and without any shew of indignation, alone, he was about to make invafion upon gave a gentle answer; partly himself to their Attalus his Kingdom; yet suffered himself Embassadors; partly unto their whole City. easily to be perswaded by the Roman Em- by Embassadors which he thither sent. He baffadors, and defifted from that enterprise. shewed his defire to renew the ancient Con-Having thus far gratified the Romans; he tederacies between his Ancestors and them: fends Embaffadors to the Senate, to con- and willed them not to be afraid, left his

would molest: they were (he said) his very conference between T. Quintius, that he had good Friends; whereof, he thought there oppressed Lysmachia, by thrusting thereinto needed no better proof, than the entertain- a Garrison. Hereupon Philip made answer. ment and answer by them newly given to his That his Garrison did not oppress the Town. Embaffadors

The Rhodians appear to have been a cunning People, and such as could fore-fee what gone. That this answer was good and subweather was like to happen. This answer of stantial, though it were not acceptable as the King, and the relation of what had paf- such; might appear by the miserable case, in fed between his Emballadors and the Senate, which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his commoved them not a whit, when they were ing thither. For the Town was utterly rainformed shortly after, that the Macedonian fed by the Earbarians, and the people carried War was ended at the Battel of Conoscepha- away into slavery. Wherefore the King le. They knew that Antiochus his turn took order to have it re-edified : as also to would be next; and prepared to be forward redeem those that were in bondage; and to on the stronger side. Wherefore they would recollect as many of the Citizens as were disnot be contented to sit still, unless the persed in the Country thereabout. Likewise Towns on the South Coast of Asia, belonging he was careful to allure thither, by hopeful to Ptolomy their Friend and Confederate, promises, new Inhabitants, and to replenish were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also the City with wonted frequency. Now to they did well; for that they had ever been the end that men should not be terrified from greatly beholding to all the Race of the Pto- coming thither to dwell, by any fear of the lomies. They therefore in this time of neces- neighbour Thracians : he took a Journey in fity, gave what aid they could unto all the hand against those barbarous people, with Subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In the one half of his Army; leaving the other fhip. Contrari wife, if he leaned to Antiochus, as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he sure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty Neighbour, if he happened to win the Victory.

where he took fuch order as he thought convenient for reducing of Smyrna and Lampsacus to obedience; that had usurped their Liberty, and obstinately strove to maintain it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he failed unto the Hellespont; where, having won fome Towns that Philip had gotten not long before this, he passed over into Europe fide; and in short space mastered the Chersonefus. Thence went he to Lysimachia : which the Thracians had gotten and destroyed, when Philip withdrew his Garrison thence, 10. TOr the Romans, though they were to employ it in the Roman War. The Ato.

the Romans whom they thought that he lians objected as a crime unto Philip, in the but fave it from the Barbarians : who took and fack'd it, as foon as the Macedonians were like manner did King Eumenes, the Son of half to repair the City. These pains he took, Attalis, prognosticate as concerning the War partly in regard of the convenient situation, that followed, between Antiochus and the and former glory of Lysimachia ; partly for Romans. For when King Antiochus made a that he thought it highly redounding unto friendly offer, to bestow one of his Daugh- his own honour, to recover and establish tersupon him in marriage : He excused him the Dominion in those parts which his forefelf, and would not have her. Attalus and father Selencus Nicator had won from Lyfina-Phileterus, his Brethren, wondred at this. But chus, and thereby made his Kingdom of greahe told them, that the Romans would furely ter extent than it occupied in any following make war upon Antiochim; and therein time. But for this ambition he shall dearly finally prevail. Wherefore he faid, that by pay: and as after that Victory against Lysimaabstaining from this affinity, it should be in chue, the death of King Selencus followed his power to joyn with the Romans, and thortly; fo shall a deadly wound of the Kingftrengthen himself greatly with their friend- dom founded by Selencus ensue very speedily after the reconquest of the same Country, which was the last of Seleucus his Purchases.

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with Antiochus, whereof notice was alrea- by Titus, were at Lylinuchia, He haftened dy taken both by their friends and by their thither; whither also came P. Lentulus enemies : yet was it much against their will (another of the ten Counsellors) from Bar. to keep the rumour on foot, which they gille, to be present at the Conference. Hegelimeant shortly to make good, of this intend- anax and Lifes were also there; the fame, ed war, fo long as they wanted matter of who had lately brought from Titus those pequarrel; whereof they were furnished, by remptory Conditions, which the Embassathis enterprise of the Kings about Lysens, dors present shall expound unto their Massia. It was not long, since King Attalus, a friend and a helper of the Romans in their from his Thracian Expedition. The meetwar with Fhilip, could obtain of them none ing and entertainment between him and other help against Antiochio, than Embas- these Romans, was in appearance full of love. fadors to speak for him, because the one of But when they came to treat of the business these Kings was held no less a friend than in hand; this good mood was quite altered. the other. Neither did there afterwards L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly pass between them any other offices, than ve- delivered his errand from Rome: which Kingdom of Pergamm: also very shortly af- whereof he had lately gotten poffession. ter he sent Embassadors to them, to make a Hereunto he added, and that very earnestly, perfect League of amity between them. This That he must also give up the Towns of late was whileft as yet they were busied with belonging unto Philip; and by him newly Philip, and therefore had reason to answer occupied. For what could be more absurd, his good will with good acceptation : as they than fuch folly in the Romans , as to let Andid in outward thew. But when the Mace- tiochie enjoy the profit of that war, wherein donian war was at an end, and all, or most of they had laboured so much, and he done all the States in Greece, were become little nothing? Further he warned the King, that better than Clients unto the Romans: then he should not molest those Cities that were was all this good correspondence changed free : and finally he demanded of him, upon into terms of worfe, but more plain mean- what reason he was come over with so ing. For T. Quintim, with histen Counsel- great an Army into Europe; for that other lors fent from Rome, required (as hath been cause of his journey there was none pro-\*thewed before) with a commination of war, bable, than a purpole to make war upon this Kings gratulation of their victory ; as al- the Romans? To this the King made answer. so his long professed amity, and defire to con- That he wondred why the Romans should tinue in the fame.

left T. Quintius, with his ten Affistants, should controversie between him and the other happen to forget any thing to their parts be- Kings, had been still of old belonging to the purpole to deal with the King about those seized on by them, or by others from whom controversies, that were between him and they received them, at such time as his An-Ptolomy. What other private instructions cestors, being Lords of those Countries, were Cornelius had, we may conjecture by the ma- hindred by multiplicity of business, from naging of this his Embassage. For coming looking unto all that was their own. Finalto Selymbria: and there understanding that ly he willed them, neither to stand in fear of P. Villium and L. Terentium, having been fent him, as if he intended ought against them

ry friendly. Antiochus at the request of their was, That Antiochus had reason to deliver Embassadors, withdrew his Invation from the back unto Ptolomy those Towns of his. fo trouble themselves, with thinking upon Thefe ten Counsellors were able to inform the matters of Alia: wherewith he prayed T. Dumtium, and acquaint him with the them to let him alone: even as he, withpurpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seems out such curiosity, suffered them to do in that he was not ignorant before; fince, in Italy what they thought good. As for his regard of Antiochia, he was the more incli- coming over into Europe: they faw well nable unto peace with Philip. It was there enough what bufiness had drawn him thifore agreed, when they divided themselves ther; namely the war against the barbato make progress through divers quarters of rous Thracians : the rebuilding of Lysima-Greece for the execution of their late De-chia, and the recovery of Towns to him becree, That two of them should visit King longing in Thrace, and Chersonesus. Now con-Antiochur; and the reft, where occasion fer cerning his title unto that country, He derived, nie diligence to make a party strong ved it from Selences: who made conquest against him. Neither was the Senate at thereof, by his victory against Lysimachus. Rome unmindful of the business; wherein Neither was it so, that any of the places in longing; L. Cornelius was lent from Rome, of Macedonians or Egyptians; but had been

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Antiochus himself wintred about Ephosus; The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their War with Philip: after which they quarrel with him. The deings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is chased by his Enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King Antiochus. The Etolians murmur against the Romans in Greece. The War of the Romans and Achzans, with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece. T. Quintius bis Triumpb. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

unable to smother their desire of war

hestow this City upon one of his Sons, that with honesty and good faith. But as he was fhould reign therein: nor yet to be grie further proceeding on his voyage, he was ved with his proceedings in Alia; either perfectly informed that Ptolomy was alive. against the free Cities, or against the King of This made him bear another way from Egypt; fince it was his meaning to make the Egypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a free Cities beholding unto himfelf, and to grievous shipwrack, made him without joyn ere long with Ptolomy, not only in any further attempt on the way, glad to friendship, but in a bond of near affinity. have safely recovered his Port of Selucia. Cornelius having heardthis, and being per- Thence went he to Antiochia, where he winhaps unable to refute it, would needs hear tered : fecure as might appear. of the Roman further, what the Embassadors of smyrna and war. of Lampfacus, whom he had there with him, could say for themselves. The Emballadors During the Treaty at Infimachia, (at leastof Lampfacus being called in, began a tale; wife not long before or after it) one of their

mans, having not laid their complaints in such ed some fit occasion of taking Arms again. fort, as they might be a convenient founda- They who dealt thus plainly, did not mean thereby to corroborate the present peace, and particularly the Ætolians, That conhis Egyptian voyage. Both he, and his fel- should all be well. low Embaffadors, had good leave to depart all together : and the King forthwith made their War intended against Antiochus. The ready, to be in Fgpt with the first. To his fame hereof arriving at Carthage, gave mat-Son Scleucus he committed his Army, and ter unto the enemies of Hannibal, whereleft him to oversee the building of Lysma- with both to pick a thank of the Roman Sechia: but all his Sea-forces he took along nate, and to chase out of their City this hohe requested to deal with him in this mat- them in the Civil administration : and given

from Lylimachia; since it was his purposeto ter of peace, after such fort as might stand

But the Romans had not fo done with him. wherein they seemed to accuse the King be- Embassadors that had been sent unto the fore the Romans, as it were before compe- Macedonian, gave him counsel, as in a point tent ludges. Antiochus therefore interrup highly tending to his good; not to rest ted them, and bade them hold their peace, contented with the peace which was grantforasmuch as he had not chosen the Ro- ed unto him by the Romans, but to desire mans, but would rather take the Citizens of fociety with them, whereby they should be Rhodes, to be Arbitrators between him and bound to have the same friends and enemies. And this he advised him to do quickly, be-Thus the Treaty held some few dayes, fore the War brake out with Antiochus: without any likelihood of effect. The Ro- left otherwisehe might seem, to have awaittion of the war by them intended: nor yet to be satisfied with weak excuses. In like having purpose to depart well satisfied, and manner some of the Greeks, were solicited; were doubtful how to order the matter, in stantly and faithfully they should abide in fuch wife as they might neither too rudely, the friendship of the people of Rome. It like boiftrous Galle-Greeks, pretend only the was needless to say plainly whereto this engoodness of their swords: nor yet over mo- treaty tended: the froward answer made destly, to retain among the Greeks an opinion by the Ætolians, declares them to have well of their justice, forbear the occasion of ma- understood the purpose. They complained, king themselves great. The King on the that they were not alike honoured by the other fide was weary of these tedious guests; Romans after the victory, as they had been that would take none answer and yet scarce during the War. They that so complainknew what to fay. At length came news, ed were the most moderate of them. Others without any certain author, That Ptolomy cryed out that they had been wronged, and was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the defrauded of what was promifed unto them: Romans, would take notice, though each of upbraiding withal the Romans, as men to them were desirous to hasten into Egypt: them beholding: not only for their victory Antiochus to take possession of the King- over Philip, but even for helping them to dom, and L. Cornelius, to prevent him there- fet foot in Greece, which else they never of, and fet the Country in good order. Cor- could have done. Hereto the Roman gave nelius was sent from Rome Embassador both gentle answers : telling them that there was to Antiochus and to Itolomy: which gave no more to do, thanto fend Embassadors to him occasion to take leave, and prepare for the Senate, and utter their grieß: and then

Such care took the Romans in Greece, for with him, and failed unto Ephofus. Thence nourable man, whom they so greatly hated. he sent Embiliadors to T. Quintim: whom He had of lace exercised his vertue against them an overthrow, or two, in the long [ laid out. So he found, That the ordinary Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the charges of the Common wealth did notex-(way in Carthage: holding their places during hault the Treasury: but that wicked Magilife; and having subject unto them, the lives, strates, and corrupt Officers, turning the goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither greatest part of the moneys to their own did they use this their power with modera- use, were thereby tain to load the people. tion; but conspired in such wise together, with needless burdens. Hereof he made. that who so offended any of them, should such plain demonstration, That these Robhave them all to be his enemies : which be- bers of the common Treasure were coming once known, He was fure to be soon ac- pelled to restore, with shame, what they culed and condemned. In this their im- had gotten by knavery : and fo the Carthanotent rule of the City, Hannibal was chosen ginians were freed from the necessity of Przetor. By vertue of which Office, though making such poor shifts, as formerly they he was superior unto them during that year: had used, when they knew not the value of vet had it not been their manner to bear their own Estate. But as the vertue of Hannimuch regard unto such an annual Magi- balwas highly commended by all that were ftrate, as at the years end must be accounta- good Citizens: so they of the Roman Fable to them, if ought were laid unto his ction, which had, fince the making of the charge. Hannibal therefore sending for one peace until now, little regarded him, began of the Questors, or Officers of the Treasury, to rage extreamly: as being by him stript of to come and speak with him: the proud their ill-gotten goods and ill-employed au-Questor set lightly thereby, and would not thority, both at once, even when they come: For he was of the adverse Faction thought themselves to have been in sull to Hannibal; and men of his place were to possession of the vanquished Carthage, whatfoever : and in what fort it was thence when they obtained it. But the Romans were

be chosen into the Order of Judges: in con- Wherefore they fent letters to their friends templation whereof, he was filled already at Rome: wherein they complained as if with the spirit of future Greatness. But he the Earchine Faction grew strong again, and had not to do with such a tame Prætor, as Hannibal would shortly be in arms. Questiwere they that had occupied the place be- onless, if oppressing the City by injustice, fore. Hanuibal (ent for him by a Pursivant; and robbing the Treasury, were the only and having thus apprehended him, brought way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome: him into judgement before a publick affem these Enemies to the Barchines might well bly of the people. There he not only cryout, That having done their best already flewed what the undutiful stubbornness of to keep all inquiet; they saw none other this Questor had been; but how unsuf likelihood than of War. But having no ferable the insolency of all the Judges at the other matter to alledge, than their own inpresent was: whose unbridled power made ventions: they said, That Hannibal was like them to regard neither Laws nor Magi- unto a wild beaft, which would never be strates. To this Oration when he perceit tamed; That secret messages past between ved that all the Citizens were attentive and him, and King Antiochus: and that he was favourable; He forthwith propounded a wont to complain of idleness, as if it were Law, which passed with the general good harmful to Carthage; with what else to like liking; That the Judges should be chosen effect they could imagine. These accusatifrom year to year , and no one man be con- ons they directed not unto the Senate: but tinued in that Office two years together. addrelling their letters craftily, every one to If this Law had been passed, before he pass the best of his own friends at Rome, and such sedover Iberus: it would not perhaps have as were Senators; they wrought so well, been in the power of Hanno, to have that neither pulicke notice of their Conspibrought him unto necessity of reforming racy was taken at Carthage; nor the authorianother grievance, concerning the Roman ty of the Roman Senate, wanting to the fur-Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians therance of their malicious purpole. Only were fain to levie by Taxation laid upon P. Scipio is said to have admonished the Fathe whole Commonalty, as wanting money thers, that they should not thus dishonourain their publike Treasury, wherewith to bly subscribe, and become seconds to the acdefray either that, or divers other needful cusers of Hannibal: as if they would oppress, charges. Hannibal confidering this, began by suborning or countenancing false witnesto examine the publicke Revenues; and to les against him; the man, against whom in take a perfect note, both how much came war they had not of long time prevailed, nor into the Treasurie, by waies and means used their victory in such base manner,

1048 not all fo great minded as Scipio : they | aright, that he was fled. But the more comwithed for some such advantage against Han- mon opinion was, That the Romans had nibal; and were glad to have found it. Three made him away. At length came news where Embassadors they sent over to Carthage, C. he had been seen; and then the Reman Em-Servilius , Q. Terentius , and M. Claudius baffadors, having none other errand thither. Marcellus: whose very names imports suffici- accused him (with an evil grace) as a trouent cause of bad affection to Hannibal. These | bler of the Peace ; whereby they only difhaving past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their coming: and being by them instructed how to carry themfelves, gave out, That they were fent to end men to understand, that he fled not thus fome controversies, between the Carthagini. ans and Masanissa. But Hunnibal had kept fuch good espial upon the Romans, that he . knew their meaning well enough: against ally: as one, in whose great worth and howhich he was never unprepared. It were nour the Tyrians, by reason of affinity beenough to fay, That he escaped them by tween their Cities, thought themselves to flight : but in the actions of fo famous a man, have interest. Thence went he to Antiocha I hold it not impertinent to reherse the particularities. Having openly shewed himself, as was his manner, in the place of Allembly. He went forth of the Town when it began Jus, that exceedingly rejoyced at his comto wax dark, accompanied with two which ing. were ignorant of his determination; though fuch as he might well truft. He had appoint he had gotten Hannibal: fo had the Romans ted Horses to be in a readiness at a certain no great cause to be therefore forry: otherplace: whence riding all night, He came to wife than as they had much difgraced thema Tower of his own by the Sea-fide. There felves, by discovery of their impotent mahad he a thip furnished withall things lice, in chasing him thus out of his Country. needful; as having long expected the neceffity of fome such journey. So he bade great Commander to make stout Souldiers Affick farewell; lamenting the misfortune of base Affatiques; as it had been by his of his Country, more than his own, training and dicipline, to make very fervice-Paffing over to the Isle of Cercina; He found able and skilful men of War of the Spaniards. there in the Haven some Merchants ships Africans, Gaules, and other Nations, that ly: and the chief among them began to it supposed, that one mans worth, especial-

covered the mischief by them intended against him, and the malice of the Senate: missing the while their purpose, and causing without great reason.

Hannibal coming to Tyre, the Mother-City of Carthage, was there entertained Rovand, finding the King departed, vifited his Son in Daphne: who friendly welcomed him, and fent him unto his Father at Eshe-

As Antiochus had cause to be glad in that For it would not prove alike easie unto this of Carthage. They faluted him respective- were hardy, though unexperienced. Or were enquire, whither he was bound. He faid ly being fo extraordinary, could alter the na-He went Embassadour to Tyre: and that he ture of a cowardly people: yet was it thereintended there in the Island to make a Sa- withall considerable, that the vanities of Ancrifice; whereto he invited all the Mer- tioches, the pride of his Court, the baseness chants, and Masters of the Ships. It was of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such hor weather: and therefore he would needs vexations, would be far more powerful in hold his Feast upon the shore; where, be- making unprofitable the vertue of Hannibal, cause there wanted covert. He made them now a desolate and banished man, than had bring thither all their Sails and Yards to be been the villany of Hanno and his Compliused instead of Tents. They did so; and ces, hindering him in those actions, wherein feasted with him till it was late at night: at he had the high Command, and was secondwhich time he left them there asleep: and ed by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the putting to Sea, held on his course to Tyre. name of this Great Carthaginian, would on-All that night, and the day following, He ly help to ennoble the Roman Victory : or if was fure not to be pursued. For the Mer- it further served to hearten Antiochin, and chants did neither make hast to send any make him less careful to avoid the war; news of him to Carthage, as thinking him to then should it further serve, to justifie the Robe gone Embassidour: neither could they, mans in their quarrel. And it seems indeed without some loss of time, such of them as that it was no little part of their care, to get made most speed homeward, get away from a fair pretence of making war. For Antis-Cercina; being bussed a while in fitting their chen, as is said before, having newly sent Emtackle. At Carthage, the mils of so great a buffadors to T. Quintius, requiring that the person was diversly construed. Some gueffed Peace might faithfully be kept:it was not prohable, that he had any meaning to take lentertainment. Wherefore there was none Arms, unless by meer violence he were other way, than to do somewhat against thereto inforced. Only the Atolians were these their suspected Enemies: especially agreatly suspected, as a turbulent people, defrom of innovation, and therefore practifing ance: whilest Antiochus was far away in Sy. with this Great King; whom they wished to fee among them in Greece. In this regard. and to appeale them; they had of late been City among the Vulgar; but found fuch creanswered with gentle words by one of the dit with the chief of the Senate, that in the ten Counsellers, That the Senate would following year, against which rime it was exgrant them whatfoever with reason they pected that Antiochus should be ready to should ask. But this promise was too large, take his great enterprise in hand : P. Cornelius and unadvised. For when their Embassadors came to Rome, the Senate would grant them fecond Confulfhip, with intention to be Genothing: but wholly referred them to T. neral in the War, against the King and his Quintiss, who favoured them leaft. Hereat Hannibal. For the present, the busines with they murmured, but knew not how to right Nubis was referred unto Titus, to deal with themselves, otherwise than by speaking such him as he thought good. This would be a

be thence gone. were wont to upbraid the rest of the Greeks friendship with him, two or three years bewith the vain liberty which the Romans had fore this, as is already shewed, whilest he

gainst Nabis, who could worst make refistria, and not intentive to his bufinels. Thefe reports went not only current through the Scipio the African, defired, and obtained, a words, as might haften the Romans out of fair colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Greece for very shame, who had no desire to Therefore he was glad of the employment : whereof also he knew that many of the The daily talk at Rome, was, of War with Greeks would not be forry: though for his Antiochus; but in Greece, when the Romans own part, he wanted all good pretence of would leave the Country. For the Atolians taking it in hand. For Nabis had entred into proclaimed, faying, That these their Deli- had War with Philip: and had further been verers had lain heavier Fetters upon them, contented for the Romans fake to be at peace than formerly they did wear; but yet bright- with the Asheans : neither fince that time er and fairer than those of the Macedonian : had he done any thing, whereby he should likewise, that it was a gracious act of Titm, draw upon himself this War. He was to take from the Legs of the Greeks their indeed a deteltable Tyrant, and hated of chain, & tie it about their Necks. There was the Acheans: as one, that besides his own indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, wicked Conditions, had formerly done to if the Romans had no other meaning than them great mischief. Titus therefore had a what they pretended. For Philip had made plaufible Theme whereon to discourse beno delay, in accomplishment of that which tore the Embaffadors of all the Confederate was laid upon him: all the Towns of Greece Cities, which he caused to meet for that purwere at liberty, and the whole Country at pose at Corinth. He told them that in the peace, both with the Romans, and within War with Philip, not only the Greeks, but the Relf. As for Antiochus, He made it his Romans themselves had each their motives daily fuit, That the Peace between him and apart (which he there briefly rehearfed) Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed that should stir them up, and cause them to and strengthened by a League of more af be earnest. But in this which he now profurance. Nevertheles, T. Quintius would pounded to them concerning Nabis, the Roneeds fear that Antischus meant forthwith mans had none other Interest, than only the to seize upon Greece, as soon as he and his making perfect of their Honour, in setting Army were thence departed. And in this all Greece at Liberty: which Noble Action regard, he retained still in his own hands was in some fort maimed, or incompleat, Chalcis, Demetrius, and the Acrocorinthus: whilest the Noble City of Argos was left in by benefit of which Towns he might the subjection to a Tyrant that had lately occubetter withstand the dangerous Invasion like pied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the to be made by Antiochus. Suitable unto the Greeks, duly to consider, whether they doings of Quintins, were the reports of the thought the deliverance of Argos a matter ten Embasiadors, that had been sent over to worthy to be undertaken : or whether otheraffift him : when they returned back into wife to avoid all further trouble, they could the City. Antiochus, they faid, would que be well contented to leave it as it was. This stionless fall upon Greece : wherein he should concerned them, and not the Romans : who find not only the Etolians, but Nabis the in taking this work in hand, or letting it Tyrant of Lacedemon, ready to give him alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greeks answer hereunto very eloquently, and as compell him by force of Arms, to submit pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the Romans for what was past; extolled that was now at unity. These words had been their Vertues at large; and magnified them reasonable, if they had proceeded from bethighly in regard of this their proposition : ter men. But it was apparent, that no regard wherein unrequested they freely made offer of the common Liberty wrought so much to continue that Bounty, which at the vehement request of their poor Associates they had already of late extended unto the unto themselves, that worse would use it. upon them, out of their own imagination. to foretell what harm these their Benefactors meant to do hereafter: when as Thankfulness would rather have required an Acknowledgement of the Benefits and Pleasures al-Friends unto the Romans, were now de- his power to conclude upon any thing. frauded of some places, antiently to them

themselves. The Athenian Embassador made swithdrawing thence his Garrison; or else himself to the good pleasure of all Greece. with these Atolians; as did their own ravenous defire of oppressing others, and getting Greeks. To this he added, That great pity the whole Dominion in Greece, which Philip it was to hear such notable Vertue and high had lost. Neither could they well diffemble Deserts ill spoken of by some: which took this; making it no small part of their Grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had been covenanted. That the Romans should enjoy the spoil of all, but leave the Towns and Lands in possession of the Ætolians. This, and the remembrance ready received. Every one found the mean- of a thousand mischies by them done in ing of this last clause, which was directly former times, made the whole Assembly, espeagainst the £10lians. Wherefore Alexander cially the Acheans, cry out upon them: enthe Atolian role up, and told the Athenians treating the Romans to take fuch order betheir own : putting them in mind of their fore they went, that not only Nabis might antient glory, in those times when their City be compelled to do right; but the Atolian had been the Leader of all Greece, for de- thieves be enforced to keep home, and leave fence and recovery of the Liberty general: their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly from which Honour they were now fo far to the pleasure of Titus: who saw, that by faln, that they became Paralites unto those discountenancing the Etolians, He was bewhom they thought most mighty; and by come the more gracious with all the rest. their base assention, would lead all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that Aninto servitude. Then spake he against the tiochus his Embassadors did presently after Acheans. Clients that had been a long time lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to unto the Macedonian; and Souldiers of Phi- some good conclusion, it may be greatly lip, until they ran away from his adversity. doubted. He cast them off with a slight an-Thele, he faid, had gotten Corinth, and must fwer : telling them, That the ten Embassanowhave War be made for their sakes, to dors or Counsellors which had been sent the end that they might also be Lords of unto him from Rome, to be his Assistants in Argos: whereas the Atolians, that had first these matters of weight, were now returned made War with Philip, and alwayes been home; and that without them it was not in

Now concerning the Lacedamonian War, belonging. Neither did he thus contain him- it was very foon ended. For Titus used felf, but objected unto the Romans, fraudu the help of all his Confederates; and made lent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their as great preparation against Nabis, both by Garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Land and Sea, as if he should have had to Acrocorinth; having been always wont to do with Philip. Besides the Roman Forces, profess, That Greece could never be at Li- King Eumenes with a Navy, and the Rhodian berty, whilest those places were not free. Fleet, were invited to the Service: as also Also now at last, what else did they seek by Fhilip of Macedon sent aid by Land; doing this discourse of War with Nabis, than busi- therein poorly, whether it were to get favour nesses wherewith to find themselves occupi- of the Romans; or whether to make one aed, that so they might have some seeming mong the number, in seeking Revengeupon cause of abiding longer in the Country? But Nabis, that had done him injury. But the most they should do well, if they meant as they forward in this Expedition were the Achespake, to carry their Legions home out of ans, who set out ten thousand Foot, and 2 Greece, which could not indeed be free, till thousand Horse. As for the Etolians, rather their departure. As for Nabis, the Etolians to hold good fashion, and sound their dispothemselves did promise, and would under- sitions, than in hope to speed, their help was take, That they would either cause him to required; whereof they excused themselves yield to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, las well as they thought best.

the Acheans now become the prime friends it else do than terrifie the people; who must of the Romans in Greece; having removed thereby understand, that it was a mortal the Etolians from that degree of favour : crime to be suspected ? And to the same like as they themselves hereafter (though not purpose his cruelty extended it self unto in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same lome poor wretches: whom he accused of a Lacedemonians, against whom they are now meaning to flie to the Enemy. These were marching.

wife, began a conspiracy against the Lacede- He turned the more freely, all his thoughts monians that held their Town; meaning to toward the Enemy, that came on apace. He open their gates unto the Roman. But ere welcomed them with a fally: wherein, as Titus drew near, they were all detected and commonly happens, the Souldiers of the flain: excepting a very few, that escaped out Town had the better at first; but were at of the Town. The fame of this Commotion, length repelled with loss. Titus abode not caused the Army to march apace toward many dayes before sparta: but over-ran the Argos; with hope to be there, before things Country; hoping belike to provoke the were at quiet. But there was no stir within Tyrant forth to battail. The Roman Fleet the Wals: the execution done upon the first at the same time with King Eumenes and the movers, having terrified all the rest of the Rhodians, laid siege unto Gyttheum, the on-Citizens. Titus then thought it better, to ly or principal Town that Nabis had. Likeaffail Nabis in the head of his strength at La- ly they were to have taken it by force when cedemon, than to confume time about other there appeared hope of getting it by treashould thereon fall most heavily.

thousand, wherewith to defend himself somewhat more faithful, slue the Traitor; afagainst these Invaders. Five thousand of ter whose death, he himself alone made the them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his own better defence. Yet when T. Quinting with Countrey; but such as were of all others part of his Army came thither to Gyttheum: the worft, as manumifed flaves, malefactors this Captain of the Town had not the heart and base Peasants, unto whom his Tyrannie to abide the uttermost, and await what eiwas beneficial. Of the goood and worthy ther Time or his Master might do for him, Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he but was contented to give up the place, yet could not hope to win their love, his mean- upon Condition, to depart in safety to Sparing was to hold them quiet by fear. He called ta with his Garrison. Pythagoras, the Son-inthem all to an affembly, and compass law of Nabis, and brother unto his Wife, fing them round in with his Army, told them was come from Argos, whereof he had the of the danger that was toward him and them. Government, with a thousand Souldiers Ifthey could agree within themselves; they Mercenaries, and two thosand Argives: might, hefaid, hope the better to withstand it being (as may seem) the Tyrants purpose, bulent heads were invited by light occa- would have held longer out. But when sions, to raise tumults, and work dangerous they heard that it was lost, then began they found most reason to suspect. So should he only that he would appoint a time and place keep them innocent perforce; and thereby for Nabis to meet and speak with him. preserve not only the City and his own per- This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyfon from danger, but them also from the pu rant spake very reasonable for himself: nishment, which elsethey might have incur- proving, that he suffered wrong, and had red. Hereupon he cites and apprehends done none, and that by many good arguabout fourfcore of them; whom he leads ments: whereof the fum was. That whatfoeaway to prison, and the next night putteth ver they now did, or could object unto him. they neither should offend, nor yet break had made with him. Whereupon the inferloofe. As for the death of them, if it should red, That neither for his keeping the Town

openly whipt through all the ftreets, and Some of the Argives, more bold than flain. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: places; especially at Argos: for the free- son. There were two Governours within dom whereof fince the War was made, pity the Town equal in authority : whereof the it were, that the calamities of the War one, either for fear, or defire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the Nabis had in readiness an Army offifteen other finding what was in hand, and being the common Enemy. But forasmuch as tur- to relieve Gyttheum: which he thought treasons: it seemed unto him the safest, and to think upon finishing the War, by some (withal) the mildest course, to arrest before reasonable Composition. Pythagoras therefore hand, and put in ward, all those whom he was sent his Embassador to Titus: requesting them all to death. Thus was he sure that was of elder date than the League which they happen to be noised abroad : what could of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alledged, Rerer

him, fince Argos, and all other their alle- short work ) before the City of Sparta: gations what foever, had not hindered them, they were contented to make peace with in time of their own need of him, from en- the Tyrant, upon fuch Conditions as Titus tring into that League with him: which should think meet. Besides the restitution was never broken on his part, nor ought to of Argor, and all the places thereon depenbe on theirs. But Quintius was not herewith ding; Titus propounded many other Condifatisfied. He charged him with tyranny : and tions to Nabis , and some of them very griegave instance, as easily he might, of divers vous. He would not suffer the Lacedemobarbarous cruekies by him committed. In all nian to have ought to do in the Isle of Crete: which points forasmuch as they knew this no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor war. Nabis to be guilty, before they made Peace either in that Island or elsewhere; not to and Confederacy with him; it was expedi- build any Town or Castle upon his own ent, that some other cause of this Invasion Lands : not to keep any other shipping. should be alledged. Whereto he said further, than two small Barks; besides many other That this Tyrant had occupied Meffene, a troublesome injunctions; with imposition Town Confederate with the Romans: That of an hundred talents in filver to be paid he had bargained to join with Philip; when out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for he was their enemy, not only in League, but also in affinity: and that his Fleet had of these Covenants he demanded five hostarobbed many of their ships, about the Cape ges, such as he himself should name; and of Malea. Now touching this Piracy, fince one of them to be the Tyrants own Son. If in the Articles by Titus propounded unto Nabis, there was no restitution mentioned, draw the war from Nabis, because it was nother than of ships, by him taken from the Greeks his neighbours, with home he had enough, if not more than enough, to take long held war : it may feem to have been Argos from him; which he him felf did offer. objected, only by way of Complement, though it were for fear, to deliver up. But if and to enlarge the volume of those com- it were thought reasonable, to dispense a plaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. little with the Roman faith, in regard of the As for Messene, and the bargain of Alliance great benefit which thereby might redound made with Philip: they were matters fore- unto the state of their best friends in Greece going the League, that was made between by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then the Romans and this Tyrant : and therefore should this enterprise, when once it was tanot to have been mentioned. All this it ken in hand, have been profecuted unto the feems that Ariftanus, the Prætor of the very utmost. As for this middle course which

alledged, they ought to make war upon that Winter (asthere was no hope of making Acheans, very well perceived : who therefore the Romans held : as it was not honourable doubting lest the Romans ( that were wont unto them, to enrich themselves by the sooil to talk so much of their own justice, honour, of one that had not offended them; nor and faithfull dealing) (hould now relent, pleasing to the Acheans, who judged it ever and forbear to molest him, who, though a after a great blemish to the noble acts of The wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and tw: fo did it minister unto the Ziolians, and had never done them wrong: framed his to fuch as curiously pried into the faults of discourse to another end. He entreated Nabis those which took upon them to be Patrons to consider well of his own estate:and to set- of Greece, no barren subject of malicious distle his fortunes, whilest he might do it with- course. For fince Philip, a King, and descenouthazzard: alledging the examples of ma- ded of many famous Kings, might not be fufny Typants that had ruled in the neighbour- fered by these Masterly Romans, to hold cities, and therein committed great outrages; any one of those Countreys or Towns in yet were afterwards contented to furren- Greece, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: der their Eftates, and lived in great security, it was thought very Arange, that Lassdamon, honour, and happiness, as private men. once the most famous City among all the Thus they discoursed until night. The next Greeks, was by the same Romans left in posday Nabis was contented to relinquish Ar leffion of a Tyrant; that had usurped it but gos; and requested them, to deliver unto yesterday; and he therein rooted by their him in writing their other commands, that he authority, as their friend and Confederate. might take counsel with his friends. The Nabis on the other fide thought himselfuniffue of all was, that, in regard of the charges, mercifully dealt withall, by the felf-fame whereat the Confederates must be, for main- Romans, whose amity he had prefered in tenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all time of a doubtfull war, before the lowe and affinity of the Macedonian King, that had ther Embaffage to Rome, defiring peace and chief this he could.

the Citizens had laid hold without staying had newly escaped.

Grette: Antiochus was about to fend ano- mans had before made War. Ail forts of

committed the City of Argos in o his hands. friendthip of the Senate. Things being But fally had he dealt with the Macedonian: therefore in appearance wholly disposed unand fally was he dealt with by those, to to quiet, Scipio the African, that was chosen whom he did betake himself. Among these Contul at Rome, could not have his desire, of Articles propounded, there was nothing being fent Commander into Greece. The unthat pleased him, fave only that for the ba- fincere meaning of Antiochus, and the tumulnifted Lacedemonians, ( of whom a great tuous disposition of the Atolians, were held number were in the Roman Camp; having as confiderations worthy of regard; yet not among them Agespolis the natural King of sufficient causes of making war. Neither ansparia, that being a young child was driven peared there any more honest way, of conout by Lycurgue the first of the Tyrants ) futing the Etolians, and of throughly perthere was made no provision, to have them swading all the Greeks ( which was not to restoredunto their City and Estates; but be neglected, by those that meant to affure only leave required for as many of their unto themselves the patronage of Greece ) wives, as would be so contented, to live that the good of the Country was their sole abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore intent : than by withdrawing thence their he forbore to give confent unto these de- Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it self. mands; and fustained an affault or two; till occasion should be ripe, and call them hoping belike that the enemics would foon over again. Wherefore after Titus had frent be weary. But his fearful nature shortly a Winter there, without any matter of emovercame the resolution, which the sense of ployment, either found, or at any near dithese injuries had put into him. So yielding stance appearing, he called an Assembly of unto alithat had been propounded, He deli Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Gavered the hoftages; and thereupon obtained rinth: where he meant to bid them farepeace that was confirmed afterwards at Rome well. There he recounted unto them all by the Senate and People. From this time that paffed fince his coming into those parts forward. He thought the Romans far more and willed them to value the Roman friendwicked than himself; and was ready upon ship, according to the difference of estate. the first advantage, to do them all the mif- wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsel; The Artificial had heard news that Lacede- touching the moderate use of their liberty, men was even at point of being taken. This and the care which they ought to have of credied them; and gave them heart to think living peaceably and without faction. Lastly upon their own good. So they adventured he gave up Acrocorinthus to the Acheans; tofet upon the Garrison; which was much withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison. weakened, by the remove of the three and promiting to do the like ( which very thousand carried thence by Pythagoras to foon he did ) at Chalcis and Demetrias; that helialie Tyrant at Sparta. There needed foit might be known, what lyars the Ætoliunto their liberty no more, than that all of ans were, who had accused the Romans, of them jointly thould fet their hands to the a purpose to retain those places. With joyful gettie ofit. which no fooner they did than acclamations did the Greeks teftifie their they altraitied it. Presently after this came good liking of that which Titus had faid and 7. Swimmer to Argor, where he was joyfully done : as alfo (at his request) they agreed to welcomed. He was deservedly acknow- ransome and enlarge all Romans, that had ledgen as author of that benefit, whereon been fold into their Countrey by Hannibal.

Thus Titus Crowned his actions in Greece for him and that he might the better enti- with an happy end : and by leaving the the himself thereto, he caused the liberty of Countrey before his departure was urged, the Mreives to be proclaimed at the Nemaan lett therein behind him the memory of his games a stratifying it by his authority. The vertue and benefits, untainted by jealoufic City was annexed again to the Councel of and suspition of any evil meaning. At his Achers whereby the Acheans were not coming to the City, He had the honour of a more frengthened; than the Argives them Triumph; which was the goodlieft of all that felves were fecured from danger of relapse, Rome had until that day beheld. Three daies into the same extremities out of which they together the shew of the pomp continued: as being fet out with the spoils of a Coun-After this, Titus found little business or trey, more abundant in things worthy of none wherewith tofet on work his Army in fuch a spectacle, than any wherein the Ro-

Refere 2

Arms, with Statues and curious pieces of | should thus infift on points no way concer-Brass or Marble, taken from the Enemy, ning them, and take upon them to prescribe were carried in the first daies Pageant. The unto the King, what Cities of Afia he fould fecond day, was brought in all the treasure let at liberty; from what Cities they would of Gold and Silver: Some in the rude Mats give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes: unwrought; some in divers forts of Coin; either putting or not putting his Garrisons and some in Vessels of sundry kinds, that into them, as the Senate should think fire. were the more highly prized by the work. Hereto Quintim answered, that fince they manship. Among these were ten shields, all went so distinctly to work, He would also or Silver; and one of pure Gold. The do the like. Wherefore he propounded unto third day Titus himself entered the City in them two Conditions, and gave them their Les Triumphant Chariot. Before him were choice whether to except : Either that it carried an hundred and fourteen Crowns of should be lawful for the Romans to take Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Ct- part in Afea with any that would feek their ties. There were alfoled the beafts for Sa- triendthip ; Or it King Antiochus milliked crefice, the Prifoners, and the hoftages: this, and would have them forbear to medamong which, Demetries the Son of King die in Asia, that then he should abandon Philip, and Armenes the Son of Nabin, were whatfoever he had gotten in Europe. This principal. After him followed his Army; was plain dealing, but no reasonable nor and (which added much grace, and good li-pertinent answer, to that which the Kings king to the shew) the Roman Captives, by Embassadors had propounded. For ifthe Rohis procurement redeemed from flavery in mans might be hired to abstain from Asia, by Greece.

audience of the Senate for many Embassa- Lampfacus, or any other Asiatiques, whom they ges, that were come out of Greece and Asia. were pleased to reckon as their Confederates. They had all very favourable answers, ex bind them in honour to make War with a cepting those of King Antiochus: whom the King that sought their love, and had never Senate would not hear, but referred over done them injury. But they knew very well. to T. Quintim, and the tenthat had been his that Antiochin could not without great shame Counsellors; because their business was said be so base, as to deliver up unto them the to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings City of Lysmachia, whereon he had of late Embassadors wondered. They said unto 72- been at so much cost; in building it up even the and his Affociates, that they could not from the foundation, and repeopling it with di cern wherein consisted any perplexity of Inhabitants, that had all been dispersed. their message. For all treaties of peace and or captive to the Barbarians. And so much friendship, were either between the Victor the Embassadors with great indignation aland the vanquished; between those, that ledged : faying, That Antiochus defired having warred together, were upon equal friendship of the Romans; but so, as it might terms of advantage; or between those that stand with his honour. Now in point of hohad lived alwaies in good agreement, with nour the Romans took upon them as if their out any quarrel. Unto the Victor, they faid, cause were far the superior. For it was they that the vanquished must yield; and patient- said, their purpose to set at liberty those to: they held it strange, that the Romans tions their King would accept. For lack of a

the gift of all that Antiochus had lately won Not long after this triumph , He procured in Europe : then did not the affairs of Smyrna. ly endure the impolition of some Covenants, Towns which the King would oppress and that else might seem unreasonable. Where hold in subjection : especially since those War had been made, and no advantage got Towns were of Greekifb blood and language; ten: there was it usual to demand and fell, in that regard under the patronage make restitutions of things and places claim- which Rome had afforded unto all Greece beed, gotten or loft; accordingly as both parts fides. By this colour they might foon have left could agree. But between those which had Antiochin King of not many subjects on the never fallen out, there ought no Conditions hither fide of Emphrates. Neither did they forof establishing friendship to be proposed : bear to fay, That unless he would quit what fince it was reasonable, that each part should ne held in Europe, it was their meaning not hold their own ; and neither carry it felt only to protect those which relied upon them as superiour to the other, in pre-cribing in Asia, but therein to make new Alliances: ought that might be troublesome. Now of namely (as might be understood) with such this last kind, was the league and friendship as were his subjects. Wherefore they urged that had been so long in conclution, betwirt his Embassadors to come to a point, and Antiochus and the Romans. Which being tell them plainly which of these two Condipleafing answer, which the Embassadours laying ambushes, and not discouraged with polition to let him live in peace.

Romans for justice in vain.

all, as hath already been shewed; by this other. their fellowship in Arms, grew to be such! Divers overthrows, though none that were willing partakers each of others fortune, great, these Ligarians gave unto the Romans: in that Countrey, by means of Hannibal his not how to make War, fave on their own passage there through. Neither is it likely that ground. the re-conquest would have been more diffibacks. The Ligurians were a stout Nation, Indian shewed unto the Great Alexander, as light and swift of body; well practifed in an Embleme of his large Dominions. For

could not hereto make, little wanted of any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight giving presently defiance to the King. But again. Their Countrey was mountainous, they fuffered themselves to be intreated, and rough, woody, and full of straight and danwere contented once again to fend over gerous pallages. Few good Towns they P. Villius, and others that had been already had: but many Castles, exceedingly well with the King at Lysimachia; by whom they fortified by nature: to as without much lamight receive a final answer, whether these bour, they could neither be taken or besieddemands made by Quintius and his Affoci- ed. They were also very poor; and had litates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this the or nothing that might give contentment respite of time, and the fruitless Treaties unto a victorious Army that should sooil enluing, Antiochus got the leisure of two their Land. In these respects, they served years 3 or thereabouts, to prepare for War; excellently well to train up the Roman Soulfinding in the Romans all that while, nodif- diers to hardness and military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of War ) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrel to Rome, grew \$. V. partly from their love unto the Gaules, their neighbours and companions: partly from the Gauls, Ligarians, and Spaniards. Of their delight in robbing and spoiling the M. Portius Cato. Injuries done by Masa- Territory of their borderers, that were subniffa to the Carthaginians, that fue to the ject unto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the War which they had begun, feems to have been grounded upon the Con-THE Insubrians, Bojians, and other of dition of all Salvages: To be friends or foes, THE Insubrians, Bojians, and other of dition or an savages. To the Gifalpine Gaules, together with the by custome, rather than by Judgement: and by custome of such posterior or such posterior of such posterior or such posterior Ligurians; made often and (in a manner ) to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, continual war upon the Romans in Italy, or formal conclusions of peace, as ought to even from such time as Hannibal and his bro- hinder them from using their advantage; or ther Mago departed thence, untill such time taking revenge of injuries when they return. as they themselves were utterly subdued: to mind. This quality is found in all, or most which was not, before the Romans were al- of the West-Indians : who, if they be demost at the very height of the Empire. These manded a reason of the Wars between them Nations, having ferved under Mago for and any of their neighbours, do use comwages, and afterwards having gotten Amil- monly this answer, It hathfill been the custome car a Carthaginian, to be Leader unto them for us and them, to fight one against the

that seldome afterwards either the Gaules but many more, and greater, they received. or Ligarians did stir alone: but that their Often they fought peace, when they found Companions, hearing it, were ready to se-themselves in distress, and brake it again as ; cond them. How the Romans first prevailed, often, when they thought it profitable so to and got large possession in Gallia Cisapina, do. The best was, that as their Countrey now called Lumbardie: it hath been long was a good place of exercise unto the Rofince rehearled between the first and second mans, so out of their own Countrey they did Punich Wars. As also it hath fince appeared, little harm : not sending any great Armies how they loft the greatest part of their hold far from home; perhaps, because they knew

The Country of Spain, as it was the first cult or tedious unto the Romans, than was part of the Continent out of Italy that bethe first purchase: if, besides the greater came subject unto the Romans : so was it the employments which they had of their Ar last of all their Provinces, which was wholly mies abroad, their forces appointed unto this and throughly by them subdued. It is likened war, had not been distracted by the Liguri- in figure by some Geographers unto an Oxeans: that alwaies made them to proceed hide: and the Romans found in it the prowarily, having an eye to the danger at their perty of that Oxe-hide which Calanus the

would rife from the ground. And thus wa themselves against those that were strangers. it with Spain. Seldom did it happen that yet usurped the Dominion over them. But those parts from which the Roman Armies the forces which Scipio had left behind him lay farthest, were not up in rebellion. The in that Country, being well acquainted spaniards were a very hard Nation, and with the manner of War in those parts, funeafily ftirred up to arms; but had not much pressed this rebellion by many Victories: knowledge in the art of war, nor any good and, together with subjection, brought peace Captains. They wanted also (which was upon the Countrey; which lasted five years. their princial hinderance) good intelli-gence among themselves: and being divi-ded into many small Signiories, that had lit-remaining the cause of the War; which as tle other communion than of language, they ter five years brake out again. The Spanifeldom or never provided in general for the ards fought a battel with the Roman Procommon good of their Country; but made conful, whom they flew; and had a great it their chief care, each of them to look un-to their own Territory, Such private respects hopes. Yet the happy success of their Wars made them often to fall afunder, when ma- in Greece, made the Romans think it enough ny had united themselves together, for cha- to send thither two Prators, and with each fing out of the Romans. And there were the of them fome two Legions. Thefe did fomecauses of their otten overthrows: as defire what: yet not so much, but that M. Portise of liberty; rather then complaint of any Cato, who was Conful the year following, wrong done to them, was the cause of their and sent into that Province; sound at his often taking arms.

to make evaculation of this Cholerick Spanish pily, that all the Spaniards were not of one humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in mind: some were faithful to Rome; and their wars abroad, those that were most some were idle beholders of the pains likely to be unquiet at home. They had also that others took. Yet when Cate had won taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and ufed them in another: finding they rofe against him in many parts of the means to pay them all, out of the profirs which they raifed upon the whole Countrey, and put him unto much new which they raifed upon the whole Countrey. Whilest he was about to make trey; as being far better husbands, and of a journey against those that were as yet unmore dexterity than were the Romans, in subdued : some of the lately vanquished. that kind. But contrariwise, the Romans, using were even ready to rebell. He therefore difthe fervice of their own Legions, and of their armed them; which they took so heavily, for the Spaniards; and therefore were fain grief. Hearing of this, and well understand by held the Countrey; though feldome in

Very foon after the departure of Scipio. there was raifed War in Spain against the Romans even upon the fame general ground. that was the foundation of all the Spanish Wars following. It was thought unrea onable, that the spaniards should one while

treading upon any fide of it; the further parts | Carthaginians; basely forgetting to help coming little less to do, than the recon-The Carthaginians had been accustomed, quering of all spain. But it fell out hapfure friends the Latines, had little business that many of them slew themselves for very to have much business with them. spain ing that such desperation might work danwas too far distant, and withall too great for gerous effects: He called unto him the them to fend over Colonies thither, where- principal among them : and commending by to hold it in good order, according to the unto them peace and quietness, which they course that they took in Italy. Wherefore never had disturbed but unto their own it remained, that they should alwaies main- great loss, He prayed them to devise what tain such Armies in the Countrey, as might course might be taken for holding them asferve to hold in obedience perforce; and fured unto Rome, without further troubles fuch heedful Captains as might be still rea. None of them could, or would give counsel dy to oppose the Barbarians in their first in a matter of this nature. Having therefore Commotion. This they did, and there talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kind of Subject; He gave express charge, That upona day appointed they thould throw downthe walls of all their Towns. Afterwards he care ryed the war about from place to place ; and with fingular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any difgrace to him or to Rome , in this time of danger , to help the Carthaginians against the Romans, imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an Army and another while the Romans against the of the Celtiberians, against other of their Countrymen:

as it feemed, with a jest, That if he were van- continually vexed. ble to his own peculiar disposition.

ble in the Art of war, which might well be did some laudable service; and yet so, that then termed the occupation of the Romans; commonly there were of men, towns, and but so well furnished with all other usefull people, new that rebelled, instead of the qualities, that very little was wanting in old that were flain, taken, or reclaimed. At him which might feem requisite to the ac- the causes hereof, I have already pointed; were, of the Roman Antiquities, and of Huf- long after. bandry. In matter of Husbandry he was In all other Countries to the West of the notable, and thereby most increased his Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace; but so substance; being of mean birth, and the had not the Carthaginians. For when Hannifirst of his house. Strong of body he was, bal was gone from them, and that the eneand exceeding temperate: fo as he lived in mies of the Barchine House promised all feperfect health to very old age. But that licity which Rome could grant, unto themwhich most commended him unto the better (elves and their obedient City: Malanilla fort of the Romans, was his great fincerity fell to disputing with the (word, about the of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashi- title to the best part of their Lands. He beoning himself to the antient laudable Cu- gan with Emporia, a fruitful Region about stomes of the City: Herein he had merited the leffer sprik: wherein, among other Cifingular commendations, if the vehemency ries, was that of Leptis, which daily paid a of his pature had not caused him to malign Talent unto Carthage for Tribute. This Counthe vertue of that noble Scipio the African, trey the Numidian challenged, and by winand some other worthy men ; that were ning some part of it , seemed to better his noles honest than himself, through far less claim unto the whole. He had a great adrigid, and more gallant in behaviour. O- vantage: for that the Carthaginians might

Countrymen: excusing the indignity, such bility and greatness as this his Ancestor had

quished and slain, then should he need to The Spanish Wars, after Cato his deparpay them nothing; whereas if he had the ture out of the Countrey, though they were victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the War and the Country feldom free from infurto fo good end, that in long time after, rection, in one part or other. The Roman though spain were often troublesome, yet Prætors therefore, of which two every year was it in no danger of being loft. He in- were fent over Commanders into Spain creased also the publick Revenues in that (that was divided into Governments) did Province, by causing some Mines of Iron rarely fail of such work, as might afford the and Silver to be wrought, that had before honour of Triumph. One flew thirteen lain unregarded. Herein he did benefit the thousand Spaniards in a battle : another Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeatook fifty Towns: and a third enforced many States of the Country to fue for peace. For this M. Cato was not only very nota- Thus every one of them, or most of them. complishment of a perfect man. He was and therefore think it enough to fay. That very skilful in the Roman Laws, a man of the business in Spain required not the imgreat Eloquence, and not unprofitable in ployment of a Roman Conful, from fuch any business either private or publick. Ma- time as Cato thence departed, untill the Nuny books he wrote; whereof the principal mantian War broke out, which was very

therwife, He was avery good Citizen, and not make any War, without leave obtained one of fuch temper, that he could fashion from their Masters the Romans. They had himself to all occasions; as if he were ne- none other way of redress, than by sending ver out of his Element. He loved business to Rome their Complaint of his doings. And fowell, or rather hated vice so earnestly; furely they wanted not good matter to althat even unto the end of his life. He was ledge, if the Judges had been impartial. exercifed in defending himself or accusing For besides that Scipio, in limiting out to others. For at the age of fourfcore and fix them their bounds, had left them the pofyears, he pleaded in his own defence : and fettion of this Country : Mafaniffa himfelf, four years after . he accused sergius Galbai now very lately pursuing a Rebel that fled unto the people. So began the Nobility of out of his Kingdom; defired leave of the Catobis family; which ended in his great Carthaginians, for himself to pass through it grand-child M. Cato the Utican : one that in his way to Cyrene: thereby acknowledgbeing of like vertue and fervency, had all ing (had it otherwise been questionable) his good purposes dasht, and was finally that the Country was theirs. This notwithwearied out of his life, by men of fuch no- standing, Majanifa had wherewith to justifie his proceedings, especially unto the Roman Senate. He gave the Fathers to understand by his Embassadours, what faithless The Etolians labour to provoke Antiochus people the Carthaginians were, and how ill affected to the State of Rome. There had lately been fent unto them from Hannibal, one that should perswade them to take part with Antiochus. This man they had examined upon some suspition of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby afforded him means to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded, that certainly it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore

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good policy to keep them down. As for the Countrey of Emperia: it had alwaies, he faid, been theirs that were able to hold it by ftrong hand: and fo belonged fometime unto the Numidian Kings: though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if the truth were known, the that whereon their City stood: or scarcely whole spoil of Philip, and the highest reputo so much. For they were no better than tation among the Greeks; were not only there to build upon fo much ground, as quite forfaken by their ancient dependants; they could encompass with an Oxe hide cut and of all other the most unregarded. Yet had thereto any disposition : but were prethe Romans had leifure to express the utmost of their hatred.

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All and well the

ø. VI.

Philip, and Nabis, to War upon the Ro. mans, by whom they hold themselves wrong. ed and dispraced. Nabis besiegeth Guttheum, and wasting some part of Achra. The exact skill of Philopeemen in advantage of ground : whereby he utterly vananisheth Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace of the Romans, joyns with the Etolians. The Æ: olians surprize Demetrias : and by hilling Nabis, their Confederate. feize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens : who at Philopoemen his perswalions annex themselves to the Achx-

LL Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed : it grie-Citizens of Carthage had not any very war- ved much the Etolians to think, that they rantable title unto any more ground, than who had promifed unto themselves the strangers in Africk, that had gotten leave disappointed of their covetous hopes, but into small thongs. Whatsoever they held was there made a great access to their Ewithout such a compass, was purchased by state; by adding much unto them, of that fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This which had been taken from the Macedonian. confidered, Mafariffe requested of the Senate, This might well have sufficed them, if their that they would not adjudge unto such desires had not been immoderate; and their usurpers, the Countrey sometimes apper- indignation more vehement, than their detaining to the Accestors of him their assured fire. But they were not so pleased with that friend. The Romans having heard theseal- which they had, fince they thought it no legations on both fides, found the matter fo more than part of their due : as they were doubtful, that they could not on the sud- wexed with the denial of that which they den tell what to determine. Wherefore, claimed, and with finding themselves to be because they would do nothing rashly : they wholly disstreemed, wherein they thought fent over three Embassadours, of whom that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore P. Scipio the African was one and the chief, they devised, in a Parliament which they to decide the controversie : yet secretly shortly held, by what means they best might giving them instructions, to leave all as they | right themselves; and give the Romans a forfound it, without making any end one way rowful knowledge of the difference between or other. The Embassadors followed their their enmity and friendship. To this purpose directions, and left all doubtful. So was it they foon agreed, as concurring all in one likely, that Mafanissa with a strong Army affection; That they would not only pershould quickly prevail against those that swade Antagehus to make war upon the Recould no more than talk of their right, and mans, assone to whom the Romans had long exclaim against the wrong. By such Arts refused peace; but that they would deal were the Caribaginians held, not only from with the King of Macedon their ancient eneftirring in favour of King Antiochus , if they my, and with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon, to join all together in a new Confedepared by little and little, unto their final racy : whose joyut forces could not in all destruction : that came upon them, when likelihood, but far surmount those of the Remans, Acheans, Rhodians, and King Eumenes, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the Anglians took in hand; and well beforening them, for they were great darers. They fent Em baffadours haffadors to all these Kings, with perswall-drew part of his Army from the siege of ons, as they thought most forcible. But Cyttheum, to stop the Achaans, if they should philip was irresolute; and Antiochus wil- invadehis Country. But upon these which ing to try first all other courses. Nabis the were placed in guard of Laconia, Philose Lacedemonian, who neither (as Philip) had men came unexpected; fired their Camp, loft much, nor (as Antiochus) was in fear of and put all, fave a very few of them, to the any War; yet shewed himself of all other Sword. Then marched he with all his Arthe most forward: and not staying so much my towards Lacedamon: within ten miles as to feek any good pretence, began immediately to lay fiege unto Gyttheum, that had been lately taken from him by the Romans. The Achaans, to whose care chiefly Titus at his departure had commended the Affairs of Peloponnesus, were not flow to admonish Nabis of his duty: neither would they them, and charge them in Rcre. They marby open war; had not some of them thought it troop, reaching some five miles; having their particularly of T. Quintins, before they engaged themselves in a business of such importo give them juster cause of complaint, by walting their own Territory.

whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken Gytthenm. It was not expected that Nabis would have been ready for them fo foon. Or if he should come from Cyttheum with any part of his Forces: vet was it thought that he must over-take have staid long from repressing his violence ched therefore almost securely, in a long wildom to ask Counsel of the Romans, and Horse, and the greatest parr of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to bear off any fudden impression. But Nabis, who formerly undertance. Whilft thus they fpent the time in stood, or at least suspected, what course they fending Embassadors, and were advised by would take, appeared in the front of them Quintins, to let all alone, and to wait for the with all his Army; encamped there where coming of the Roman Forces, that would they meant to have lodged. It was the cufhortly be amongst them: Nabis was bold stome of Philogamen, when he walked, or traveiled abroad with his friends, to mark the fituation of the Country about him; and to Philopamen was then the Prætor of the discourse what might befal an Army march-Acheans, who had long been absent in Grete; ing the same way. He would suppose, that making War there for his minds fake and re- having with him there such a number of creation. Unto him the Acheans referred Souldiers, ordered and forted in such manner. themselves, giving him leave to order the and marching towards such a place; he were War at his pleasure; either staying till the upon that ground encountred by a greater Romans came, or doing otherwise, as he Army, or better prepared to fight. Then should think best. He made all haste to re- would he put the question, Whether it were lieve Gyttheum by Sea; fearing lest the Town, fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or and the Achean Garrison within it, should be make a stand? What piece of Ground it loft, if he used any delay. But Philopamen was were meet for him to seize upon? And in fo bad a Sea-man, that he knew not a strong what manner he might best do it? In what Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme fort he should order his men? Where bestow Gally his Admiral, that had fouricore years his Carriages, and under what Guard? In agoe been counted a gallant Veffel in the what fort encamp himself? And which way Navie of Antigonus Gonatus. Neither was march the day following. By such continual the rest of his Fleet so good, as might en- meditation he was grown so perfect, that he counter with that of the Lacedemonian. On- did never meet with any difficulty, whence ly it fell out well, that he committed him- he could not explicate himself and his folfelf to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that lowers: At this time he made a frand: and fought better with her Wings, than with her having drawn up his Rere, He encamped Talons. For his Admiral Gally was stem- near unto the place where he was; withmed at the first; and being rotten with age, in half a mile of the Enemy. His bagfprang so many leaks, and took in water so gage with all thereto belonging, he bestowfalt, that the was fain to yield without fur- ed on a Rock; encompassing them round therrefistance. When the rest of the Fleet with his Souldiers. The Ground was faw what was become of their Admiral, all rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost were presently discouraged, and saved them- quite spent; so as Nabis could not at the preselves with what speed they could. But Philo lient greatly molest him. Both Armies were pamen was not herewith daunted. If he had to water at one Brook; whereto the Achafailed in Sea-fervice, which was none of ans lay the nearer. This watering therefore his Occupation, He said, that he would was first to minister the like occasion of skirmake amends by Land. The Tyrant with | mish. Philopamen understood this; and laid an

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Mercenaries of Nabis tell, and were flaugh this King in Syria, where he had accomtered in great numbers. Presently after plished the marriage between Fiolomy and this, he caused one of his own Auxiliaries to his Daughter; together with the death of go to the Tyrant as a fugitive, and tell him, young Antiochus the Kings Son, which hap-That the Achieum had a purpose to get be ned during the Treaty, and hindered, or tween him and Laredomon; whereby they feemed to hinder the King from giving auwould both debar his return into the City, dience in person to the Embassadors; canand withal encourage the People to take fed them to return home to Rome; as un-Arms for the Recovery of their Freedom, certain of their answer as at their setting The Tyrant hearing this, marched haitily forth. One thing that might have been, and away and left his Camp, which hardly partly was, beneficial unto them, they otherwise would have been forced. Some brought to pass during their abode at Ephi-Companies he made to stay behind, and Jus; either by cunning, or (as Livy ratner thew themselves upon the Rampart, thereby (think) by chance. Finding Hannibal there, to conceal his departure. But Philopamen they discoursed often with him, and blamed was not fo to be beguiled. He eafily won the him for having thus fled unto Antrockus upon Camp, and gave chase to Nabis: whose fol- a causeless suspition wherein he held the tolowers being overtaken, had no courage to mans; that honoured his versue, and intendturn about and make head. The enemies be- ed him no harm. Many have affi med that ing thus dispersed, and sled into woods where P. Scipio was one of these Embassiadors; and they lay in covert all that day: Philopamen that he, among other discourses with Hanniconceived aright, that their fear and neces | bal, demanded once, Which of all the famous fity would teach them to creep homewards, Captains that had lived, Hannibal judged the and fave themselves when it grew dark. most worthy? So Hannibal gave to alexander Wherefore in the evening, when he had ga- of Macedon the first place: to Pyrrhus the thered together all those of his light arms- second : and the third he challenged unto ture, which had followed the chase whilst it himself. But Scipio, who thought his own was day, he led forth the rest that had well title better than that it ought to be so for refreshed themselves, and occupied the two gotten, asked yet further, What wouldst most ordinary passages unto Lacedamon. So thou have said then, Hannibal, if thou hadst Nabis his men, when it was dark night, per- vanquished me? To whom the Carthaginian ceiving in Philopemens Camp great store of replied, Then would not I have given the first lights; thought that all had been at rest: place to Alexander, but have claimed it as ner without forces.

hands; and regain possession of many pla- him to use the countel of some other ces, by them taken from him. Thus did the man-Romans prepare for War against Antiochus | The Atolians, and their Friends, were in Greece, whilest their Embassadors that less busie all this while, in making their party

embush in place convenient; whereinto the losten propunded. The long absence of and therefore adventured to make an escape due unto my self. Now whether this were home. But they were so way-laid, that hard- so or otherwise, the often and friendly ly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thir-conference of Hannibal with the Roman Emty days together after this, did Philopemen baffadors, made him suspected of Antiochus; waste the Country round about, whillt Nabis who therefore did forbear a while to use his durst not issue forth of his Town; and then counsel. Yet afterwards, when Haunibal returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a man- perceived this change in the King, and plainly defiring him to tell the cause thereof, The Roman Embassadors were then in heard what it was; he easily recovered his Greece, and T. Quinting among them, labou- former grace and credit. For he told how ring to make their party strong against Antio his Father had caused him to swear at the chus and Nubis, whom they knew to be soli- Altars, when he was a little Boy, that he necited by the Atolians. Very fair countenance ver should be friend unto the Romans. Wherethey also made unto Philip; and with comfor- fore he willed the King not to regard any table promifes drew him to make shew, what vain surmizes : but to know thus much, that foever he thought, of good correspondence. So long as he thought upon War with Rome, They promised to restore unto him his Son : 10 long would Hannibal do him all good serand were contented to let him hope, that vice: whereas contrariwife, if he intended he should receive other favours at their to make peace, then should it behoove

were with him in Afia, denied otherwise strong against the Romans, than were the Roto grant him Peace, than if he would yield mans in mustering up their friends in Greece, unto one of the Conditions, by them to They had so often dealt with Anisochu, vaunting

vaunting much of their own forces, and arro- 1 might happen to obtain what they defired; with him; especially when the Roman Embaffadors had left him without hope of peace, unless he would buy it at too dear a rate. They dealt in like fort with the Macedonian. them to improve their own Forces to the utmust lie upon Antiochus and themselves. without help from any, fave only from fome few that were discontented in Greece, Whilst clude rashly, without first hearing the Roto approve the motion. Titus hearing this, thought the business worthy of his presence. For fince Antiochus had now declared him-Nation; where he forgot nothing that might vate Council of their Nation; that no occaferve to appeale them. He willed them to fion might flip, in waiting for the Authority consider the weight of the enterprise which of a General Assembly. The Apocleti (so were the ruine of the Country, the Romans and heads could have done. They laid a Plot part of the World, should fight for the Maof Fence, fetting them on, and becoming ind 35. \* the Sticklers. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them to such violent courses, he willed them to much better they might do, to fend Embaf-

gating to themselves the honour of the Victo- either as their Right, or else by way of Fary against Philip, that finally they prevailed vour. For with such Terms had they been feafted once already : and were by the Senate rejected unto Titus : who having it in his own power, gave them no fatisfaction ; yet would now again refer them to the Se-But in vain. He understood the Romans and nate. This were only loss of time, and might himself too well. Wherefore it concerned abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherefore, without more ado they made a Decree. termost: as knowing that all the burthen That King antiochus the Great should be inreated to come over into Greece, as well to fet the Country at liberty, as also to decide the Controversies depending between they were about this, and had with them an the Romans and the Atolians. Such a Decree Embaffador of the King Antiochus, that a- they would not have made, had they not unnimated them to refolution, the Athenian derstood the Kings mind before Having made Embassadors, whom Tilm had requested to it, they forgot no point of bravery, wherebe at their meeting, stayed their vehemen- by to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embassacy alittle; by exhorting them not to con- dors, and against the Romans. Titus desired of their Præsor to let him fee a Copy of this mans, that lay near at hand. For want of a new Decree. The Prætor answered. That ready Answer hereto, they were contented then he had other things to do: but that this Decree, and their further answer they would thorrly let him know, if he came to their Camp in Italy upon the River of Tibris. Gentfelf against the Romans, it would be no small ler words would have done better, as the piece offervice, to withdraw from his friend Etolians are like to understand hereafter. thip, those by whose encouragement he had But having thus begun, they meant hencemade the adventure. Wherefore he came to forth to go roundly to work. The care of their Panatolium, or great Affembly of the the War they referred unto the more prithey took in hand; whereby Greece was like the privy Council of Etolia called ) went to become a Champaign-field, on which to as hotly to work, as any of the youngest King Antioches, that commanded no small how to get into their hands at one time the Towns of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta: ftery : the Atolians, as Mafters in that kind to each of which they fent men for the purpole. Demetrias they took upon the sudden entring some of them as friends, to conduct home a principal man of the City: who for speaking words against T. Quinting, had been consider how slight they were, and how driven to see thence; but was by intercession of those that loved him, again re-called. fadors to Rome, that should either plead His Etolian Companions that were not matheir Right in the Senate, or (if their Right oy, seized upon a Gate; whereat they let in unto the places which they claimed, were a Troop which they had left not far benot good) make request to have what they hind them: and so fell to murdering the defired : than thus to fet the World in an up- | chief of the Roman Faction. At Chalon they roar, and be afterwards the first that should sped not so well. Thither also they had a barepent it. But what he faid or could fay, it | nished man to bring home: but they came fo skilled not much. They had already done strong, that their purpose was discovered, ill, to make the Embassador of the King, and the Town prepared to defend it self whose help they had sought, wait so long for against them. Bring therefore demanded the an answer, and stay doubting what good end cause of this Hostility, they gave a gentle anthey should make with the Romans. Neither swer, saying, That they came not thither was it news unto them to hear those comfor- as Enemies, but only to deliver the Town table words; that by fending to Rome, they from the Romans 3 who mere infolently SIIII 2 domineered

domineered overit, than ever the Macedo- | that if need should so require, they would mians had done. By which Rhetorick they presently send away to Lasedamon all the prevailed no more than they could do by Forces that they could raife: But that they plain force. For the Towns-men replyed, were very defirous at the present, to make That they neither founnd any abridgement as goodly a muster as they could, before the of their liberty, nor needed any Garrison to great King; which caused them to send him keep them from the Romans, from whom they thither afore with no greater company. Hereneither feared any danger, nor received in- upon he willed Nabis to take heart; bring jury. So this business was dasht. The attempt forth his men, that had been long pent up in upon Sparta was more strange and desperate. the City; and train them without the Walls: Nabis their good Friend was Lord of the as if shortly he should employ them in work Town, styling himself King, but more truly of Conquest, rather than Defence. Nabis was by all men called Tyrant. He had well- glad of this: and daily exercised his men in near loft all, by means of the overthrow the field: riding up and down with this Awhich Philopemen had lately given him: fince lexamenus, and no more than three or four he durft not ftir abroad; and dayly expected Horse about him, from one point to another, the mischief, that on all sides threatned to order and behold them. During this time him. Wherefore he fent Messengers, one af- of exercise, Alexamenus made it his fashion, ter another, to the Ætolians; requesting to step aside alone to his Ætolians, and say them, That as he had not been flow to ftir somewhat as he thought fit : which done. in their behalf, but adventured himfelf up- he still returned again to Nabis. But when he on the utmost of danger, when all others saw time for the great work which he had were backward; so they would be pleased in hand; he then went aside to his thirty to fend him what help they might, since his Horsemen, and bade them remember the task bad fortude had caused him presently to enjoyned them at their setting forth; telling need it. It hath been often faid, That the them, That they were all in case of banished rayenous Etolians were only true to them-men, unless they would anon come up to felves, and regarded neither faith nor friend- him, and help him to finish that which they fince Nabis bis mercenary forces, which up- Alexamenus making towards him, charged held his Tyranny, were in a manner confu- him on the sudden, and struck him down. tread them down. As for the Etolians, he faid not many of his Company, were flain in

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ship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to should see him take in hand. Herewithall their own ends. And so dealt they now. For the Tyrant began to draw near them: and med : they thought it expedient for their The thirty Ætolians never flood to delibe-Estate, to put him out of the way; and by so rate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, doing to affure Lacedamon unto themselves. before any succour could arrive, had made To this purpose, they sent thither Alexame- an end of this wretched Nabis. Presently nus, one whom they thought a man fit for upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his such a work. To him they gave a thousand Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where Foot, and thirty Horse, chosen for the pur- in stead of seeking revenge, they stood pole. These thirty were by Democritus the soolishly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus Prætor brought into the Counsel of the with his Etolians, hasted into the City, and Apocleti, where they were commanded to be seized on the Palace: where he fell to ranno wifer than they should be, nor to think sacking the Treasure; and troubled himself that they were fent to make War with the with none other care, as though all were Acheans, or to do ought elfe, fave only already done. Such of his Followers as what Alexamenus should command them; were dispersed in the Town, did also the like; which were it never so desperate, and in see- with the greater indignation of the Citizens: ming against all reason; yet must they un- who seeing themselves free by the death of derstand, that unless they performed it, they the Tyrant, could not endure to see those should have no good welcome home. So that had slain him, begin to tyrannize a-Alexamenus came to the Tyrant, whom he new. Wherefore all the Town was shortencouraged with brave words, telling him ly in Arms: and for lack of another Capthat Antiochus was already in Europe, and tain, they took a little Boy of the Roywould be anon in Greece, meaning to cover al Stock, that had been brought up with all the Land and Sea with his mighty Ar- Nabis his Children, whom they mounted mies; and that the Romans were like to find upon a good Horse, and made him their other manner of work, than of late with Chief. So they fell upon the Etolians Philip: fince the Elephants of this Great that were idly stragling about; and put King, without other help, would suffice to them all to the Sword. Alexamenus with keeping the Citadel: and those few that | That Philip was like a Bandog in a chain, de-Lacedamon, Philopamen came thither : who could have done, were ready to confer upcalling out the chief of the City, and speak- on him the greatness, which they had uning fuch words unto them as Alexemanus worthily bestowed upon insolent Earbarians, should have done, after he had slain the Ty- Of all this, the least part was true. Yet that rant : easily perswaded them for their own which was true, made such a noise, as added good and fafety, to incorporate themselves credit unto all the rest. Whilst therefore the with the Acheans. Thus by the enterprise, no King was thinking to fend Hannibal into Ales dishonourable than difficult, of the Eto- frick, there to molest the Romans, and so lians: and the small, but effectual, travel of give him the better leisure of using his own Philopamen, the Achaans made a notable pur- opportunities in Greece : Thoas the Etolian chase : and Lacedemon, that had hitherto came over to him, and bade him lay all other been governed either by Kings, or by Ty- care aside; for that his Countreymen had rants that called themselves Kings, became already taken Demetrias, a Town of main imthe Member of a Commonwealth, whereof portance, that thould give him entertainthe Name had scarce any reputation, when ment, whence he might proceed as became Sparta ruled over all Greece.

## s. VII.

comes over into Greece ill attended. Sunto the Villors.

thought it neither fafe nor honourable, to vancement of hisdefires, than did anything leave them Enemies behind him : and to else by him then or after thought upon. win them by force, was more than hitherto Presently after this, He made ready for Romans: That Nabit was already up in arms: had lately waited on home, when by that

escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by siring nothing more, than to break loose: the Magistrates; who fold them all as bond- and that the Etolians, without whom the flaves. In this doubtful estate of things at Romans had done nothing, nor nothing the greatness of his vertue and fortune. This did ferve to cut off all deliberation. As for Hannibal, Thoas was bold to tell the King, first, that it was not expedient for him to di-Antiochus, perswaded by Thoas the Ætolian, vide his forces at such a time, when the verv reputation of his numbers, brought into dry passages between Him, the Etolians, Greece, might serve to lay open unto him all Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, places, without need of using violence : and and thereby the whole Ise of Euboea. The secondly, That in any such great enterprise vanity of the Kings Embassaders and the there could not be chosen a more unfit man Etolians, with the civil Answer of Titus tobe employed in the Kings fervice, than was to their discourse, before the Achaans. That that famous Hannibal the Carthaginian, For he it concerned the Greeks to have desired Peace faid that the King should as greatly feel the between the Romans and Antiochus, as the loss of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such best assurance of their own Liberty. Of ma- a notable Commander, if his fortune were my petty Estates that fell to the King. Of bad, as if the same had miscarried under one Aminander; and an idle vanity by which of meaner quality : whereas nevertheless if King Phillip was loft. Hannibal gives Hannibal prevailed, Hannibal alone should good counsel in vain. Some Towns won in bave all the honour, and not Antiochus. In this Theffaly. The King retires to Chalcis, regard he was of opinion that fuch a renownwhere he marrieth a young Wife, and revels ed Warrious should be alwayes near unto the away the rest of Winter. Upon the coming Kings Person, to give advice : which being of the Roman Conful, all forfake Antiochus. followed, as often as it was found commodi-He with two thousand Ætolians keeps the ous, the good success would wholly redound Straights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, unto the honour of him that had the foveand flees into Asia: leaving all Greece un- raign Command, even of the King himself. Antiochus gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the Vertue, that Ntiochno was troubled much in Afa, thined brighter than the Majesty of his own With Smyrna and Lampfacus, that would fortune. And thereupon he laid afide the denot hearken to any Composition. He termination, which tended more to the ad-

he was able. Yet was he defirous with all Greece. Before his setting forth, in a frivospeed convenient, to shew himself in Greece: lous pomp of ceremony, he went up from the where he had been told, that his presence Sea-fide to Ilium; there to do facrifice to Miwould effect wonders. It was faid, that in nerva of Troy. Thence passing over the Agean all the Country there was a very small num- Sea, He came to Demetrias. Eurylochus the ber, which bore hearty affection unto the Mognetian ; the same whom the Atolians

CHAP V

pretext they won Demetrias; was now the an absolute Prince to engage himself, as did chief man, and ruler of his Nation. He there- Antiochus, in a business of dangerous importore with his Countreymen, in great fre- tance upon the promifed affurance of a State quency, came to do their duties to the King that is meetly popular. For if the vehemen-Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The King cy of Thoss, and some other of that Faction. was glad of this, and took it as a fign of good had not prevailed in this Council; the Atoluck, to be so entertained at the beginning. lians, for gain of two or three Towns, yea, But it may be suspected, That the Mag- for hope of such gain that might have deceiretians found not the like cause of joy. For ved them, were like to have abandoned whereas they had expected a Fleet and Ar- this King their Friend, unto the discretion of my somewhat like to that of Xerxes: they the Romans. And what remedy had there Law three hundred thips; of which no more been, if this had to fallen out? He could than forty were ferviceable for the Wars, have bemoaned himself to Thoas, and comwith an Army of ten thousand Foot, five plained of the wrong: but he must have been hundred Horfes and fix Elephants. The Eto- contented with this answer, That the fault lians no fooner heard of his coming, than was in those of the opposite tide, whom they called a Parliament, and made a Decree Those would therefore have pronounced whereby they invited him into their Coun- to be very wicked men. It happened much try. He knew before that they would fo do; better for the present, though in the fuand was therefore well onward on his way ture it proved much worfe, both for him. towards them, when they met with him that and for the Etolians. He was chosen Genebrought the Decree. At his coming to Lamia, ral of all their Forces: and thirty Commifthe Ætolians gave him as joyful entertain- fioners were appointed to be about him, as ment as they could devise. Being brought into their Council, he made an Oration : armed fuch as readily they could, whileft it wherein he defired them to hold him excu- was in dispute where they should begin the fed, that he came not followed with a greater | War. Chalcis was thought the meetelt place A:my. This was, he faid, in true estimation, to be first undertaken : whither if they came a fign of his good will; in that he staid not to suddenly, they should not peradventure

a Council of War for the Nation. These make all things ready, but hasted unto their need to use much force. The King had aid, even whilst the season was unsit for Na- brought with him into Etolia but a thouvigation. Yet it (hould not be longer, ere the land Foot, leaving the rest behind him at Dehope of all those which had expected him, metrias. With these he hasted away directly would be fatisfied unto the full. For it was toward Chalcis; being overtaken by no his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and great number of the Etolians, which accomall the Sea-Coast with his Flect. Neither panied him thither. At his coming, the Mawould he spare for any Charge, Travel, or gistrates, and some of the Chief Citizens, Danger, to follow the business which he had liffued forth to parle with him. There the undertaken: even to drive the Romans and Etolians began, as they had lately done betheir Authority out of Greece, leaving the fore, to tell, how the Romans had only in Countrey free indeed, and the Etolians words and falle femblance, fet Greece at litherein the Chief. Now as the Armies that berty. But such liberty as might be true and were following him, should be very great; uleful, they faid, would never be obtained; fo was it his meaning, that all Provisions to until by removing the necessity of obeythem belonging should be correspondent; ing their pleasure that were most mighty, because he would not be any way burden- every several estate had where to find resome unto his Consederates. But at the pre- dress, of any pressure. And to this end was the fent he must needs intreat them, having thus great Antiochus come thither; a King well hastily come over unto their aid, unprovided able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the of many necessaries, that they would help Romans: who nevertheless desired them onhim with Corn and other Victuals, whereof y, so to joyn with him in League, as that if le ft. od in need. So he left them to their either the Romans or He should offer them consultation: the conclusion whereof was, wrong, they might keep it in their power, to after a little dispute, (for a vain motion was feek redress at the others hands. The Chalmade by some, that the differences between cidians made hereto the same answer, which, the Ronians and them, should be put by to the like allegations, they had made not Com-promife to the decision of Antiochus) long before: That their freedom was not that they would yield unto the Kingsdesire, Imaginary, but absolute; for which they and effilt him with all their Forces. Here were to thank the Romans; without whole we may observe how vain a thing it is for good liking they would enter into no new confederacy. confederacy. That which they fpake of theless he atlayed them, upon a vain hope, themselves, they could likewife affirm of all that the envy which Trius was faid to bear the Greeks: forasmuch as none of them paid unto Philopemens vertue, had bred a secret any tribute, was kept under by any Garriion, or lived otherwise than by their own Laws, and without being tied unto conditi ons which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred why the King should thus trouble defence.

to make War upon the King.

to draw the acheans to his party. Never- flaves, and good for little elfe. These divers

dillike between that Nation and the Romans. Wherefore both he and the zatolians fent Embafiadors to the Council at regium, that pured not brave words, if the Acheurs would have been to taker. The Kings Emhimself to deliver Cities that were already bailador told of great Armics and Fleets that free. But fince he and the Atolians requested were coming; reckoning up the Italians, their friendship; they belought both him Medians, Flimeans, and Cadwins: names and the Etolinas, to do a friendly Office, in that were not every day heard of, and thetedeparting from them quietly, and leaving fore ashe thought the more terrible. Then them in fuch good case as they were. With told he them what not ble men at Sea, the this answer the King departed: for he was Sydonians, Tyrians, Aradians, and Famphignot as then, ftrong enough to force them. ans were; fuch indeed as could not be relift-But very foon after, he brought thither a cd. Now concerning money, and all worlder greater power, which terrified them, and furniture : it was hetari, we'l grown, there made them yield: before all the friccours the Kingdoms of & thad alwayes thereon could arrive, which Titus had fent for their great plenty. So as they were much accid ved: who confidering the Late War wield The chief City of Eubera being thus gotten, against Phalip, did think that this with Action all the rest of the Island shortly yielded to chus would prove the like : the characters Antiochus. Four or five hundred Roman Soul- far different. Yer this world game good bear, diers, that came over late to have defended that for the liberty of Graze was come work Chalcis, reposed themselves at Delium, a lit- the utmost parts of the batt; requested no tle Town of Baotia, lying over against the more of the Acheans, than that they would Island; where was a Temple and Grove, con hold them elves as neutral, and quietly look fecrated unto Apollo, that had the priviledge on, whilit he took order with the Romans. of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were To the same effect spake the At dian Umbasfome of them walking, and beholding the lador, and further added. That in the Battel things there to be seen, whilst others were at Cynoscephale, neither True had done the busied as they found cause, without fear of part of a General, nor the Romans of good any danger; as being in such a place, and no Souldierss: but that both he and his Army War hitherto proclaimed. But Menippus, one had been there deftroyed, had they not been of Antiochus his Captains, that had wearied protected by vertue of the Antiochus, which himself in many vain Treaties of peace, took carried the day. Titus was profest at the advantage of their careleiness, and used them Council, and heard all this : to which he made with all extremity of War. Very few of as fit answer, as could have been defined. He themescaped; fifty weretaken, and the rest told the Achaum, The neither the Kenes flain. Hereat Quintius was grieved : yet fo, Embassador, nor the Alekin, did legreatas it pleased him well to confider that his Ro- ly labour to perswade those unto whom they mans had now more just cause than before, addressed their Orations; as to vaunt themfelves the one unto the other. So as a man Antiochus liked well these beginnings, and might well duce n what good corresponfent Embassadors into all quarters of Greece; dence in vanity it was; that had thus linked in hope, that his reputation should perswade the King and the Atolians together. For very many to take his part. The wifer fort even fuch brags as here they made before returned tuch answer, as the Chalcidians had the Acheans, who knew them to be Lyars, done. Some referved themselves until he had the Ætolians also made unto King should come among them: knowing that ei- Antiochus: Proclaiming the victory over Phither if he came not, he must hold them ex- lip to be meerly their Act: and the whole cused for not daring to stir: or it he came, Country of Greece to be dependent on them. the Romans must pardon their just fear, in Interchangeably had they been featted by yielding to the stronger. None of those the King, with such tales as his Embassador that lay far off, joyned with him in true mean- told even now; of Dahans, and Aradiing, fave the Eleans, that alwayes favoured ans, and Elimeans, and a many others: that the Etolians, and now feared the Acheans. were all but a company of syrians, such Little reason there was, that he thould think as were wont to be fold about for bond-

names of rafeal People, were he faid, like to with all the Nation entertained this their lathe divertity of Venison, wherewith a friend ving offer. Yet were Lysimachia, and the of his at Chal is, (no fuch Vaunter as were Towns in Thrace, lately gotten by Antiochus. these Embassadors) had sometime seasted pretended as a very great cause of fear, that him. For all that variety, whereat he won- should move them to take arms even in their slred, was none other, as his Holt then merri- own defence. But if all Greece would have ly told him; than to many pieces of one made intercession, and requested that things tame Swine, dreft after feveral fashions, with might continue as they were, promising variety of tawces. Setting therefore alide this joyntly to affift the Romans with their whole vanity of idle pomp: it were good to make Forces both by Land and Sea, whenfoever judgement of the Great King by his prefent King Antiochus should make the least offer doing. He had notwithstanding all this to stir against them: then had not only this great noile, no more than ten thousand men quarrel been at an end; but the Roman about him: for which little Army he was Patronage over the Country, had been far fain in a manner to beg Victuals of the Atto- from growing, as foon after it did, into a lians: and take up money at usury to defray Lordly rule. his charges. Aud thus he ran up and down The Acheans were at this time, in a manthe Countrey; from Demetrias to Lamia; ner the only Nation of Greece, that freely and thence back to Chalcis; and being there that generously declared themselves altogether out to Demeiri usagain. These were the fruits for the Romans, their friends and benefactors. of lies : wherewith, fince both Antiochus and All the rest gave doubtful answers of hope the Atolians had each deluded other; meet unto both fides : or if some few, as did the it was that they should, as perhaps already Theffalians, were firm against Antiochus; vet they did, repent, whileft wifer men took helped they not one another in the quarrel. heed by their example. To a favourable Au- nor shewed themselves his Enemies, till he ditory much perswation is needless. The A pressed them with open force. The Baotians cheans did not love to well the Atolians, as willingly received him, as foon as he entred to defire that they should become Princes upon their borders, not so much for fear of of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of his power, as in hatred of Titus and the Roall other, made the veriest abjects. Where- mans, by whom they had been somewhat fore they flood not to hearken after news, hardly used. Aminander the Athamanian, bewhat Antiochus did, how he sped in Eubaa, sides his old friendship with the Etolians, or what other Cities were like to take his was caught with a bait, which it may be part : but readily proclaimed War against doubted whether he did more foolishly swalhim, and againft the Atolians.

ons grew inveterate; sufficiently appears in headed man, and vaunted himself to be dethe story fore-going. Now have they gotten scended from Alexander the Great: naming each their Patrons; the one, the Romans; his two fons, in that regard, Philip and Alexthe other King Antiochis. Herein did each of ander. Philip, the elder of these Brethren, acthem unwifely: though far the greater companied his fifter to the poor Court of Ablame ought to be laid on the turbulent fpi- thamania: where having made his folly rits of the Atolians. For when the Romans known, by talking of his Pedegree He was departed out of Greece, and left the Country judged by Antiochus and the Atolians, a man at rest: there was nothing more greatly to fit for their turns. They made him believe, have been defired, than that they might ne- that in regard of his high Parentage, and the

low, or Antiochus cast out. He had married How the hatred between these two Nati- the Daughter of an Arcadian, that was an idlever find occasion to return with an Army famous memory of Alexander his forefather; thither again. And in this respect ought the it was their purpose, to do their best for the Greeks to have fought, not how Smyrna conquest of Macedon to his behoof: finceno and Lampfacus might recover their Liberty, man had thereto fo good title as he. But for (which had never been held a matter worth the enabling them hereunto; it behoved him regarding, until now of late) but how the to draw Aminander to their party, that fo powers of the East and West, divided and they might the sooner have done with the kept afunder by their Countrey, as two Seas Romans. Philip was highly pleafed herewith; by an Isthmus, or neck of Land, might be and by perswasions of himself or of his kept from over-flowing the Bar that parted Sifter effected as much as they defired. But them. Neither had the Romans any better the first piece of service done by this imagipretence for their seeking to make free nary King (whether it proceeded from his those base Asiatiques, who originally were own phrenzie in hope to get love of the Greekift; than the general applause, where- Macedonians that should be his Subjects: or

whether from some vanity in King Antiochus | faid He, These Etolians here present; and that employed him ) wrought more harm namely, this Thoas being lately Embassadour to his friends, thanhe and Aminander were fron them into Alia, among other motives able to do good. There were two thousand which be then used to excite the King unto this men committed to his leading : with which Expedition, insisted mainly on the same point. he marched unto Cynoscephale, there to ga- He told we that Philip was moved beyond all ther up the bones of the flaughtered Mace patience, with the Lordly infolence of the Rudonians ; whom their King had suffered all mans : likened that King to some wild beaft , this while to lie unburied. The Macedons that was chained or lockt up within (me grate, troubled not them elves to think on this and would fain break loof. If this be or let charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all : but King Philip took it in high that he may regain his liberty, and satisfie his indignation; as intended meerly unto his de lang of stomack, upon those that are common fpight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherhe was ready with all his power to aid them dignation : then shall it behoove us to look unto wherein soever they should be pleased to him; that he may not seek to please his good nfe him.

tians, and Athamanians , having now all joy- four Army : if Philip will not hearken to your the same which he would have spoken , had now from taking the same course. Send for all fince their coming into Greece. For the Mag let ships of burden come along with them. netians, Beotians, and other their good loaden with fore of vicinals : For, as the cafe friends, which now so willingly took their now stands, we have here too few hands and too parts: what were they else than so many poor many mouths ) Wherefore let the one half be inzadjoyn themselves for fear unto him, that the other half, tarrying on this side the Ionian was strongest for the present: and would at | Sea, may both take order for the affairs of terwards, when they saw it expedient, be Greece, and therewith almake countenance; as as ready to fall to the contrary lide, alledging if you were even ready to follow us into Italy : the same fear for their excuse? Wherefore yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it he thought it most behooveful to win King shall be requisite. This is my advice; who Philip of Macedon unto their party : who though perhaps I am not very skilful in all forts (belides that being once engaged, he should of war; jet how to war with the Romans, 1 not afterwards have power to recoyle and have been instructed by long experience, both to forfake them at his pleasure ) was a mighty their cost and mine own. Of this Counsel which Prince; and one that had means to fustain the I give, I promise you my faithfull and diligent Roman War with his proper forces. Now Service for the execution : but what Conniel that Philip might be easily perswaded to join soever you please to follow, I wish it may be pro-with them, the benefit likely to redound sperous. Many were pleased with the great unto himself, by their society, was a very spirit of the man, and said, he had spoken ftrong Argument : though indeed what bravely : but of all this was nothing done;

Romans ; and gave them to understand, that wife , and that bu fear be greater than his inmafters the Remans, by offending us. Your fon The Etolians, Magnetians, Eubwans, Boo- Sellucus is now at Lylimachia, with part of ned with him : Antiochus took counsel of Embassage ; let Seleucus be in readiness to them about the profecution of the War in fall upon Macedon, and find him work to defend hand. The chief question was , Whether it his own on the other side , without putting us were meet for him to invade Theffaly, that here to trouble. Thus much concerning Philip. would not hearken to his perswasions : or and the present war in Greece. But more genewhether to let all alone until the Spring : be- rally for the managing of this great enterprise, cause it was now mid-winter. Some thought wherein you are now embarked against the Roone thing, and some another; confirming mans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: each his own fentence, with the weightieft whereto had you then given ear, the R mans by reasons which he could alledge: as in a mat. this time should have heard other news, than ter of great importance. Hannibal was at this that Chalcis in Subce i was become ours. Italy meeting : who had long been cast aside, as and Gaul flould have been on fire with war ; and a veffel of no use, but was now required to little to their comjort, they should have underdeliver his opinion. He freely told the King, flood, that Hannibal was again come into Ita-That what he should now utter, was even y. Neither do I fee what should hinder us even his counsel at any time before been asked your Fleet and Army hither (but in any case estates, that wanting force of their own, did ployed against Italy ; whilest you in person with need was there, of proving by infe- lave only that one was fent into Ala; to make rence the likelihood of this hope: For, all things ready there. In the mean while

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had won one Town by force, many other chased the honour of a Triumph, nothing fo places, doubting their own itrength, were glorious as was that of his Colleague; glad to make submission. But Lariffs that though purchased with harder service, rewas chief of the Country, flood out: not regarding any terrible threets of the King that lay before the wals with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For M. Eabius, a Roman Propuator, did tend help thither. Likewile Philip of Macedon profelled himfelf lately fent Emballadors to Rome, making enemy unto Antochus, whereby the fame of offer to come each of them in person with all the succour coming to Lavissa, grew such, as his forces into Atolia, there to affift the wrought more than the fuccour could have Conful in this War. Ptolomy fent also gold done, had it arrived. For Antiochus percei- and filver, toward the defraying of charving many fires on the Mountain tops afar ges; as one that meant none other than good off ; thought that a great Army of Romans earnest. But he was two young and dwelt and Aucedonians had been coming upon too far off. So his money was returned unhim. Therefore excuting himfelf by the to him with thanks; and his loving offerss time of the year; He brake up his fiege, and lovingly refused. Unto Philips Embassadors, marched away to Chalis. At Chales he fell answer was made, that this his friendly in love with a young Maiden, daughter un-offer was gratefully accepted: and that the to a Chizenof the Town; whom, without Senate and People of Rome would think regard of the much disproportion that was themselves beholding to him, for the affibetween them, both in years and fortune, He stance that he should give to Acilius the shortly married; and so spent the winter Conful. Masanifalikewise, and the Carthafollowingss delightfully as he could, without thinking upon the war in hand. His be most forward in gratifying the Romans. great men and Captains followed his exam-ple; & the fouldiers as readily imitated their grain; which they would fend partly to Captains : in such wise, that when he took the Rome , partly to the Army in Greece. And field, he might evidently perceive in what herein Mafanissa far out-went the poor City loose manner of discipline his army had passed of Garthagesas also in that he offered to lend the winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman the Conful five hundred horse, and twenty him to reclaim them from this loofnels of nuotialRevels, by fetting them to harder exercise. M. Acilius was cholen Conful with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The war against Antiochus was no way so honourable, as Nasica, his Colgreat Nobility of his Family, had been long accepted, with condidion that they should fince, in time of the Punick War, Crow- be contented to receive the price of it. ned with the title of The best man in Rome: when the Senate for very fear and superstiti- that began with such noise and preparation, durit not have to pronounced him, had ons, were bridly credible : were not the they not to thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, that none other man than man and the Afrique Souldier. Antiochus had the very beit, thould entertain on old ftone, gotten this Spring a few Towns of Acarwhich the Devil then taught them to call nania, after the same manner as he had pre-The Mother of the Gods. But no prerogative of vailed in other parts of Greece; partly by

they went in hand with Tkeffaly; about which P. Scipio was therefore appointed to make they had before disputed. There when they war against the Bojians, wherein he purquiring the more ability in matter of War. But M. Acilius went over into Greece, with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and fifteen Elephants. Ptolomy King of Egypt, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King Antiochus ; and Philip King of Maccdon; had Conful, shall meet him very shortly, and help Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians undertook to fee out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-mony which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly penfell to him by lot; whereas otherwise, He flons. But the Romans did neither think it good, to let them arm a Fleet : nor would let league : unto whom tell a charge, of far less them redeem themselves out of Tribute, by credit and importance. Nasica, besides the paying all at once. As for the Corn, it was

The halty and ridiculous iffue of this War, difference exceeding great between the Ro-Birth, Vertue or good opinion, gave such ad- fair words, and treason of the rulers: partly by vantagero the better man, as to make choice terrour, that was like to prove their excule of his own Province: or arrogate more un when they should again for fake him. But King to himself; than his lor should afford him. Philip and Bebius having recovered many plan This unpartial distribution of employments. cess the Roman Conful being arrived, against helped well to maintain prace and concord whom none made resistance; he was glad

to withdraw himself. Aminander fled out of Butthere was great difference between Leohis Athamania : which the Macedonian nidas and Antiochus. The former of thele. took and enjoyed; as in recompence of his with an handfull of men, defended this pafprisoner to Rome. The The falians used much do great mir the and effect what he hited friends, than they had done in yielding to the fafety and the piace, when he was chargthe King. All their Cities one after another, ed by not say white than he had in his gave up themselves : the Garrisons of Antio- own Army. There whilest he lay, He sent ches, compounding only for their own earnest messengers one after another to the lives, and departing unarmed : yet fo, that Atolians, entreating them not to forfake him a thousand of them stayed behind, and took hus : but at least wise now to help, and pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully keep the tops of the mountains, left the Roperplex Antiochus; who having withdrawn mans, finding any by-path, should come himself to Chaleis, and hearing how things down upon him. By this opportunity, he got went, cryed out upon his friends : and faid, of them two thouland, that undertook to That they had betrayed him. He had taken make good the few passages: by which only. a great deal of toyl during one half of a and not without extreme difficulty, it was winter, and spent the other half in such possible for the Enemy to ascend. The Roman Nuptials, as were little to his honour : after Conful in like fort prepared to force the which, in time of need, he found all the Scraights; without staying to expect King promises of the Atolians meerly verbal; and Philip: that was hindred by sickness from himself reduced into terms of great extre accompanying him. He had with him M. Pormity. He therefore admired Hannibal as cius Cato, and L. Valerius Flaccus, that had a wife man, yea, a very Prophet, that had both of them been Confuls. These he sent foreseen all this long before. Nevertheles, forth by night with two thousand men, to he fent word to the Ætolians, that they try wheth t by any means they could get up should now make ready all their forces: as to the Atolians. He himself encouraged confidering their own need to be no less than his Army; not only by telling them with his. But the Etolians had cause to think, that what bate conditioned enemies they had to they themselves were shamefull disappoint- deal : but what rich Kingdoms Antiochus ed by Antiochus; who having promifed to do held, that thould bountifully reward them great wonders, was in all this while fe- if they were victors. This was on the day beconded by no greater numbers out of Asia, fore the battel. All that night Cato had a than fo many as would fill up the same ten fore journey (for what happened unto L. Vathousand which he first brought over. Yet leriss it is uncertain, save only that he failed came there some of them, though fewer than in his intent ) and so much the worse, for have made all the Nation take Arms. Since whilfthe, being a very able man of body, tacte in annuel on the lame path till toward break been spoken enough \* betore, upon many of day. It was a place not haunted, because in unless they could win this difficult entrance. ed, though it were the best; yet did it lead

good service to the Romans. Philip the bro- sage two or three daies together, against a ther of Aminanders wife, was taken by the world of men coming to invade the Coun-Conful; made a mocking-stock, and sent away try. The laster I wing taken upon him to more diligence in returning to their old himself in the commit himself unto at any time before, which joyned with him. that he had no skilful guide. Seeing there-Hereat the King was angry: and could get fore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbno better fatisfaction, than that Those and ing up fteepy Rocks, and crooked waies: He his fellows had done their best in vain, to commanded them to repose themselves ; therefore neither his own men came over to took in hand the discovery, accompanied him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greece with no more than one of like metal to himwould appear in this time of danger : He felf. After a great deal of trouble, he found seized upon the Straights of Thermopyle, at length a path : which he took to be, as as meaning to defend them against the Ro- indeed it was, the best way leading unto the mans, until more help should come. Of Enemies. So thither he brought his men; the Straights of Thermopyle, there hath and held on the same path till toward break occasions and then chiefly, when they were time of peace, there was a fair way thorow defended by Leonidas against the huge Ar- the Straights below, that required no such my of Xerxes. Wherefore it may easily be trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance conceived, how the Romans, that landed of the Thermopyla been so often the Seat of about Apollonia, and so came onwards into War, as might cause any travellers to search The fally, were unable to pass that Ledge of out the passages of those desolate Moun-Mountains, dividing the one half of Greece ; tains. Wherefore the way that Cato follow-Tttttt 2

him to a bog at the end, which would fuf- at the same time. Each of them plied his for him to pass no further. So he stayd there work hard; especially Philip, who tain would until day light : by which he di covered have taken Lamia before the Conful should both the Camp of the Greeks underneath come to help him. But it could not be. For him; and tome of t' stolians very near his Maceaonians that used to work by Myne. unto him, that were seasons a stob. Her here- were over-much hindered by the flony fore forth a dry de of men, ground. Yet was Lamia even ready to be whom he thoughteft for the sice of taken, when the Contul, having won Heraand willed the fome prifoner thereby understood, that these Etolians that had fought at Thermopyle. Herewith were no more than fix hundred; as also that Philip must be contented; and therefore King Antiochus lay beneath in the Valley. So went his way quietly. But Acilius, that could he presently set upon the Atolians, over- so ill endure to see Philip in likelihood of threw them, flew a great part of them, and thriving by the Romans victory, got not Lachased the rest, that by slying to their Camp, mia himselt : until such time as another Conguided himunto it. The fight was already ful was ready to ease him of his charge. begun between the Armies below : and the The loss of H. racles did so affright the Romans, that had easily repelled the Kings Atolians, that they thought no way fafer men, and driven them into their Camp, found than to defire peace. Yet had they fent unto it, in a manner, a del perate piece of work to King Antiochus presently after his flight : inassault the Camp it self, which occupied the treating him not to forsake them utterly, but to Alia.

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him clea, came thither, and told thilip, that the this was effected: dhe spoil of these Towns was a reward unto those

whole breadth of the Straights, was nota- either to return with all those forces which bly fortified; and not only defended by An- he had purposed to bring into Greece; or if tiochus his long Pikes, which were best at any thing with held him from coming in that kind of fervice; but by Archers and person, at leastwife to help them with mony Slingers that were placed over them on and other aid. They prayed him to confithe Hill-side, and powred down ashowr of der, that this did not only concern him in weapons on their heads. But Caso his ap-honour; but appertained unto his own fafproach determined the matter. It was ty: fince it would be much to his hurt, if the thought, at first, that the Atolians had been Etolians being wholly subdued , the Recoming to help the Kings men: but when mans, without any enemies at their backs, the Roman Arms and Enligns were discover- might set upon him in Asia. He considered ed, such was the terrour, that none made of- well of this, and found their words true. fer direfiftance; but all of them forsook the Therefore he delivered unto Nicander, one Camp, and fled. The flaughter was not great: of their Embassadors, a summ of mony, that for that the badness of the way did hinder might ferve to defray the charges of the the Roman Army from making pursuit. Yet War : promising that ere long he would fend this dates loss drave Antiochus out of Greece, them strong aid, both by Land and Sea. who directly fled to Chalcis; and from thence Thoss, another of their Fmbaffadors, He rewith the first opportunity, got him back in- tained with him; who willingly stayed, that he might urge the King to make his All the Cities that had imbraced the wordgood. But when Heraclea was taken friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith from them; then did the Etolians lay aside to entertain the Romans, and entreat for par- all hope of amending their fortune by the don : fetting open their gates; and present- help of Antiochun; and made suit unto the ing themselves unto the Consul, in manner Consul to obtain peace, upon any reasonable of suppliants. Briefly, in few daies all was condition. The Consul would scarce vouchrecovered that Antiochus had gained: the safeto give them audience, but said, Hehad Etolians only standing out, because they other business in hand; only he granted them knewnot what else to do. Neither did the ten daies of Truce, and fent L. Valerius Consul give them any respite. At his return Flaccus with them to Hypata, willing them from Chalcu, he met with King Philip, that to make him acquainted with as much as having recovered health, came to joyn with they would have delivered unto himself. At him against Antiochus: over whom, since the their coming to Hypata, rhey began, as men victory was already gotten, He did gratulate favouring their own cause, to alledge how unto the Romans their good success; and of-fered to take part with them in the Etolian Whereto Flacess would not hearken. He War. So it was agreed, That the Conful rold them plainly, That the memory of such should besiege Heraclea; and Philip Lamia; good offices past, was quite obliterated by

the malice which they had shewed of late. | need of him in the continuance of this War; Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge He was defired to fet upon the Athamanians. their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better and some other petty Nations their borthey thought to do so even betimes, than to derers, whilst the Contul was busine with flay till they were reduced unto terms of the Ætolians; taking for his reward, all that more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to he could get. And he got in that space all commit themselves unto the faith of the Ro- Athamania, Perrhabia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. mans; and to that effect fent Embassadors For the Atolians hearing what had betallen to the Conful. This phrase of committing their Embassadors, were to enraged, That unto the faith, fignified, in their use of it, although they were very ill provided for little else than the acknowledgement of a War, yet they could not endure to hear fault done, and the craving of pardon. But more talk of Peace. And it happened, that the Romans used those words in another Nicander about the same time was come back fense; and counted them all one, as \* yielding trom Antiochus, with mony and hopeful proto discretion. Wherefore when the Contui m fes : the Komans abiding that about Heraheard them speak in this manner : He asked clea, and Philip having lately risen from bethem whether their meaning were agreeable fore Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. to their words. They answered that it was : His mony Nicander conveighed into Lamia. and shewed him the decree of their Nation, by very unutual dexterity. But he himself lately made to this purpose. Then, said he, being to pass further to the Assembly of the I command you first of all, That none of Atolians, there to make roort of his Emyou presume to go into Asia, upon any busi- bassage; was very much perplexed about ness, private or publick : then, That ye de- this his journey , which lay between the Roliver up unto me Dicearchus the Etolian, man and Macedonian Camps. Yet he made Menefiratus the Epirot, Aminander the Athatithe adventure : and keeping as far as he manian, and fuch of his Countrimen as have could from the Roman fide, fell upon a Stafollowed him in revolting from us. Whilest tion of Macedonians; by whom he was tadour interrupted him ; and prayed him not no good : but either to be delivered unto

he was yet speaking ; Phameas the Embassa- ken, and led unto their King. He expected tomistake the custome of the Greeks, who the Romans, or used ill enough by Philip. But had yielded themselves unto his faith; not it seems, that the Kinghad not his hereoconunto flavery. What? (faid the Conful) Doye cocked well the indignity of his being tent fland to plead Custome with me, being now at away from Lamia. For he commanded his my discretion? Bring bither a chain. With servants to entreat Nicander friendly: and he that, chains were brought; and an Iron himself being then at supper, did visit him as collar, by his appointment, fitted unto every foon as he rose up : giving him to underone of their necks. This did so affright them, stand, Thar the Atolians did now reap the that they flood dumb, and knew not what fruits of their own madness; for as for a finite as to fay. But Valerius and some others en- they could never hold themselves contentreated the Consul, not to deal thus hardly ted, but would needs be calling strangers inwith them, fince they came as Embassadors; to Greece. They had pleased themselves well, though fince, their condition was altered. in their acquaintance first with the Romans, Phames also spake for himself ; and faid , and then with King Antiochus : but himself, That neither he, nor yet the Apoclets or or- being their neighbour, they could never well dinary Councel for the Nation, were able endure. It was now therefore, he faid, high to fulfill these injunctions; without appro- time for them to have regard unto his bation of the general Assembly. For which friendship, whereof hitherto they never cause he entreated yet further ten daies re- made any tryal : for surely their good afspite; and had granted unto him Truce for fection, one unto the other, would be much more available unto each of them, than their This surceasance of War, during ten, and mutual catching of advantages; whereby other ten daies together, began prefently af- they had wrought them elves much displeater the taking of Heraclea; when Philip had fure. Thus much the King willed Nicandor been commanded away from Lamia, that to fignificanto his Countrimen; and privateelse he might have won. Now because of the ly to hold in mind the courtese which he indignity herein offered unto that King, then did him, in fending him fafe home. So and to the end that he might not return giving him aConvoy to guard him to Hypata, home with his Army, like one that could not he lovingly difmiffed him. For this benefit, be trusted in employment : especially the Nicander was alwaies after dutifully assect-Romans being like hereafter to have further ed to the Crown of Macedon: fo as in the

war of Perfeus he made himself suspected un- | driven out of his own Kingdom by Philip; to the Romans, and therefore was had away then did the Governour of Zacquibus offer to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the Conful understood, that the Etolicus refused to make their submission, in this: but plainly told them, That the Refuch wi'e as he required it : he forthwith mans would be their own Carvers, and take meant to profecute the war against them, what they thought good, of the Lands bewithout any longer forbearance. They were longing to their Enemies; as a reward of the preparing to make head against him at Naupattus: whither he therefore directly march | bootless to dispute. Wherefore the Acheans ed, to try what they could or durft. The refered themselves unto his discretion. So fiege of Naupactus was of greater length, than he told them, that their Commonwealth was the Romans had preconceived it : for it was like a Tortoile, whereof Peloponelus was the a strong City, and well manned. But Acilius shell: and that, holding themselves within fleod upon point of honour; wherein he that compais, they were out of danger; but thought that he should have been a loser by if they would needs be looking abroad, they rifing from before it without Victory. So should lie open to blows, which might he stayd there well-near all the following greatly hurt them. Having fettled things time of his Consulfhip; whilest the Macedomian King and the Acheans, made far better pall us: where Glabrio the Conful had lain use of the Roman Victory. Philip, as is said two months, that might have been far better before, being allowed to take in fuch places fpent. There, whether out of compassion as had revolted unto Antiochus, and were which he had upon the Etolians, or out of not hit her to reclaimed, won the strong City diffike of King Philips thriving so fast : he of Demetrise, and with an hafty course of Vi- perswaded the Consul to grant unto the bectory, subdued the Athamanians and others, sieged, and to the whole Nation, so long The Acheans called to account the Eleans truce, that they might fend Embaffadors to and Messenians: which had long been ad- Rome; and submitted themselves, crave pardicted to the Etolian fide; and followed it, don of the Senate. Most like it is, that Nauin taking part with Antiochus. The Eleans pattus was in great danger : else would not gave good words; whereby they faved the Etolians have made fuch earnest fuit as themselves from trouble a while. The Mef they did unto Tites, for procuring of this fafenians being more flout, before they were vour. But if Giabrio had been fure to carry invaded, had none other help when the it in any thort (pace, it may well be thought Achean Prætor wasted their Country, than he would not have gone away without it; to offer themselves unto the Romans. Titus fince the winning of that Town, wherein was was then at Corinth: to whom they fent then the whole flower of the Nation, would word. That at his Commandment their gates have made the promifed submission much should be opened; but that unto the Ache- more humble and sincere. When they came ans it was not their meaning to yield A mel- unto Rome, no entreaty could help them to fuffice to call home the Army, and finish the That either they should wholly submit themthe fame Titus, caused the Messenians to an- else pay a thousand talents, and make neither it well, that either they or any other (hould flould give themselves away unto discretion; part of his defire. They had lately bought the | as enemies, after long and vain attendance. Iffe of Zacynthus; which had once been Whilest the Etolians were pursuing thier Philips, and was afterward given by him to hopes of peace, the Conful had little to do in Aminander, who fent a Governour thither. Greece, and therefore took upon him gravely

o fell the Island to the Acheans; whom he ound ready Chapman. Titus liked not of victory which they had obtained. It was thus in Pelopone fus , he went over to Naufage from Titus to the Achean Prator, did better Condition, than one of these two; War: as also the peremptory Command of selves to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or nex themselves unto the Acheans, and become peace nor war with any ; further than as the part of their Common-weal. Such was now Romans should give approbation. They had the Majesty of a Roman Embassador. Titus not so much mony : neither could they well did favour the Acheans; yet could not like hope to be gently dealt withall, if they take too much upon them. He thought it which, what it fignified, they now underenough, that they oad their liberty, and were stood. Wherefore they defired to have it strong enough to defend it against any of set down, in what points, and how far forth their neighbours. That they should make they should yield unto the good pleasure of themselves great Lords, and able to dispute the Senate. But hereof they could get no with the Romans upon even terms, it was no certain answer : so that they were dismiffed

But when Aminander in this present war, was to set things in order among the tractable Acheans. fore the banished Lacedamonians home into him try the chance of a battel for his Kingtheir Country ; and to take the Eleans into dom. the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the Acheans liked well enough : but they did not like it, that the Romans should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they Lucius Scipio, baving with him Publius the deferred the restitution of the banished Laredemonians : intending to make it an Act of their own meer grace. As for the Eleans, they were loth to be beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Acheans: into whole Corporation they were defirous tobe admitted, and faw that they should have their defire, without fuch compulfive mediation.

The Roman Admiral C. Livius, much about the same time, fought a battel at Sea with Polyxenidas, Admiral to the King Antiochus. King Eumenes brought help to the Romans, though it was not great : and five and twenty fail of Rhodians came after the battel, when they were following the Chase. The Kings Fleet was the better of fail, hut that of the Romans the better manned. Where fore Polyxenidas being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as foon as he be-

took himself to a speedy retrait.

Achsans. He would have had them to re- the Romans would foon be there, and make

### «. VIII.

African his elder Erother , for his Lieutenant, is fent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Mielians, that fo be might at leisure passinto Alia. Ainch troublesome bufines by sea, and diversfights. An invasion upon Eumenes his Kingdom; with the flees of Pergamus, raifed by an handfull of the Acheans. L. Serpio the Conful comes into Alia : where Antiochus most carnelly defireth peace, and is denyed it. The battel of Magnelia: wherein Antiochus heing vanquiffed, yieldeth to the Romans good pleafore. The conditions of the peace. In what fort the Romans wied their victory. L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous triumph over Antiochus, is surnamed The Affatique, as his brother was fliled The African.

Veius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of P. Scipio the African, was chosen Consul And such end had the first years war be- at Rome with C. Lalius, Lalius was very gratween King Antiochus and the Komans. After cious in the Senate : and therefore being this, as many of the Greeks as had followed defirous ( as generally all Confuls were ) the vain hopes of the Etolians were glad to of the more honourable employment, offerexcuse themselves by fear ; thinking them - ed to refer to the arbitrement of the Senate. felves happy when by Embassadours they if L. Cornelius would be so pleased, the dishad obtained pardon. On the contrary polition of their Provinces; without putting fide, Philip of Macedon, Arch-enemy of late it to the hazzard of a Lottery. Lucius having unto the Romans, did now fend to gratulate talked with his brother Publius, approved this their victory: and, in recompence of his well of the motion. Such a question had not good affection, had restored unto him De- of long time been put unto the Fathers; who metrius his younger Son; whom some few therefore were the more delirous to make years they had kept as an hostage. Also an unblameable Decree. But the matter be-King Prolomy of Egypt , gratulating the Ro- ing otherwise somewhat indifferent, P. Scipio man Victory, fent word how greatly all Afia the African find openly thus much, That if and Spria were thereby terrified. In which the Senate would appoint his brother to the regardhe desired the Senate notto foreslow war against Antiochus, He himself would time; but to fend an Army, as foon as might follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutebe, into Afa: promiting, that his affiftance, nant. There words were heard with such wherein loever it pleased them to use it, approbation, that the Controversie was should not be wanting. This Ptolomy was the forth with at an end. For if Antiochus relyed Son-in-law of King Antiochus: but he was upon Hannibal, and should happen to be dithe friend of fortune. He understand long rected wholly by that great Captain, what before, as did all that were indifferent be- better man could they oppose than Scipio: holders of the contention, that the Romans that had been victorious against that same were like to have the upper hand. The same great Worthy? But indeed a worser man did Antiochus now begin to suspect, who had might have served well enough the turn. For thought himself a while as sate at Ephesia, as Hannibal had no absolute command, nor if he had been in another world: but was | fearce any truft of great importance: excepttold by Hannibal, That it was not fo far out ing now and then in consultation; where his of Greece into Asia, as out of Italy into wisdome was much approved, but his liberty Greece, and that there was no doubt but and high spirit as much disliked. It is wor-

that he used in his censures, even whilest he meaning defic it. This was glactly taken. But lived in such a Court. Antiochus mustered many messages passing to and fro: though his Army in presence of this famous Captain: Publius continued to put them in good hone: thinking, as may feem, to have made him yet the Conful made trill the fame answer. with, that he had been ferved by such brave with which they had been chailed from Rome. men in Italy. For they were gallantly decked, The Conclusion was, That they should me Both Men, Harfes, and Elephants, with such for a longer time of respite from war: wherecostiv turniture of gold filver, and purple, as by at more leifure they might attend some glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun- better disposition of the Senate; or any helpthine day. Whereupon the King, well pleafing ful commodity which time should afford, So him elf with that goodly spectacle, asked they obtained halfe a years truce : after Hannibal what he thought; and whether all which, the winter was like to afford them the were not enough for the Romans, another half years leifure of breathing. E lough ( faid Hannibal ) were the Romans the Hereof were they not more glad, than was most covetous men in all the world : meaning P. Scipio : who thought all time lost, which that all this cott upon the backs of cowardly with held the War from paffing over into Assignes, was no better than a spoil to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is easie to guess. The aside, and the old Consul Glabrio fent home little use that he made of this Carthaginian , into Italy, the Scipio's marched into theffaly; testifies that his dislike of the man, caused intending thence to take their way by Land, him to lose the use of his service, when he through Macedon and Ihrace unto the Hellesstood in greatest necessity thereof.

all retired. The Atheman Emballadors had to Alia. dealt with P. Scipio, in behalf or the Etolians: Much was done at Sea in the beginning of entreating him to stand their triend, and this year; though, for the most part, little help them in obtaining some tolerable con- of importance. Polyxenidas, the Admiral of dition of peace. He gave them gentle words, Antiochus, was a banished Rhodian : true to

the of remembrance, as a fign of the freedom that they should faithfully, and with true

The business of Atolia being thus laid pont. Yet they confidered, that hereby they The Scipio's made all hafte away from must commit themselves unto the loyalty of Rome as 100 as they could. They carried King Philip : who might either do them with them, besides other Souldiers newly some mischief by the way, if he were dispoprest to the war, about five thousand Volun- sed to watch a notable advantage: or at the taries, that had ferved under P. Africanse, least, would he be unfaithful; though he were There was also a Fleet of thirty Quinquereme not so couragious, yet might he take such Gallies, and twenty Triremes newly built, ap-order with the Thracians, that even for pointed unto L. Emilius Regillus, that was want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenichosen Admiral the same year for that voy- ence, they should be disgracefully forced to age. At their coming into Greece, they found return. He had promifed them theutmost the old Consul Glabrio besieging Amphysia a of his furtherance: wherein , whether he City of the Atolians. The Atolians after meant fincerely, they thought to make some that they were denyed peace, had expected tryal; by causing a Gentleman to ride Post him once again at Nanpactus. Wherefore unto him, and observe his doings as he should they not only fortified that Town but kept take him on the sudden. The King was merall the passages thereto leading; which heed ry at a fest, and drinking when the Messenlefly, as in a time of confusion, they had ger came: whom he lovingly bade welleft unregarded the last year. Glabrio know- come; and shewed him the next day, not ing this, deceived their expectation, and fell only what provision of victuals he had made upon Lamia: which being not long fince for the Army, but how he had made bridges much weakened by Philip, and now by him over the Rivers, and mended the bad waves attempted on the sudden; was carried at by which they were to pass. With these the second affault. Thence went he to Am- good news Gracehus returned back in haste physia: which he had almost gotten, when unto the Scipie's: who entring into Macethe stripe, his fuccefior, came with thirteen don, found all things in a readines, that thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and might help to advance their journey. The took charge of the Army. The Town of Am- King entertained them royally, and brought physia was presently forfaken by the Inhabi- them on their way, even to the Hellespont: tants : but they had a Castle, or higher where they stayed a good while, until their Town, that was impregnable; whereintothey Navy was in readiness to transport them in-

and willed them to perswade the Atolians, the King and desirous of revenge upon his

hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos nothing : for that one while they were hinthe Romans and Fumenes having not as yet dred by ftorms at Sea 5, and another while put to Sea, thought to do somewhat upon by strong resistance made against them ar. those that were so early in their diligence. Land. before their fellows should arrive to help them. Yet went he craftily to work, and for sake them; and return home to the defent word, as in great secrecy, to the Rhodian sence of his own Kingdom. For Antiochus Admiral, That if the fentence of his banish wasted all the grounds about Fleu and Perment might be repealed, He would, in required thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. Hegetheroyal City of Pergama, did with After many passages to and fro, this was the rest of his Army spoil the whole Counbelieved : and the Rhodian Admiral grew fo ry thereabout. Attalus the brother of careless, expecting still when he should re- King Eumenes, was then in Pergamus; having ceive a watch-word from Polixenidas that with him no better men to defend the City, he himself was taken by Polixenidus in his than were they that lay against it. Whereown Haven. The Kings Fleet fetting forth fore he had reason to stand in fear; being too from Ephesis by night; and for fear of being much inferior in number. There came to his discovered, resting one day in harbour aid a thousand foot, and an hundred horse of by the way, came the second night to Samos : the Acheans : old souldiers all, and trained up where, by morning it was ready to enter under Philopamen, whose Scholar, in the art the Haven. Pauliftratus the Rhodian Admi- of war, Diophanes their commander was. This ral feeing this, thought it his best way of re- Diephanes beholding from the walls of Perfistance to bestow his men on the two head- games, which was an high Town, the demealands or points of the Haven; fo to guard nour of the enemy; began to disdain that the mouth of it : for that he faw no likeli- fuch men as they should hold them besieged. hood of defending himself by Sea. But Polyx- For Scleneus his Army which was encamped enidas had already landed some Companies at the hill foot, seeing that none durst fally in another part of the Island : which falling forth upon them, grew so careless : as otherupon the back of Faulifratus, compelled him wife than by (poiling all behind their backs. to alter his directions, and command, his they feemed to forget that they were in an men aboord. This could not be without enemies Country. Diophanes therefore spake great confusion: so as the enemies took him with Att lus: and told him that he would go out of all order, and funk or boorded all his forth to vefit them. Attalus had no liking to Navy, five excepted, that by a sudden de this adventure; for he said, that the match vice made shift to escape. Each of them hung was nothing equal. But the Achean would out a burning Crefcent upon two poles, at needs have his will: & iffuing forth encamped the Beak-head; and then rowed forwards not far from the enemy. They of Pergamus directly upon the enemy: who having not thought him little better than mad. As for bethought himself what shift to make against the beliegers; they wondred at first what his fuch unexpected danger of firing, was con- meaning was: but when they faw that he held tent to give way unto these desperate Gal himself quiet, they made a jest of his boldness; lies; for fear left they should burn, together and laughed to see with what an handfull of with themselves, a part of the Kings men he looked so stoutly. So they returned Fleet.

from place to place, attempting many things, the Town, men and women, to behold this as either they were entreated by the Rhodi- (pectacle) were very joyfull; and highly

Country men, that had expelled him. He, of doing good. Yet performed they little or

unto their former negligence and diforders. Not long after this, the Romans had some Which Diophanes perceiving, He commanded loss by tempest: whereof Polyxenidas could all his men to follow him, even as fast as they not take such advantage as he had hoped; well might: and he himself, with the hundred because, putting to Sea for that purpose, horse, brake out on the sudden upon the stati-he was driven back again by the like foul on that was next at hand. Very sew of the weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that enemies had their horses ready sadled, but they were not discouraged, set forth twenty more few, or none had the hearts to make other Gallies : the Romans also with King resistance: so as he drave them all out of their Eumenes, repaired their fleet; and all of them Campi chased them as far as he might safetogether, in great bravery presented battel ly adventure with great slaughter of them, to Polyxenidas before the Haven of Ephelias, and no loss to his own. Hereat all the Citizens When he durst not accept it : they went of Pergamus (who had covered the walls of ans, or perswaded by some appearing hopes magnified the vertue of these Achains. Yet

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great deal of travel, brought almost nothing mans and their fellows lost only two or to pass. He had been at Pergamus : into three ships : but got hereby the absolute Mawhich Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did stery of the Sea. put himself with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before Pergamus he left his to have taken from Antiochas all use of reafon, as before hath been shewed, and went son. For as if no hope had been remaining to Elea: whither he heard that Emyline the to defend those places that he held in Europe, Roman Admiral was come to bring succour he presently with-drew his Garrisons from to Eumenes. There he made an Overture of Lyfimachia: which might eafily have been peace: about which to consult, Eumenes was kept even till the end of Winter following,& fent for by Emplius, and came from Pergamus. having reduced the besiegers (if the siege But when it was considered, that no con- had been continued obstinately) unto terms clusion could be made without the Conful: of great extremity, He also gave over the this Treaty brake off. Then followed the fiege of Colopbon: and laying a fide all thought overthrow newly mentioned, which caused save only of defence, drew together seleness to give over the siege of Perga- all his Army; and sent for help to his any worth or note were taken by the King : docian. and the Syrian Fleet, being of feven and Thus the Roman Conful, without impethirty Sail, was beaten by the Rhodian diment, not only came to the Hellesson, but which was of like number. But of this vihad yieled unto him all places there, bectory the Rhodians had no great cause to re- longing to Anticohus on Europe side. The Fleet joyce : for that Hannibal the Carthaginian, was also then in a readiness to transport him who, together with Apollonius a Courtier of over into Asia: where Eumenes had taken Antiochus, was Admiral of the syrians, did fuch care before, that he landed quietly at them in a maner as great hurt as they could his own good eafe; even as if the Country

of war might have cut all their throats, even and was thereby in greater danger of being as they were tipling in their victualling hou- flemmed. After no long fight, the Kings fes ; which Philopamen faid that he would Navy hoysted fail : and , having a fair have done, had he been General of the Acha- wind, bore away toward Ephesas as fast as ans, and not as he then was, a private man. they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they Antiochus was full of bufiness : and turn- left behind them : whereof thirteen were ing his care from one thing to another, with a taken, all the rest burnt or sunk. The Ro-

The report of this miladventure, may feem mus. Afterwards, four or five Towns of fcarce Father-in-law , King Ariarathes the Cappa-

that came to fue for peace. This Embassa- Peace. dor declared in his Masters name, That the The King was not any whit moved with

had been his already. The first news that he King in my name, That I would advise him to heard of the Enemy, was by an Embaffador refuse no Condition whereby he may have

fame things which had hindered him from his advice. For feeing that the Conful deobtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, manded of him no less than if he had been did now perswade him, that he should easi- already subdued : little reason there was, ly come to good agreement with them. For that he should fear to come to battel; wherein all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lamp- in he could lote, as he thought, no more, lacus, and Lysimachia, had been the places than by seeking to avoid it he must give aabout which they varied. Seeing therefore way. He had with him threefcore and ten the King had now already given over Lyf- thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; machia, and was further purposed not to besides two and fifty Indian Elephants; and Strive with the Romans about Lampfaces and many Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes. Smyrna: what reason was there, why they according to the manner of the Eastern should need to trouble him with War? If it Countrys. Yet was he nothing pleased to was their defire that any other Towns up- hear that the Conful drew near him apace. on the Coalt of Asia, not mentioned by them as one hastening to fight. But how soever he in any former Treaties, should be also set was affected: He made so little show of sear, at liberty, or otherwise delivered into their that hearing P. Scipio to lie sick at Elaa, He hands: the King would not refuse to gra- sent thither unto him his Son without rantifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some as one both defirous to comfort this some part of Asia, so as the bounds dividing noble Warriour in his sickness, and withall them from the King, might not be uncer- not desirous to retain the young Gentleman tain, and it should be quietly put into their for a pledge of his own safety. Thus hands. If all this were not enough, the ought his bounty to be constant. Otherwise King would likewise bear half the Charges it might be suspected that herein he dealt whereat they had been in this War. So craftily. For fince he could have none other praying the Romans to hold themselves con- ransome of Scipio, than such as an honouratented with these good offers, and not to be ble man, that had no great store of wealth, too infolent upon confidence of their for- might pay: better it was to do such a courtune, he expected their answer. These offers telle before the battel, as would afterwards which to the Embassador seemed so great; have been little worth; than to stay until were judged by the Romans to be very little. the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact For they thought it reasonable, that the it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly com-King should bear all the Charges of the War, forted with the Recovery of his Son; so as fince it began through his own fault : and the joy thereof was thought to have been that He should not only depart out of those much available unto his health. In recomfew Towns which he held in Aolis and Io- pence of the Kings humanity, He faid only nia; but quite out of Asia the less, and keep thus much unto those that brought him this himself on the other side of Mount Taurus. acceptable Present, I am now able to make When the Embassador therefore saw that your King none other amends, than by advising no better bargain could be made, He dealt him not to fight until he shall hear that I with P. scipio in private: and to him he pro- am in the Camp. What he meant by this, mised a great quantity of Gold, together it is hard to conjecture. Antiochus resolwith the free restitution of his Son, who ved to follow his Counsel: and therefore (it is uncertain by what mischance) was ta- withdrew himself from about Thyatira. beken prisoner, and most honourably entertai- youd the River of Phrygius or Hyllus, unto ned by the King. Scipio would not hearken Magnesis by Sypilus : where encamping, he to the offer of Gold: nor otherwife to the fortified himfelf as strongly as he could. Restitution of his Son, than upon condition, Thither followed him L. Scipio the Con-That it might be with making fuch amends ful, and fat down within four miles of for the benefit, as became a private man. As him. About a thouland of the Kings Horle, for the publick business: He only said thus most of them Gallo-Greeks, came to bid much, That fince Antiochus had already for- the Romans welcome : of whom at first faken Lylimachia, and fuffered the War to they flew some; and were anon, with take hold on his own Kingdom; there was some loss, driven back over the River. now none other way for him, than either to Two dayes were quietly spent, whilest neifight, or yield to that which was required ther the King nor the Romans would pass the at his hands. Wherefore, faid he, tell your water. The third day the Romans made

the adventure : wherein they found no di- | were placed there, though fuch help feemsturbance; nor were at all opposed, until ed in a manner needless. Two thousand they came within two miles and an half of Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians. Antiochus his Camp. There as they were were left to guard the Camp. The Conul taking up their lodging, they were charged had with him fixteen African Elephants. by three thousand Horse and Foot : whom which he bestowed in his Rere : forasmuch the ordinary Corps de guarde repelled. Four as had they come to fight with those of Andayes together after this, each of them tiochus, they only would have served to disbrought forth their Armies; and set them in courage his men; as being sure to be beaorder before the Trenches, without advanten : the Indian being far the greater cing any further. The fifth day the Romans and more couragious Beafts : whereof came half way forward, and prefented bat- Antiochm had likewife much advantage in tel; which the King would not accept. number. Thereupon the Conful took advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon many Nations, diversly appointed, and not whatsoever disadvantage, or else resolve all accustomed to one manner of fight, was to abide by it all Winter, far from any ordered according to the several kinds, in Country of their friends, and therefore sub such wife as each might be of most use. The ject unto many difficulties : unless they main strength of his Foot consisted in sixteen would ftain their honour by returning far thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and back, to Winter in a more convenient called Phalangiers. These he placed in the place; and so defer the War until the next midst, and divided into ten Battalions: eve-Spring. The Roman Souldier was through ry one having two and thirty in File, and ly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. fifty in Front. Between every Battalion Wherefore it was the general Cry, That were two Elephants, goodly Beafts, and this great Army should be assailed, even in such as being adorned with Frontals, high the Camp where it lay: as if rather there Crefts, Towers on their Backs, and bewere so many Beasts to be slaughtered, than sides him that governed the Elephant, four men to be fought with. Yet a day or two men in every Tower, made a gallant and

The fifth Book of the first Part

The Kings Army being compounded of passed, in discovering the Fortifications of terrible shew. On the right hand of these Antiochus, and the fafest way to set upon were fifteen hundred Horse of the Gallehim. All this while P. scipio came not. Greeks: then three thousand Barb'd Horse, Wherefore the King, being loth to dif and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, hearten his men, by seeming to stand in called the Agema, that were all Medians, the fear of the Enemy, resolved to put the choice of the Country, and accompanied matter to trial. So when the Romans took by some others. All which Troops of Horse the field again, and ordered their Battels: divided in their several kinds, do feem to He also did the like; and advanced so far, have followed one another in depth, rather that they might understand his meaning to then to have been stretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto thefe, were fixteen Ele-The Roman Army confifted of four Legi- phants together in one flock. A little furons, two Roman and two Latine: in each ther to the right hand, was the Kings of which were five thousand and four hun own Regiment; called the Argyraspides, or dred men. The Latines, as usually, were in the Silvershields, by a name borrowed from their points; the Roman, in the mean battel. All furniture, but nothing like so valiant as of them, according to their wonted form, those of the same name, that had served unwere divided into Maniples. The Haftati der Great Alexander : then, twelve hunhad the leading: after them followed the dred Archers on Horse-back, three thousand Principes, at such distance as was usual; and light-armed Foot, two thousand & five hunlast of all, the Triaris. Now beside these, there dred Archers of Mysia; with sour thousand were about three thousand Auxiliaries; Slingers and Archers of the Cirtaens, and partly Acheans, and partly fuch as belonged Elymaans. On the left hand of the Phalangito Eumenes: which were placed in an equal ers, were placed the like numbers of Galle-Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Greeks, and Barb'd Horse: as also two thou-Utmost of all ( fave some five hundred Greti- fand Horse that were sent from Ariarathes, ans, and of the Trallians) were almost three with two thousand and seven hundred of thousand Horse : of which, Eumenes had divers Nations: and a Regiment of a thousand brought thither eight hundred ; the rest be- Horsemore lightly armed, that were called ing Roman. The left wing was fenced by the The Kings Troop ; being Syrians, Phrygians, and bank of the River : yet four troops of Horse Lydians. In Front of all these Horse were dians, Cyrteans, Elymeans, and many others, summons yield ed up themselves by Embafhaving also with them fixteen Elephants. Sadours: whom they sent to the Romans, wing : Seleucus in the left : and three of his many days spent, ere Antiochus his Embassaprincipal Captains commanded over the Pha- dour was in the Camp: having none other

ries and armed Chariots: of which the ster. P. Scipio was now come to his Brother, one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the who obtained leave to make the answer. other, to break the Squadrons of the Foot; because it should be gentle. They required Eumenes with a few light-armed Cretians, red no more than they had lately done : Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made which was, That he should quite abandon frustrate the danger threatned by them both. his Dominions on this side Taurus. For For with shoutings, and noises, and some their Charges in that War, they required wounds, they were driven out of the field; fifteen thousand Talents : five hundred in and running back upon their own men, did hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the same harm which they had intended to the Senate and People of Rome should have the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse confirmed the peace; and the other twelve following this advantage, charged upon the thousand in twelve years next ensuing, by left Wing: Whereas they found no refist- even portions. Likewise they demanded ance; some being out of order; others be- four hundred Talents for Eumenes; and some ing without courage. It is shameful to re- store of Corn that was due to him upon a hearfe, and fo strange, that it may hardly reckoning. Now besides twenty Hostages feem credible: that the Phalangiers, with which they required, very earnest they were fuch variety of Auxiliaris, made little or to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and no resistance; but all of them fled, in a Thous the Etolian, with some others, who manner as foon as they were charged. Only had stirred up the King to this War, delithe King, Antiochus himself, being in the vered into their hands. But any wise man left wing of his own Battel: and seeing the might so easily have perceived that it would ly flanked with Horse, gave upon them principal demands; as no great Art was needthe fight. Succour also came from the right Peace. Wing, where the Romans were already vi- There were new Confuls chosen in the dorious: whereof when Antiochus discover- mean while at Rome, M.Fulvius, and Cn.Manfive and twenty.

leneus was gone thither before. He left the Province changed.

the Chariots armed with Hooks or Sythes, cultody of Sardes, and the Castle there, to and the Dromedaries, whereon fate Arabians one whom he thought faithful. But the with long Rapiers, that would ferve to reach Towns-men and Souldiers were fo dimayed from those high Camels. Beyond these were, with the greatness of the Overthrow; that as in the right wing, a rabble of many Na- one mans faith was worth nothing. All the tions, Carians, Cicilians, Pamphilians, Pift Towns in those parts, without expeding Antiochus himself commanded in the right whilest they were on the way. Neither were Errand, than to know what it would please The first onset was given by the Dromeda- the Romans to impose upon the King his Ma-Latines, that flood opposite unto him, weak- be their purpose to make this one of their couragiously, and forced them to retire. ful to beguile their malice. The Kings Em-But M. Emilius, that had the Guard of the baffador had full Commission to refuse no-Roman Camp, iffued forth with all his power thing that should be enjoyned. Wherefore to help his fellows : and what by perswa- there was no more to do, than to send immefion, what by threats, made them renew diately to Rome for the Ratification of the

ed the approach; He not only turned his lim Volfo. The Etolians defired peace, but Horse about, but ran away upon the spur could not obtain it : because they would acwithout further tarriance. The Camp was cept neither of the two Conditions to them defended a little while: and with no great before propounded. Soit was decreed, That valour; though by a great multitude that one of the Confuls should make War upon were fled into it. Antiochus is faid to have the Ætolians ; the other, upon Antiochus in lost in this Battel fifty thousand Foot, and Asia. Now, though shortly there came news four thousand Horse; besides those that that Antiochus was already vanquished in were taken. Of the Romans there were not Battel, and had submitted himself unto all that flain above three hundred Foot, and four could be required at his hands : yet fince the and twenty Horse: of Eumenes his followers State of Alia was not like to be so throughly fettled by one Victory, but that many things Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence might fall out worthy of the Romans care, Ca. to Apamea, the same night; hearing that Se- Manlius, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his

Soon after this, came the Embassadors of King Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others; yea, by King Eumenes in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the business in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King Antiochus, there was no disputation : it was generally approved. All the trouble was about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his own deferts, and comparing himself with Masanissa, hoped that the Romans would be more bountiful to him, than they had been to the Numidian, fince they had found him a King indeed, whereas Masanissa was only such in title; and fince, both he and his Father had alwayes been IVI fame charge divided between them. their friends, even in the worst of the Roman which L. Cornelius Scipio, now stiled Asiaifortune. Yet was there much ado to make cus, had lately undergone. It was found him tell what he would have: He still refer- more than one mans work, to look at once to ring himself to their courteile; and they de- Greice and to Asia. And for this reason was firing him to speak plain. At length he cra- it apparent, that L. Scipio had granted so ved that they would bestow upon him, as long a Truce to the Etolians. But since in much of the Country by them taken from this long Interim of Truce, that haughty little Antiochus, as they had no purpose to keep in Nation had not sought to humble it self to their own hands. Neither thought he it the Roman Majefty, it was now to be brought this. They defired the Senate to be truly Pa- and Athenians to become Intercessors for them as a cause why they thould not be made where they spied advantage. free, after that Philip was overcome. But the main point whereon they intifted, was this, among them, whilst Philip of Macedon kept, That the Victory of the Romans against King for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. Antiochus, was fo great, as eafily might fatif- But the Athamanians ( befides that many of fiethe desires of all their friend. The Senate them bore a natural affection to their own was glad to hear of this; and very bountiful Prince) having been long accustomed to ly gave away to much, that every one had ferve a Mountain Lord, that converfed with caufe to be well-ple afed.

chus : after which, L. Cornelius scipio, re- command, used by the Captains of Philip turning home, had granted unto him the ho- his Garrisons. They sent therefore some nour of a Triumph : the Pomp whereof ex- few of them to their King, and offered their geeded in Riches, not only that of Titus Quin- fervice towards his restitution. At the first the Flamminius, but of any ten that Rome had there were only four of them; neither grew beheld until that day. Now for a much as they, at length, to more than two and fifty, the furname of The African had been given un- which undertook the work. Yet affurance to P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by some that all the rest would follow, made Aminanto reward L. Scopio with the title of The Alia- der willing to try his fortune. He was at tique: which the fortune of his Victory had the borders with a thousand Etolians, upon noiels deserved; though the Vertue requisit the day appointed : at what time his two to the purchass thereof, was no way corre- and fifty Adventurers, having divided themfpondent.

ø. IX.

The Atolians, and the Gallo Greeks, vanquille. ed by the Roman Confuls, Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius bardly obtains a triumb : being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have pulled the bounds anpointed as fatal to the Remans by Sibyl. Of Sibyls Prophecies; the Books of Hermes; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sandto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and faction amone the Roman Nobility.

Arc. Fulvius, and Cn. Manlius had the needful, that they should trouble themselves unto more lowly terms than any other of the with the care of giving Liberty to many of Greeks. The best was, that so great a storm the Greck Towns that were on Asia side. For fell not unexpected upon the Etolians. fince the most of those Towns had been par- They had foreseen the danger, when their takers with the King in his War; it was no Embaffadors were utterly denied peace at reason that they should be Gainers by his Rome: and they had provided the last Reoverthrow. The Rhodians did not like of medy; which was to entreat the Rhodians trons of the Gracian Liberty; and to call to them. Nether were they fo dejected with mind, that no small part of Greece it self had any terrible apprehensions, that they could been subject unto Philip, and served him in not well devise, even upon helping themhis War : which was not alledged against selves by repurchase of Countries lost,

Poor King Aminander lived in exile them after an homely manner; could not Such end had the War against King Antio- endure the proud and insolent manner of selves into four parts, occupied, by the reachief Towns in the Country, to his use. The | der fent his excuses to Rome, praying the Sefame of this godd success at the first; nate not to take it in despight, that he had with divers Letters running from place to recovered his own from Philip with fuch help place, whereby men were exhorted to do as he could get. Neither feems it that the their best in helping forward the Action, Romans were much offended to hear of Phimade the Lieutenants of Philip unable to lip his losses: for of this fault they neither think upon resistance. One of them held were sharp correctors, nor earnest reprothe Town of Theium a few daies; giving vers. Fulvius went in hand with the buthereby some leisure unto his King to pro- lines about which he came, and layed siege vide for the rescue. But when he had done his to Ambracia, a goodly City, that had been best, he was forced thence, and could only the chief seat of Pyrrhus his Kingdom. With tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all this he began, for that it was of too great was loft. Philip had brought from home fix importance to be abandoned by the Atothousand men; of whom, when the greater lians : yet could not by them be relieved. part could not hold out, in such a running unless they would adventure to fight upon march, he left all fave two thousand behind equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it him, and so came to Athenaum, a little Atha- was not in the Atolians power: for they manian Castle, that still was his, as being on were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians a place lying over Argithea, that was chief who invaded the Countries of the Amphilo-

of the History of the World.

gone, as if he meant not to return.

throw, and of M. Fulvius the new Conful his Athens did earnestly solicite. The Atolians

dy affiftance of the multitude, four of the | hafting with an Army into Greece. Aminanthe frontier of Macedon. Thence he feat at Sea, and ready to be driven from their Tene, who had kept Theinma while, to take new Conpuest, by Persen the Son of Philip, of the Country. Zeno did as he was appoint chians and Dolopians. They were unable to ed:yet neither he, nor the King had the bold- deal with so many at once; and therefore as ness to descend upon Argithea; for that they earnestly sought peace with the Romars, as might perceive the Athamanians, all along the hill fides, ready to come down upon the mean while the Athaman and Rhodian them, when they should be busie. Wherefore Embassadors came, who befought the Connothing was thought more honourable than ful to grant them peace. It helped well that a fafe retrait: especially when Aminander Ambracia made strong refistance, and would came in fight with his thousand Atolians. not be terrified by any violence of the Af-The Macedonians were called back from failants, or danger that might feem to wards Argithea, and presently withdrawn threaten. The Consul had no desire to spend by their King towards his own borders. But half his time about one City, and so be diven they were not suffered to depart in quiet at to leave unto his successor the honour of their pleasure. The Athamanians and Atolians finishing the War. Wherefore he gladly way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, hearkened unto the Etolians, and bade that their retrait was in manner of a plain them feek peace with faithful intent, withflight, with great loss of men and arms, out thinking it over-dear, at a reasonable few of those escaping, that were left be price; cosidering with how great a part of hind, as to make a countenance of holding his Kingdome their friend Antiochus had somewhat in the Country, until Philip his made the same purchase. He also gave leave to Aminander, offering his service as a Me-The Ætolians having found the business diatour, to put himself into Ambracia, and of Athamania so easie, made an attempt in try what good his perswasions might do with their own behalf, upon the Amphilochians the Citizens. So after many demands and and Aperantians. These had belonged unto excuses, the conclusion was such as was their Nation, and were lately taken by Phi-lip; from whom they diligently revolted, able. The fame Embassadours of the Atheand became Ætolians again. The Dolopians nians and Rhodians, accompanied those of lay next; that had been ever belonging to the Ætolians to Rome, for procuring the the Maccdonian, and so did still purpose to confirmation of Peace. Their cloquence continue. These took Arms at first : but soon and credit was the more needful in this inlaid them away; feeing their neighbours tercession, for that Philip had made a very ready to fight with them in the Ætolian grieveous complaint about the loss of those quarrel, and seeing their own King so hastily Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take Of these Victories the joy was the less ; notice ; thoughit did not hinder the peace, for that news came of Antioches his last over- which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and

were bound to uphold the Majesty of the I themselves unto the high Mountains of people of Rome, and to observe divers Olympus and Margana. These Mountains Articles, which made them the less free, and were exceeding hard of ascent, though none more chnoxious to the Romans, than any should undertake the custody. Bring people of Greece; they having been the first cherefore well manned and victualled for that called these their Masters into the a long time; as also the natural strength Country. The Ille of Cephalenia was taken being helpt by fuch fortification as profrom them by the Romans: who kept it for mifed greatest affurance: it was thought. themselves (as not long lince they had gotten that the Consul would either forbear the at-Quently from the Ackeuns, by stiffly pref- tempt of forcing them, or easily be repelled: ting their own right ) that so they might and that finally, when he had staved there have possession along the Coast of Greece, a while, winter, and much want, should while It they (cemed to forbear the Country. force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed But concerning those places, whereto Phi oot. For whereas the Gallo-Greeks had lip, or others may lay claim, there was fet been careless of furnishing themselves with down an order to perplexed, as would ne- casting weapons, as if stones would have ceffarily require to have the Romans Judges ferved well enough for that purpose: the of their Controversies, when they thould Romans, who came far otherwise appointed. arife. And hereof good use will be shortly found greater advantage in the difference of made : when want of employment elfe- arms, than impediment in the disadvantage of where, first cause a more Lordly Inquisition ground. Archers and Slingers did easily to be held, upon the affairs of Macedon and prevail against casters of stones; especially Greece.

same time War in Alia, with the Gallo-Greeks having prepared their stones before hand, and others. His Army was the fame that but catching up what lay next, the too great, had tollowed L. Scipio ; of whose victory, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit his acts were the confummation. He visited fize. Finally the Barbarians, wanting dethose Countries on the hither side of Taurus, rensive Arms, could not hold out against the that had scarce heard of the Romans; to Arrows and weapons of the Roman light arwhom they were abandoned by Antiochus. mature : but were driven from a piece of Among these there were some petty Lords ground, which they had undertaken to or Tyrants, fome free Cities, and fome that make good, up into their Camp on the top were together at wars, without regard of of the Mountain; and being forced out of the great alteration that happened in Afia. their Camp, had none other way left, than From ever y of these he got somewhat; and to cast themselves headlong down the steep by their quarrels found occasion to visit Rocks. Few of the men escaped alive: those Provinces, into which he should else all their Wives, Children, and goods, behave wanted an errand. He was even loaden came a prey unto the Romans. In the very with booty, when, having fetcht a compass like manner were the rest of that Nation about Asia, he came at length upon the overcome soon after, at the other Moun-Gallo-Greeks. These had long domineered tain : only more of them saved themselves over the Country: though of late times, it by flight, as having fairer way at their was rather the fame and terrour of their backs. fore-possed acts, than any present vertue of These wars being ended: Fulvius and Mantheirs, which held them up in reputation. lim were apointed by the Senate, each Of the Romans they had lately such trial, of them to retain as Proconsul, his Province when they ferved under King Antiochus, as for another year. Fulvius, in his fecond the worse men. Wherefore they thought it peace to those whom he had vanquished; as no small part of their safety, that they dwelt likewise to Ariarathes the Cappadocian, and upon the River Halys, in an In-land Coun- some others, not by him vanquished, but subtry, where those enemies were not very mitting themselves for fear of the Roman like to fearch them out. But when such Arms. He drew from them all, what prohopes failed; and when some Princes of sithe could; and laid upon them such con-

being fuch as were thefe Gallo-Greeks, nei-Cn. Manlius, the other Conful, had at the ther exercited in that manner of fight, nor

made them to acknowledge themselves far year, did little or nothing. Manlius gave their own Nation, that had been friends of ditions, as he thought expedient. He also did Eumenes, exhorted the rest to yield : then finish the League of peace with Antiochus; was no counsel thought so good, as to for- whereto he swore, and received the Kings fake their houses and Country, and with all oath by Embassadours, whom he sent for that that they could carry or drive, to betake purpole. Finally, having fet in order the matters of Afia, he took his way toward the respect of him. But Eumenes took a surge

choaked the Roman vertue.

moreover to restore unto him all the Greek their handle of Greece.

Hellefoot, loaden with spoil, as carrying way. For the Scipio's had not the disposing with him (besides other treasures) all that of that which they won from Antiochie: as the Gallo-Greeks had in so many years extor- neither indeed had Manlius, nor the ten Deted from the wealthy Provinces that lay legates affilting him; but the Senate of Rome, round about them. Neither did this Army by which those Delegates were chosen, and of Manliso return home rich in money alone, instructed how to proceed. When Philip or cattel, or things of needful use, which therefore faw these upstart Kings of Pergathe Roman Souldier had been wont to take mm, whom he accounted as base companions. as the only good purchase; but furnished advanced so highly, and made greater than with sumptyous Houshold-stuff, and slaves himself: yea, himself unregarded, contemof price, excellent Cooks, and Mulicians, for ned, and exposed to many wrongs: then banquets; and in a word, with the feeds of found he great caufe to with, that he had not that Luxury which finally over-grew and so hastily declared himself against antiochus. or rather that he had joyned with Antiochus The Country of Thrace lay between Helle- and the Ætolians, by whom he might have front and the Kingdom of Macedon, which been freed from his infolent Mafters. But way Manling was to take his journey home- what great argument of such discontentedward. L. Scipio had found no impediment nels, the Macedonian had, we shall very shortamong the Thracians: either for that he paf- ly be urged to discourse more at large. At fed through them, without any fuch booty as the prefent it was believed, that the Thracimight provoke them; or perhaps rather, ans were by him fet on to affail the Romans because Philip of Macedon had taken order, passing through their Country. They knew that the Barbarians should not stir. But when all advantages, and they fell, unexpected, up-Manliss came along with a huge train of on the carriages that were bestowed in the baggage, the Thracians could not fo well midft of the Army, whereof part had alreacontain themselves. Neither was it thought, dy passed a dangerous wood through which that Philip took it otherwise than very plea- the baggage followed; part was not yet so fantly, to have this Roman Army robbed, and far advanced. There was enough to get and well beaten on the way. He had cause to be enough to leave behind: though both the angry, seeing how little himself was regar getting and the saving, did cost many lives, ded, and what great rewards were given to as well of the Barbarians, as of the Romans. Eumenes. For he understood, and afterwards They fought until it grew night : and then gave the Romans to understand, that Eume- the Thracians withdrew themselves not withnes could not have abidden in his own King- out as much of the booty as was to their full dome, if the people of Rome had not made content. And of such trouble there was war in Afia: whereas contrariwife, Antio-more, though less dangerous, before the she had offered unto himself three thou- Army could get out of Thrace into Macedon. fand Talents, and fifty Ships of War, to take Through the Kingdom they had a fair march part with him and the Atolians; promiting into Epirus; and to to Apollonia, which was

Cities, that had been taken from him by the To Maulius, and to Fulvius, when each of Romans. Such being the difference between them returned to the City, was granted the him and Eumenes, when the War began : He honour of Triumph. Yet not without contrathought it no even dealing of the Romans, diction: especially to Manlius, whom some after their victory, to give away not only the of the ten Delegates appointed to affift him. half of Afia, but Cherjonejus, and Lyimachia did very bitterly tax as an unworthy Comin Europe, to Eumener; whereas upon him-mander. Touching the rest of their accusafelf they bestowed not any one Town. It tion, it sufficeth that he made good answer. agreed not indeed with his Nobility to go and was approved by the chief of the Senate. to Rome, and beg Provinces in the Senate, as One Clause is worthy of more particular Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. confideration. Reprehending his delire to He had entertained lovingly the two sci- have hindered the peace with Antiochus; pio's, whom he thought the most honourable They said, That with much ado he was kept in the pions with much ado he was kept in the pions with men in Rome; and was grown into near ac- from leading his Army over Taurus, and advenquaintance with Publius, holding corre-turing upon the Calamity threatned by Sibyl's spondence with him by Letters, whereby he Verses, unto those that should pass the Fatal made himself acquainted with the Wars in Bounds. What calamiry or overthrow this Spain and Africk. This perhaps he dee- was, wherewith sibyls Prophecy threatned med sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due the Roman Captain or Army, that should

was the first that marched with an Army be yand those limits: though the Victories of Lucullus had opened unto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a fort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which thought that Seneca, who then lived and Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus his Race, flourished, would have abstained from though Fompey occupied them for the Ro peaking any word of an argument fo famans. But we find not, that either Lucullus or nous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that Pompey fuffered any loss, in presuming to neg this Inscription, Simoni Deo Santto, was, by lect the bounds appointed by sibyl. Indeed some bad Criticisme, taken amis in place the accomplishment of this Prophecy, fell of Semoni Sango: a title four hundred years out near about one time, with the restitu- older than the time of Simon Magus. For tion of Ptolomy King of Egipt, that was for- the Goods of one Vitruoius a Rebel, had bidden unto the Romans by the same Sybil. many Ages before been consecrated Semo-Take D large field of Time, there to take root, and mil-read, Simoni Santio, and that some belief and good authority. But observa- rotten post. Hade Care excellent work of Muster Casaubon upon the from private men in the second Punick Ware

pals over Taurus, I do not conceive. Pompes | nave been quite omitted by Tacitus, by Suetonius, by Dion, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would got have fuffered the matter to escape in filence, had it been true; neither can it be It may therefore feem to have had reference ni Sango, that is, To the Spirit or Demi-god unto the same things that were denounced sangus, in whose Chappel they were beas like to happen upon the reduction of the stowed. So as either by the ill shape of Fgyptian King. Whether the Oracles of the old Roman letters, or by some spoil that Sibil had in them any truth, and were not, time had wrought upon them; it might eaas Tully noteth, fowed at randome in the fily come to pass, that the words should be get credit by event; I will not here dispute. Christian who had heard of Simon Magus, But I hold this more probable, than that the but not of Sangue, thereupon should frame restitution of Ptolomy to his Kingdom by Ga- the conjecture, which now passeth for a binius the Roman, should have any way be- true History. Such conjectures, being entokened the coming of our Saviour : as some tertained without examination, find credit both ancient and modern Christian Writers by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their have been well pleased to interpret sibyl in fashion is amended, and made more Historithat Prophecy. Of the Sibylline Predictions, |cal, than was conceived by the Author. But I have sometimes thought reverently though it cannot be safe, to let our faith (which not knowing what they were ( as I think ought to stand firm upon a sure foundation) few men know ) yet following the common lean over-hardly on a well-painted, yet

The fifth Book of the first Part

tion of the shameful Idolatry, that upon all Now concerning the Triumph of en. Manoccasions was advanced in Rome by the line, it may be numbered among a few of the Books of sibyl, had well prevailed upon my richeft, which ever the City beheld. Out of credulity, and made me suspect, though not that which he brought into the Treasury, the faith and pious meaning, yet the judge- was made the last payment of those moneys Marces ment of Eusebins: when that learned and which the Commonwealth had borrowed cta. 1. 4d Annals of Cardinal Baronius, did altogether So long was it, that Rome had fill some feel-ARRAL EA- free me from mine error; making it appa- ing of Hannibal: which being past, there rent; That not only those Prophecies of Si- was remaining neither care, nor memory, byl, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, of any danger. This Triumph of Manlins but even the Books of Hermes, which have was deferred by him, even so long as he well born such reputation, were no better than could : for that he thought it not safe, to counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained make his entrance into the City, until the (whosoever devised them) by the indiscreet heat of an inquisition, then raging therein, zeal of fuch as delighted in feeing the Chri- should be allayed. The two Scipio's were stian Religion strengthened with forreign called one after another, into judgement, proofs. And in the lame Rank I think, we by two Tribunes of the People; men, only ought to place that notable History, re- by this accusation, known to Posterity.P. scireported by Enfebius from no mean Authors, pio the African, with whom they began, ENGO. E. A. Of the honour which was done to Simon could not endure that fuch unworthy men Magus in Rome; namely, of an Altar to him should question him, of purloining from the erected, with an inscription, Simoni Deo Common Treasury, or of being hired with Sando, that is, To Simon the holy God. For what can be more strange, than that a for his Country. When therefore his day thing so memorable, and so publick, should of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes,

followed by a great Train of his Friends and thor of these contentions, and instigator of Clients, with which he paifed through the the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not midft of the Affembly, and offered himself perfect Vertue, temperate, valiant, and of to (peak. Having audience, he told the fingular industry; frugal also, both of the people, That upon the same day of the year publick, and of his own; so as in this kind he had sought a great Battel with Hannibal, he was even faulty: for though he would and finished the Punick War by a fignal Vi- not be corrupted with Bribes, yet was heunctory. In memory whereof, he thought it merciful and unconfcionable, in feeking to no fit season to brabble at the Law; but increase his own wealth, by such means as intended to visit the Capital, and there give the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; thanks to Jupiter, and the rest of the gods, by which being poysoned with envy, troubl d whole grace, both on that day and at other both himself and the whole City; whilst times, he had well and happily discharged he lived. His mean birth caused him to times, he had were and happy difference the most weighty business of the Common hate the Nobility, especially those that were weal. And hereto he invited with him all the in chief estimation. Neither did he spare to Citizens: requesting them, That if ever fince bite at such as were of his own rank, men the seventeenth year of his life, until he now raised by desert, if their advancement were grew old, the honourable places by them confer-red upon him, had prevented the capacity of when Glabrio, whose Lieutenant he had been bis are, and yet his deferts had exceeded the at Thermopyla, was his Competitor for the greatness of those honourable places : then would Cenforthip, and likely to carry it, he took they pray, that the Princes and great ones of an Oath against him, which was counted as their City might still be like to him. Thele no better than malicious perjury, That he words were heard with great approbation: had not brought into the common Treasury fo as all the people, even the Officers of the some Vessels of gold and silver, gotten in the court followed Scipio leaving the Tribunes Camp of Antiochus. Now the hacred which slone, with none about them excepting their he bare unto the scipio's, grew partly, (beown flaves and a Cryer, by whom ridiculouf- fides his general spight at the Nobility) from ly they cited him to judgement, until for his own hrst rising, wherein he was countevery shame, as not knowing what else to do, nanced by Fabius Maximus, who brooked they granted him, unrequested, a further not the African; partly from some check that day. After this, when the African perceived was given un o himself, in the African Voythat the Tribunes would not let fall their age by P. Scipio, whose Treasurer he then fuit, but enforce him to submit himself to a was. For when Cato did utter his dil ke of difgraceful trial: he willingy relinquished the Consuls bad Husbandry (j.dging Magthe City and his unthankful Romans, that nificence to be no better) in some peremptocould suffer him to undergo so much indigni- ry manner; Scipio plainly told him, That ty. The rest of his time he spent at Liternum: he had no need of such double diligence in quietly with a few of his inward friends, and his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring without any defire of seeing Rome again. How what lies he published, or for want of judgemany years he lived, or whether he lived ment, thinking unworthily of the vertue that one whole year, in this voluntary banish- was far above him, Cato filled Rome with unment; it is uncertain. The report of his true Reports against his General; whose dying in the same year, with Hannibal and noble deeds confuted sufficiently the author Thilopamen, as also of his private behaviour of such false Tales. And thus began the haat Liternum, render it probable, that he out- tred: which being not regarded nor thought lived the Tribune-ship of his Accusers; who upon by the scipio's, whilst it was nourished meant to have drawn him back to his answer, by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had especially against L. Scipio: his brother bepower to hinder all the rest from proceed- ing dead, or out of the way. A severe inquiing) had not caused them to desist. Howso- ry and judgment being appointed of purpose ever it was; the same Tribunes went more against Scipio, matters were so carried, that sharply to work with L. Scipio the Assatique. he was soon condemned in a sum of money, They propounded a Decree unto the People, far exceeding his ability to pay. For non paytouching money received of Antiochus, and ment his body should have been laid up in not brought into the common Treatury; that prison: but from this rigor of the Law, he the Senate should give charge unto one of was freed by Tiberius Gracchus, the same the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially deter | Tribune who had caused the suit against the

of the History of the World.

Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but Oration was made by Cato, the supposed Aumine thereof. In tavour of this Decree, an African to be let fall. In his estate, which

was confiscated to the use of the City, when the Commonweal receive no detriment. By this there neither appeared any fign of his having Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming been beholding to Antiochus, nor was found any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought fo much as what he had been condemned to to have won a great advantage over the m. !pay; than fell his Accusers, and all whose titude. But after the death of C. Gracchus, hands had been against him, into the indig and of Saturnius, a popular man; whom by nation of the People. But for this was L. Scipio fuch authority they did put out of the was: no whit the better. His kindred, friends, it was not long ere Marius a famous Captain and Clients, made such a Collection for him, of theirs, wasto condemned, who by surce as would have fet him in better Estate than of arms returned into the City, and murbefore, if he had accepted it. He took no dered all the Principal Senators: whereupmore than such of his own goods, as were on began the Civil Wars; which giving unto of necessary use, being redeemed for him by Sylla, who prevailed therein, means to make

his nearest friends. And thus began the Civil War of the Tongue far, a man of higher Spirit, to affect and obin the Roman pleadings; which had either not tain the like Soveraign Power, when by the been, or not been much regardable until like Decree of the Senate, he was provoked. now, fince the Punick War. Security of dan- It is true, that never any Conful had finally ger from abroad, and some want of sufficient cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execu-Employment, were especial helps to the kind tion such Authority to him committed by the ling of this fire; which first caught hold upon Senate. But as the fury of the multitude, in that Great Worthy, to whose Vertue Rome passing their Laws, by hurling of stones, and was indebted, for changing into fo great fecu- other violence, made the City stand in need rity her extream danger. But these factious of a Soveraign Lord: so the vehemency of contentions did no long while contain them the Senate, in condemning as Enemies, those felves within heat of words, and cunning that would not submit themselves, when they practice. For when the Art of leading the were over-topped by Voices in the House, multitude in such quarrelsome business, grew did compel Cafar, or give him at least preto perfection, they that found themselves tence, to right himself by Arms: wherewith overmatched by their Adversaries at this kind prevailing against his Adversaries, he took of weapon, began to make opposition first such order, that neither Senate nor People, with Clubs and Stones, afterward with (hould thenceforth be able to do him wrong. Swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes So by intelline discord, the Romans confusand murders in the streets, unto battel in the ming all or most of their principal Citizens, open field. Cornelia, Daughter of Scipio the lost their own freedom, and became sub-African, a Lady of rare Vertue, that in honour of her two Sons was more commonly
named, Mother of the Gracehi, faw those her
after this beginning of their insolent Rule, two Sons, whilest they were but young, wherein they took upon them as the highest slaughtered in Rome, together with some of Lords on earth, to do even what they listed. their friends: by those whom they opposed, Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto and their death not revenged by order of unto compleat Greatness, nor believed of her Law, but rather approved by the Senate. | felf, as if the had, whilft a King fate crowned At these times the Senators began to take on the Throne of Alexander, continuing and upon them Authority, more than was to upholding the Reputation of a former Emthem belonging. They conferred upon the pire. Wherefore this confummation of her Confuls all the whole power of the City, unhonour was thought upon betimes. Howit der this form, Let the Confuls provide, that was effected, the lequel will discover.

himself absolute Lord of Rome, taught Ca-

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Second Macedonian War.

6. I.

The Condition wherein thefe Princes and Fftates remained, which were Affociates of the Remans, when the War with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrel with Philip. They deal insolently with the Acheans, The Macedonian, being unready for War, obtains Peace at Rome, by his son Demetrius : of whom thenceforth he becomes jealous.

States of Greece, were governed by the same time questioned about any of his doings: his Laws and Migistrates as formerly had been, conformity unto them in matter of War and before the arrival of the Romans in those Peace, together with the diversion of their parts: yet in very truth (the publick De-thoughts another way, giving him leave to claration excepted) they were none other hold his own even as he lifted, until they than absolute Vaffals to the People of Rome. should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a it a little available to him, that his Kingdom Monarch, or unto Soveraign Power, in bordered upon the Nations by them not whomfoever it rest; namely, To make Laws, throughly subdued. For upon the same rea-To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Son (as well as upon his own high deserts) War, to beat Money, and, To referve (as the were they very loving unto Mafanissa, and to French call it ) le dernier Reffort, or the last his House, until Cartharge was ruined, and Appeals, the Romans had assumed four ; and their Dominion settled in Africk: as likewise the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, afterwards to the Kings of Mauritania, Cap-The Appeal, or last refort, as every petty padocia, and others, holding people in subjeinjury offered to each other by the fore ction unto themselves, by the Ministry of named Kings or States, was heard and de- Kings; especially of such Kings, as were usetermined either by the Roman Embaila- ful and obsequious unto them. dours, or Commissioners, in those pla- Now the Macedonian was of a more noble ces whence the Complaint came, or other-temper, and shewed himself not forgetful of wife by the Senators themselves within his own former greatness, the honour of his Rome; from whose arbitriment, or direction. Race, or the high reputation of his Kingdom. if either King or Commonweals declined, He But such Magnanimity was none otherwise. or they were beaten, and inforced to obedi- construed by the Romans, than as want of ence; or had their Estates and Regalities due reverence to their estate, and a valuautterly diffolved. Nevertheless it is true, tion of himself against them: which in the that they had their own Laws, and Officers pride of their fortune, they could not enof their own ordaining: yet so, as neither dure. Wherefore notwithstanding that he the Laws were of force, when the Romans had lately given passage to their Armies thointerposed their will to the contrary, nei- row his, Country, prepared the wayes for ther was their election of Magistrates so free, them, and furnished them both with Victuals as that they had not therein especial re- and other things needful, to transport them gard unto the good pleasure of these their over the Hellespont into Asia, against Antiochus:

ral Estates of Greece did bow very gently : manded to abandon the Cities of Enus and either as being thankful for their delive- Maronea, with all Pieces and places demandrance from a Yoke more fensibly grievous; ed by any of his Neighbours; whereof maor, as being skilful in the Art of flattery, and ny of them he had lately conquered, by ditherein taking delight, fince therein con- rection or licence, even from the Romans fifted their chief hope of thriving; or, as be- themselves.

Fter the overthrow of Antiochus, al- ing more fearful of displeasing the strongest. though Philip of Macedon, Eumenes than miniful of their own honour. But En-King of Pergamus, the Commonweal meres living turther off, and being most obof the Acheans, and all other the fequious unto the Romans, was not of long

yet upon the complaint of Eumenes and the And to such degree of servitude the seve- States of Thessaly and Thrace, he was com-

Thefe

Acheans

These Towns of Anus and Maronea had Romans were not without their own title : been part of Lylmachus his Kingdom: who lince Antiochus had gotten all the Country from Thrace Northwards, and to the North- thereabout, whilit Philip was busied in his west, extended his Dominion very far. He former war: and fince they, by their Viis thought to have made himself Lord of ctory, had gotten unto themselves all the Transformia: In which Province it is faid, title, which Antiochus thereto could pretend. \* That innumerable Medals of Gold have Wherefore he only submitted his right unto been found in the age of our Grand-fathers, the good pleasure of the Senate : referring each of them weighing two or three Crowns, it unto their di position, Whether Anus and and stamped with his Image on the one Maronea should be set at liberty: whether fide, on the other fide with Victory. Of all left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon these Lordship, the pollession, or rather the Eumenes; who begged them as an appendix title (for he lived not to fettle his Estate in to Lylimachia and Chersonesus, that were al-Furofe) fell to Seleneus Nicanor by right of ready his by their gift. What they would de-War, wherein he vanquithed and slew Lysma- termine, he mig t easily perceive by the chus: as alto, by the like right I tolomy Ceran- demeanour of their Embassadours towards nus thought them his own, when he had him: who fitting as Judges between him and murdered selencus. But the inundation of all that made complaint upon him, gave fenthe Gaules, which the Kingdom of Mucedon tence against him in every controversie. Necould not fustain, did shortly and easily wash vertheleis he sent Embassadours to Rome, away from that Crown, together with the there to maintain his Right unto these more part of Thrace, all those heaps of Land Towns; wherein he thought, that equity (if newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this it might prevail) was wholly on his fide. For was afterwards regained by Antigonus the he had holpen their Consuls in the War Son of Denetrius and his Succetiors: though against Antiochus and the Ætolian: wherein not much; for they were otherwise busied. whatsoever he had gotten for himself, was The fury of the Gauls being over-palt, those now taken from him by their Embassadors: Countries which lately had been oppressed and would they now deprive him of those by them, recovered their Liberty; and not two Towns, lying fo fitly for the guard of only held it, but learned, some of them, his Kingdom, which he had gotten to himespecially the Dardanians and wild Thraci- self out of the ruines of Antiochin, like as ans, to find their advantages, and make out of his own ruines, Antiochus had gotten use of them, even upon Macedon. Against in those quarters a great deal more? By the mischies commonly done by these, King such allegations either he was likely to prerhilip did provide the most convenient reme- vail, or at least to gain time, wherein he machia: and in the present question, the laid it even upon the Maronites: affirming,

dies: by thutting up the ways, whereby the might bethink himself what he had to do. Dardanians might enter into his Kingdom; It was not long ere he had word from Rome, and by occupying Lysimachia, with some That the Senate were no more equal to him, other Towns in Thrace, which he fortified, than had been their Embassadors. Whereas Bulwarks of his own Country, against fore, considering how insolently the Marothe Barbarians. Now, although it beho-nites had behaved themselves, in pleadved him thus to do, for the defence of his ing against him for their Liberty, he took own estate: yet forasmuch as these Towns counsel of his own passion; and (as by nawere, in a manner, at absolute liberty, his ture he was very cruel) gave order to Onepossession of them was thought to partake masius, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, more of violence than of justice. And in this to handle these Maronites in such fort, as they respect he was formerly accused by the Æto- might have little joy of the liberty by them lians, of wrongful usurpation and oppress- so earnestly defired. Onomastus employed tion, in his having occupied Lysimachia. Here- Cassander, one of the Kings men dwelling in to he made a good answer. That his Garri- Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thratondid only fave it from the Thracians: who, cians by night, that they might fack the as soon as he thence withdrew his men, did feize upon the Town, and ruine it. The done: but so ill taken by the Roman Embaslike perhaps he might have faid, touching sadors who had better notice than could Anin and Maronea; That they were places have been feared, of these proceedings; that unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by the King was by them directly charged with which the Barbarians might have entrance the crime, and called more strictly, than beinto his Kingdom. But this Plea had not came his Majesty, to an accompt. He would availed him, in the disputation about Lysi- have removed the blame from himself, and that they, in heat of their Factions, being ! some inclinable to him, othersome to Eumenes, had fallen into fuch outrage, that they

regard would be born unto his person.

Whilest this business with the Macedonian hung in suspence, and whilest he, by his readiness to make submission, seemed likely hadcut one anothers throats. And hereof he to divert from himself some other way the willed the Embassadors to enquire among Roman Arms: the same Embassadors, that the Maronites themselves: as well knowing, had been Judges between him and his that they who furvived, were either his Neighbours, made their progress thorow the own friends; or fo terrified and amazed by rest of Greece; and took notice of the Conthe late execution of his vengeance among troversies, which they found between some them, that they durst not utter an offen- Estates in the Country. The greatest cause tive word. But he found the Romans more that was heard before them, was the comfivere, and more thorowly informed in the plaint of the banished Lacedemonians against business, than to rest contented with such the Achains. It was objected unto the Achaan answer. He was plainly told, That if he ans, That they had committed a grievous would discharge him elf of the Crime ob | flaughter upon many Citizens of Lacedamon: iefted, he must send Onomastus and Cassan- That unto this cruelty they had added a der to Rome, there to be examined as the Se- greater, in throwing down the Walls of the nate should think fit. This did not a little City: as also further, in changing the Laws, trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and and abrogating the famous Institutions of faid, That Caffander should be at their dispo | Lycurgus. Hereto Lycortas the Prætor of the fition : but concerning Onomastus, who had Acheans, made answer, That these banished notbeen at Maronea, nor near toit, he re- Lacedamonians, who now took upon them quested them not to press him, fince it stood to accuse the Nation that had once protectnot with his honour so lightly to give away ed them, were notoriously known to be the his friends. As for cassander, because he men, who had themselves committed that should tell no tales; He took order to have murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the him poyfoned by the way. By this we fee, blame upon others : the Acheans having not that the Doctrine which Machiavel taught only called those unto judgment, that were unto Cefar Borgia, to imploy men in mif- supposed to be chief Authors of a Rebellion chievous actions, and afterwards to destroy against both them and the Romans: and them when they have performed the mif- these Plaintiffs having slain them, upon prichief, was not of his own invention. All vate, though just hatred, as they were com-Ages have given us examples of this goodly ing to make answer for themselves. Concernpolicy, the latter having been apt Scho- ing their throwing down the walls of Lacelars in this Lesson to the more ancient: as demon, he faid it was most agreeable to Lythe Reign of Henry the Eighth, here in Eng- curgus his Ordinance : who, having perland can bear good witness; and therein swaded his Citizens to defend their Town especially the Lord Crommel, who perished by and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhithe same unjust Law that himself had de- bit unto them all kind of fortifications: as vised, for the taking away of another mans the Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedamon had woful experience) Such actions of Philip made an unpleasant of Tyrants and Usurpers. Further he shewnoise at Rome, and were like to have ed, how the same Tyrants that had built brought upon him the war which he feared, thefe walls, and hemmed in the Spartans, had before he was ready to entertain it. Where- also quite abolished Lycurgus his Ordinanfore he employed his younger Son Demetrius ces; and governed the City by their own as Embalfadour unto the Senate: giving lawles Will. As for the Acheans; they com-him Instructions how to make answer to all municated their own Laws, which they held Complaints, and withall to deliver his own for the best, or else would soon change them, Grievances in such wise, that if ought were and take better, unto the Lacedamonians; amis, yet might it appear that he had been whom they found without Laws, or any tostrongly urged to take such courses. The lerable form of policy. For conclusion, Lyfum of his Embassage was, To pacifie the cortas plainly told App. Claudius, the chief Romans, and make all even for the present. of the Embassadours, That he and his Coun-Demetrius himself was known to be very actrymen held it strange, being friends and ceptable unto the Senate, as having been well faithful Allies of the Romans, to fee themapproved by them, when he was Hostage in selves thus constrained, to answer and give Rome: and therefore feemed the more likely account of their actions, as vaffals and flaves to prevail fomewhat; were it only, in that unto the People of Rome. For if they were indeed at Liberty: why might not the CHAP. V

fulpected his younger Son, as more Roman their aid, compelled Philopamens horse-man than his own ; and accordingly misconstrued to turn back, Philopemen himself had long all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the been fick of an Ague, and was then very hitter fruits of this jealousie, it will not be weak : yet the greatness of his courage

that were in the mean time.

Acheans as well require to be fatisfied about prevail with them, but their private paffions. Greatness; and intimate, as they begun, that ties, into most base and fearful servility. the Liberty of their Friends was nothing All this made well for Philip of Macedon. worth, longer than should please themselves who, though he saw the Greeks very far from to ratifie it : then must the Acheans have re- daring to thir against those, by whom both course unto those Agreements that were he and they were kept in awe; yet was confirmed by Oath, and which, without per- he not without hope, that (few of them exjury could not be violated; as reverencing, cepted, whom the Romans, by freeing from and indeed fearing the Romans, but much his subjection, had made his implacable enemore, the immortal gods. To this bold an mies) in hearty affection all the Country fwer of Lycortas, Appius found little to reply. would be his, when foever he should take Yet taking state upon him; he pronounced, Arms, as shortly he was like to do. Young more like a Master than a Judge, that if the Demetrius, coming home from Rome, brought Acheans would not be ruled by fair means, with him the defired Ratification of Peace: and earn thanks whilest they might; they though qualified with much indignity foon thould be compelled with a mischief, to do following. He had been lovingly used at what was required at their hands, whether Rome, and heard with great favour in the Sethey would or no. This altercation was in nate. There, being counfounded with the the Parliament of the Acheans, which groun- multitude of objections, whereto his youth, ed to hear the Lordly words of Appins. Yet unskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not fear prevailed above indignation: and it readily make answer: it was permitted unwas permitted unto the Romans to do as to him, to read such brief notes as he had they lifted. Hereupon the Embassadours received from his Father, and out of those restored some banished and condemned men: the Senate were contented to gather satisbut the Roman Senate, very soonafter, did faction; more for Demetrius his own sake, make void all judgements of death or banish- as they then said, and wrote into Macedon, ment, that had been laid by the Acheans than for any goodness in the Defence. Such upon any Citizen of Lacedamon; as likewise pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the they made it a matter of disputation, whe-intreaty of his Son, together with some infother or no the City and Territory of Lace- lence of his Son, growing (as appeared) damon should be suffered to continue a mem- from this favour of the Romans; did increase ber of the Achean Common-wealth: or, ta- in Philip his hatred unto Rome, and bred in ken from them, and made as it had been an him a jealousie of his too forward Son. To Estate by it self. By bringing such a matter set him forward in these passions, there came into question, the Romans well declared, dayly new Embassadors from Rome; some that they held it to depend upon their own bringing one Commandment, some another; will, how much or how little any of their and some requiring him to fulfill those things Confederates should be suffered to enjoy : which had been imposed upon him by their though by contributing sparta to the Coun- fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that cel of Achaia, they discovered no leis, as to observed his countenance: and when he had them seemed, the love which they bare unto fulfilled all that was required at his hands; the Achaians, than the power which they had yet laid it to his charge, that he had done

Into fuch flavery had the Greeks, and all Kings and Commonweals what soever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterranean Seas, reduced themselves, by calling in the Romans to their fuccour. They wanted not any ambitious respect; yet a great deal more the good counsel and perswasions of many chan was pleasing to his Father. So the ruwife and temperate men among them; they mour grew current through all Macedon, had also the examples of the Italians, Spa. That Perfens, the Elder Son of the King, mards, Gauls, and Africans, all subdued by should not succeed unto his Father, but that the Romans; and, by feeking Patronage, he Diadem should be conferred upon Demade meer Vassals; to instruct them, what meerins, if not by some other pretence, yet in the like case they should expect : yet could by meer favour of the Romans. This offended not the true reasons of Estate and Policy so not only Person, but Philip himself: who

that which the Romans had done at Capua, and neighbouring hatred, which hath everas the Romans did bulie themselves, to take more bought Revenge at the price of seifaccount how things went at Lacedemon ? ruine, brought them from the honour which For if the Romans would stand upon their they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Ci-

things unwillingly, and would be obedient

no longer than he needs must. With these

Embassadours young Demetrius was conver-

fant : rather perhaps out of simplicity, and

for that they made much of him, than for

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contrary.

rake part against them in any controversie their eyes were witnesses. The first messenfelves from that Society, with purpose to set him, and behold the speciacle seeming so inred from communion with any other. This into the Theatre, that there they might faand either fide so far exasperated, that ry done to him, unrevenged. They durft little hope of agreement would be left. Up-not one trust another with the keeping of on the fame of their commotion and pro-ceedings; Philopamen, then Prætor of the vaultunder ground, that had been made for Acheans, levied such forces as he could in the custody of their Treasure. So thither hafte, and went against them. Many princi-they let him down fast bound, and with an pal Gentlemen of the Acheans, especially of Engine laid an heavy stone upon the mouth the Megalopolitans, were foon in a readi- of the Vault. There he had not stayed long. ness to wait upon him. Besides these, which ere his enemies had concluded his present were all or for the most part, horse; he had death. The Hangman of the City was let fome Auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, down unto him with a cup of poylon, which that usually were kept in pay. Thus accom- Philopemen took in his hand : and asking Panied, he met with Dinocrates, Captain of no more than whether the Horse-men were the Mession ; whom he charged, and escaped, and particularly whether Lycor-forced to run. But whilest his horse-men to was safe; when he heard an answer to were too earnest in following the chase; his mind, he said it was well: and so with a there arrived by chance a supply of five chearful countenance, drank his last draughed hundred from Messene, which gave new cou- He was seventy years old, and weakned rage unto those that fled. So the Enemies with long sickness, whereby the poylon began to make head again: and with the wrought the sooner, and easily took away help of those, who very seasonably came to his life. The Acheans, when they missed him

amifs to speak of some memorable accidents would not suffer him to be negligent of their fafety, which had to willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He took unon him to make the Retrait : and fuffering his horfe-men to pass along by him in a nar-The death of Philopoemen, Hannibal, and row lane, he often turned about against the Scipio. That the Military profession is of all Messenians; whom, the reputation and the other the most unhappy: notwithstanding knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie Some examples, which may seem to prove the from approaching over near to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being cast to ground by a fall off his horfe, and being with-HE Romans wantog other matter of all invery weak plight of body, he was unquarrel in the Continent of Course bed bline countries. quarrel in the Continent of Greece, had able to get up again. So the Enemies came of late been so peremptory with the Ache upon him, and took him; yet scarce beans; that they seemed not unlikely to lieved their fortune to be so good, although that should be moved. Hereupon the ger that brought these news to Messene; Mellenians, who against their will were an was so far from being believed, that he was nexed unto the Acheen Common-wealth, hardly thought to be in his right wits. having long been of a contrary Faction But when the truth was affirmed by many thereto; grew bold to withdraw them reports, all the City ran forth to meet up again the Estate of their own , seve- credible ! They caused him to be brought was the device of some that were power- tissie themselves with beholding him. The ful in their City; who finding the multi- greatest part of them had compassion on his tude only inclinable to their purpole, and mif-fortune : and in commemoration both of not over-ftrongly affected in the business, his virtue, and of the singular benefits by were careful to seek occasion of reducing him done unto them, especially in delivering things to fuch pass, that all their Citizens them from Nabis the Tyrant; began to mamight be entangled in a necessity of stand- nifest their good will for his delivery. Coning out, and of not returning to the Achean tran wife, Dinocrates and his Faction were League. And hereupon they began to defirous haltily to take away his life: because do some acts of hostility, whereby it was they held him a man implacable, and one probable that blood should be drawn, that would never leave any diffarce, or inju-

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ed with themselves, for that they had been sel to resort unto, he took the poison into his more mindful to preserve their own lives, hand, which he alwaies preserved for a sure than to look unto the fafety of fo excellent Antidote against the sharpest difeases of ada Commander. Whilest they were devising verse fortune; which being ready to swallow what to do in such a case : they got adver- down, he uttered these words : I will now wisatt of his being taken. All schala ((aid he) deliver the Romans of that fear which was by this report vehemently afflicted: halh so many years possess them; that fear. fo as Embaliadours were forthwith dif- which makes them impatient to attend the catched unto Meffene, craving his enlarge- death of anold man. This victory of Flaminius. ment: and yet preparation made withall, to over me, which am disarmed, and betrased inobtain it by force, in case that fair means to bis hands, shall never be numbered among the would not ferve. Licortas was chosen Ge- reft of his heroical deeds: No, it shall make it neral of the Army against Meffene : who manifest to all the Nations of the world . how coming thither, and laying siege to the far the ancient Roman virtue is degenerate Town, enforced it in short space to yield. and corruped. For such was the nobleness of Then Dinocrates knowing what he was to their forefathers, as when Pyrrhus invaded expect, laid hands upon himfelf, and made them in Italy, and was ready to give them batan end of his own life. The rest of those tel at their own door, they gave him knowledge that had been partakers in the murder : of the treason intended against him by poywere compelled to wait in bonds upon the fon; whereas thefe of a latter race, have emplorashes of Philopamen that were carryed home ed Flaminius, aman who hath heretofore been in folemn pomp to Megalopolis ; where they one of their Confuls, to practife with Prufias. conwere all of them flain at his funeral, as fa- trary to the honour of a King, contrary to his crifices to his Ghost whom they had offend- Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hofed, Q. Martins, a Roman Embassadour, was pitality, to flaughter or deliver up his own then in Grecce; whence, upon one occasion Guest. He then cursing the person of Prusas. or other, the Roman Embassadours were sel- and all bis, and desiring the immortal gods to dome absent. He would have intermed revenge his fidelity, drank off the poyson and led in this business of Messene, had not Ly- dyed. cortes made fhort work, and left him nothing todo.

minins fent Emballadour to Prulin King of of them, as great Captains as ever the world Bithinia : not to much to withdraw him had ; but not more famous than unfortunate. from profecuting the war against Eumenes, as | Certainly, for Hannibal, whose Tragedy we to entreat him that he would deliver Hanni- have now finished, had he been Prince of the bal, the most spightful enemy in all the world Carthaginians, and one who by his authority unto the Senate and People of Rome, into his might have commanded fuch supplies, as the hands. Pruftas (therein unworthy of the War which he undertook, required; it is Crown he wore ) did readily condescend: probable, that he had torn up the Roman or rather (as Livie thinks) to gratifie the Ro- Empire by the roots. But he was fo strongmans he determined either to kill Hannibal, ly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction or to deliver him alive to Flaminius. For at home, as his proper virtue, wanting pubupon the first conference between the King lick force to sustain it, did lastly dissolve it rected to guard and environ the lodging his Country and Common-weal.

in their flight, were marvelloully offend- therefore he law no way to escape, nor coun-

In this year alfo( as good Authors have reported ) to accompany Philopemen and Han-About the same time was T. Quintius Fla- nibal, died Scipio the African sthese being all and Fluminius, a troop of fouldiers were di- felf in his own, and in the common mifery of

where Hannibal lay. That famous Captain Hence it comes, to wit, from the envy of having found cause before this to suspect the our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be faith of Prulius, had devited some secret sal- they Kings or Common-weals, that there lies under ground to fave himself from any is no profession more unprosperous than treasonable and sudden assault. But finding that of men of war, and great Captains, now that all parts about him were fore-clo- being no Kings. For besides the envy and fed, he had recourse to his last remedy : which jealousie of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, he then was constrained to practise, as well slaughter of the innocent, vastation and to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing burnings, with a world of miseries laid on over him, as to save himself from their tor- the labouring man, are so hateful to God, as ture and merciless hands; who, as he well with good reason did Monluc the Marshal of knew, would neither respect his famous en- France confess, That, were not the mercies terprizes, his honour, nor his age. When of God infinite, and without refirition, it Patch Baffa Acomat ; Selins strangle Baffa gently : for having wrested the Scepter out

were in vain for those of his profession to hope Mustapha ; and most of those Princes bring for any portion of them : feeing the cruelties , by to ruine the most of their Villers. Of the them permitted and committed, were also infi- Spanish Nation, the great Gonsalve, who drave nite. Howsoever, this is true, That the victo- the French out of Naples : and Ferdinando ries which are obtained by many of the grea- Cortese, who conquered Mexico, were crowntest Commanders, are commonly either ed with Nettles, not with Lawrel. The ascribed to those that serve under them, to Earls of Egmond and Horn had no heads left Fortune, or the cowardife of the Nation them to wear Garlands on. And that the against whom them serve. For the most of great Captains of all Nations have been others, whose virtues have raised them above paid with this Copper Coin; there are exthe level of their inferiours, and have fur- amples more than too many. On the conmounted their envy : yet have they been re- trary, it may be faid, That many have acwarded in the end, either with difgrace, ba- quired the State of Princes, Kings, and Empenishment, or death. Among the Romans we rours, by their great ability in matter of War. find many examples hereof; as Coriolanus, This I confess. Yet must it be had withall M. Livim, L. Amylim, and this our Scipio, in consideration, that these high places have whom we have lately buried. Among the been given or offered unto very few, as Greeks we read of not many that escaped rewards of their military virtue; though these rewards. Yealong before these times, many have usurped them, by the help and fait was a Legacy that David bequeathed un vour of those Armies which they commandto his victorious Captain Joab. With this ed. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyfear Alexander feasted Fermenio, Philotas, and rants, which have oppressed the liberty of others; and prepared it for Antipater and free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Callander. Hereunto Valentinian the Empe- Emperours, which have traiteroufly cast rour invited Ætim: who, after many other down their Masters, and stepped up into victories, overthrew Attelia of the Hunnes, their feats; were not all of them good men of in the greatest battel for the well fight- war : but have used the advantage of some ing and resolution of both Armies, that commotion, or many of them by base and coever was struken in the world, for there wardly practices, have obtained those digfell of those that fought, beside run awaies, mities, which undeservedly were ascribed to an hundred and four core thousand. Here- their personal worth. So that the number upon it was well and boldly told unto the of those that have purchased absolute great-Emperour by Proximus, That in killing of ness by the greatness of their warlike virtue; Etius, he had cut off his own right hand is far more in feeming than in deed. Phocas with his left: for it was not long after, that was a Souldier, and by the help of the Maximus (by whose perswasion Valentinian Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord flew Etim) murdered the Emperour; which Mauritius: but he was a coward; and, with he never durft attempt, Atim living. And, a barbarous cruelty, feldom found in any besides the loss of that Emperour, it is true, other than cowards, he slew first the chil-That with Atim, the glory of the Western dren of Mauritius, a Prince that never had Empire was rather diffolved, than obscu- done him wrong, before his face; and after red. The same unworthy destiny, or a far them Mauritius himself. This his bloody aspiworse had Bellisarius; whose undertakings ring was but as a debt, which was paid unto and victories were fo difficult and glorious, him again by Heraclius: who took from him as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. the Imperial Crown, unjustly gotten; and For he had his eyes torn out of his head by fet it on his own head. Leontius laid hold Justinian: and he died a blind begger. upon the Emperour Justine, cut off his Nose Narses also, to the great prejudice of Chri- and Ears, and sent him into bannishment: stian Religion, was disgraced by Justin. but Gods vengeance rewarded him with That rule of Cato against Scipio, hath been the same punishment, by the hands of Tiwell observed in every age since then, to wit, berius; to whose charge he had lest his own That the Common-weal cannot be accoun- men of war. Justine having recovered ted free, which standeth in awe of any one forces, lighted on Tiberius, and barbed him man. And hence have the Turks drawn after the same fashion. Philippicus commandanother Principle, and indeed, a Turkish ing the forces of Justine, murdered both the one, That every warlike Prince should ra- Emperour and his Son. Anastasius, the vasther destroy his greatest men of war, than falof this new Tyrant, surprised his Masuffer his own glory to be obscured by them. Ster Philippieus, and thrust out both his eyes. For this cause did Bajazes the second dis-

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of the History of the World.

Priest. It were an endless and a needless work perity of her affairs did well witness, who in to tell, how Lee rewarded this Theodosius, all her dayes never received dishonour by how many others have been repaid with the cowardife or infidelity of any Commantheir own cruelty, by men alike ambi- der, by her felf chosen and imploved. tious and cruel; or how many hundreds, For as all her old Captains by Land died or rather thousands, hoping of Captains poor men, as Malbey, Randol, Drenry, Reade, to make themselves Kings, have by Gods Wilford, Layton, Pellam, Gilbert, Constable. justice miserably perished in the attempt. Bourchier, Barkeley, Bingham, and others: The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of so those of a later and more dangerous imthriving by the practice of Arms, is to take ployment, whereof Norrice and Vere were what may be gotten by the spoil of Ene the most famous, and who have done as great mies, and the liberality of those Princes honour to our Nation (for the means they and Cities, in whose service one hath well had ) as ever any did; those (I say ) with deserved. But scarce one of a thousand have many other brave Colonels, have left behind prospered by this course. For that obser- them (besides the reputation which they vation, made by solomon, of unthankfulness purchased with many travels and wounds ) in this kind, hath been found belonging to nor title nor estate to their posterity. As for all Countries and Ages : A little City, and the L. Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Berie Feeld 9- a few men in it, and a great King came L. Willowghby of Ersby, two very worthy and against it, and compassed it about, and builded exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought Forts against it : And there was found a poor with them into the world their Titles and and wife man therein , and he delivered the Ci- Estates. ty by his wisdom: but none remembred this That her Majesty in the advancement of poor man. Great Monarchs are unwilling to her men of War did sooner believe other men Hereof I need not to produce examples: ter use than themselves. that of the two Scipio's being so lately recited.

the wars, which, for her own safety, she was hath honoured more Martial menthan all constrained to undertake, her Majesty had the Kings of England have done for this hunno less cause to use the service of Martial dred years. men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many years had: yet accord- Howard for his chargeable and remarkable ing to the destiny of that profession, I do not service, as well in the year 1588. as at Calin, remember that any of hers, the Lord Admi- the Islands, and in our own Sea; having first ral excepted, her eldest, and most prosperous commanded as a Captain, twice Admiral of a Commander, were either enriched, or Squadron, and twice Admiral in Chief. His otherwise honoured, for any service by them Majesty hath changed the Baronies of Montperformed. And, that her Majesty had many joy & Burley into Earldoms; and created sid-

of his hands, he enforced him to become a advised, valiant, and faithful men, the prof-

pay great thanks, lest thereby they should than her self, a disease unto which many wise acknowledge themselves to have been in- Princes, besides her self, have been subject; I debted for great benefits: which the unwi- fay, that fuch a confidence, although it may fer fort of them think to savour of some im- seem altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, potency in themselves. But in this respect yet can it not but in some fort accuse her of they are often times couzened and abused ; weakness. And exceeding strange it were, which proves that weakness to be in them were not the cause manifest enough, that indeed, whereof they fo gladly shun the where the prosperous actions are so exceedopinion Contrariwise, free Estates are boun- ingly prized, the Actors are so unprosperous tiful in giving thanks, yet so, as those thanks and so generally neglected. The cause, I say are not of long endurance. But concerning which hath wrought one and the same effect other profit which their Captains have in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that made, by enriching themselves with the spoil those which are nearest the person of Princes of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to (which Martial-men seldom are) can with no fearch into it; and to strip the well-deservers good grace commend, or at least magnifie a out of their gettings : yea most injuriously profession far more Noble than their own, to rob them of their own, upon a falle sup- seeing therein they should only mind polition; that even they whole hands are their Masters of the wrong they did unto most clean from such offences, have purloyn- others, in giving less honour and reward to ed somewhat from the common Treasury. men offar greater deserving, and of far grea-

But his Majesty hath already paid the greatest part of that debt. For besides the re-In my late Soveraigns time, although for lieving by Pensions all the poorer fort, he

He hath given a Coronet to the L. Thomas

ney Vicount, Knolles, Ruffel, Caren, Danvers, tion, that dwelt beyond the River of Danu-Arundel of Watder, Gerald, and Chichester, Ba- bins, to abandon their seat, and come to

#### o. III.

who travelled up and down, seeking Illsria, and the Countries upon the Adriawhat work might be found about Greece, tick Sea, into Italy it felf. It was not known had received instruction from the Senate, to who should withit and them upon the way: use the utmost of his diligence in looking rather it was thought, that the scordife, into the Estate of Macedon. At his return and peradventure some others through home, that he might not seem to have disco- whose Country they were to pass, would vered nothing, he told the Fathers, That accompany them against the Romans, were Philip had done whatfoever they enjoyned it only in hope of spoil. Now to facilitate him: yet fo, as it might appear, that fuch the remove of thefe Baftarne from their his obedience would last no longer, than own habitations, into the Land of the Dartake his part : yet he provided as well as them in some small Expedition against those he could devife, against the necessity which wild people that bordered upon him, and hedaily feared. Such of his own people as stood worst effected toward him. dwelt in the maritime Towns, and gave him But these his counsels and proceedings for ske their dwelling, and removed them and in his own house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much luring the Bastarne, a strong and hardy Na-sirst contained it self within words : he ha-

rons, for their governments and services in the him with all their multitude: who, besides Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere. other great rewards, would help them to root out the Dardanians, and take possession of their Country. These were like to do him notable service aganst the Romans; be-Philip, making provision for war against the Romans, deals bardly with many of his own sub- being planted in those quarters by him, jeds. His negotiation with the Bastarne. His would bear respect unto him alone, The least cruelty. He suspecteth his Son Demetrius. De- benefit that could be hoped by their arrival, metrius acceled by his brother Perfeus; and mult be the utter extirpation of the Dardashortly after sain by his fathers appointment, nians; a people alwayes troublesome to the Philip repenteth bim of his fons death, whom Kingdom of Attedon, whenfoever they be findeth to have been innocent : and in- found advantage. Neither was it judged tending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth. any hard matter, to perswade those Eastarna, by hope of spoil, and other incitements, Dintius Martius the Roman Embassador, unto a more desperate Expedition, through meer necessity should enforce him thereun- danians, upon the border of Macedon; a to. Headded further, That all the doings long and tedious journey unto them, that and sayings of that King , did wholly tend carried with them their wives and children: unto Rebellion, about which he was devi- Philip with gifts did purchase the good will fing. Now it was so indeed, that Philip much of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the repented him of his faithful obsequiousness Countries through which they were to pass. to the Romans, and forefaw their intent, And thus he fought means to strengthen which was, to get his Kingdom into their himself with the help of the wild Nations, own hands; which fafety of their honour, which neither knew the Romans, nor were if they could find convenient means; or known unto them; fince he was not like otherwise (as to him seemed apparent ) by to find assistance from any civil Nation, what means soever. He was in an ill case: about the whole compass of the Mediterraas having been already vanquished by them; nean Seas. But these devises were long ere having lost exceedingly both in strength they took effect: so as the Bastarnac came and reputation; having subjects that abhornot before such time as he was dead; his red to hear of War with Kome; and hav-death being the overthrow of that purpofe. ing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if In the mean time he neglected not the trainhe were theretourged, would adventure to ing of his men to war, and the exercise of

cause to suspect that they would do but bad were miserably disturbed by the calamities fervice against the Romans, he compelled to that fell upon him, both in his Kingdom, try, whence these were transplanted, he filled against their wills to forsake their ancient with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith dwellings, and betake themselves to fuch he thought a great deal more affured against new habitations, as he in his discretion those enemies that were terrible to the Ma- thought meeter for them, were vertemently cedonians. Further, he devised upon al- offended at the change. Yet their anger at

ying

fervedly. This increased the hatred of the with the entrails, on the right hand, and the general, when the King in a barbarous and Arms of all the Kings of Macedon, from the base fury, mittrusting all alike whom he had very first original, were born before the injured, thought him elf unlike to be fafe, Army. Then followed the King between his dren of those Parents, whom tyrannically and they of his Guard; whom all the rest he had put to death. In the execution of of the Macedonians followed. Having perthis his unwanty pleafure, fome accidents, formed other ceremonies, that Army was dimore tragical then perhaps he could have vided into two parts: which under the defined, gave men cause to think (as they Kings two Sons, charged each other in mancould not in reason think otherwise ) that, her of a true fight; using poles, and the like, nor without vengeance poured on him from in stead of their pikes and accustomed wea-Heaven, he felt the like misery in his own pons. But in this present skirmish there children. It is hard to Gy what the Romans appeared fome extraordinary contention for intended, in the extraordinary favour which the victory: whether happening by chance, they shewed unto Demetrius, the Kings or whether the two Captains did overyounger Son. It may well be (though it may earnestly feek each to get the upper hand, be also suspected) that they had no purpose as a betokening of their good success in a to make and nourish diffention between the greater trial. Some small hurt there was brethren, but only to cherish the vertue and done, and wounds given, even with those towardlines of Demetrius; like as we find Stakes, until Perfeus his side at length reit in their Histories. But their notable fa- coyled. Persen himself was forry for this, your towards this young Prince, and his mu- as it had been some bad presage: but his tual respect of them, bred extream jealousie friends were glad, and thought, that herein the Fathers head. If any cultom of the of might be made good use. They were of Romans, the manner of their life, the fashion the craftier fort : who, perceiving which of their apparel, or the unlightly contriving way the Kings favour bent, and how all the and building (as then it was ) of the Town courses of Demetrin led unto his ownruine, of Rome, were jested at in ordinary dis- addressed their services to the more malicicourse and table-talk; Demetrism was sure ous and crafty head. And now they said, to be presently on fire, defending and that this victory of Demetrius would afford practing them, even in such points as rather matter of complaint against him; as if the needed excuse. This and his daily conversa- hear of his ambition had carryed him betion with their Embassadours as often as youd the rules of that solemn pastime. Each they came, gave his Father cause to think, of the brethren was that day to feast his that he was no fit partaker of any Counfel own companions, and each of them had spies held against them. Wherefore he commu- in the others lodging, to observe what was nicated all his devices with his elder Son faid and done. One of Perfew his Intelligen-Perfess: who fearing so much lest his bro cers behaved himself so indiscreetly, that ther should step between him and the success he was taken and well beaten by three or fion, converted wholly unto his destruction, four of Demetrius his men, who turned him that grace which he had with his Father, out of doors. After some store of wine, De-Perfers was then thirty years old; of a stirring metrins told his companions, that he would spirit, though much defective in valour. De- go vifit his brother, and see what chear he kept. They agreed to his motion, except- by his own virtue, at least wife from their opiing such of them as had ill handled his bro- nion thereof: so as by any impious practice, thers man : yet he would leave none of his he were more like to lose it wholly, than to train behind, but forced them all to bear increaseit. In this wretched pleading there him company. They, fearing to be ill re- wanted no fuch passions, as are incident to warded for their late diligence, armed them- fathers, children, and brethren, besides those felves fecretly to prevent all danger. Yet that are common to all Plaintiffs and Dewas there fuch good espial kept, that this fendants, before ordinary Judges. The King their coming armed was forthwith made pronouncedlike a Father, though a lealous known to Perfew: who thereupon tumul-tuoully locked up his doors, as if he stood in upon the excess or errour, whatsoever it fear to be affaulted in his house. Demetrius were, of one day and night, nor upon one wondred to see himself excluded, and fa- hours audience of the matter, but upon betred very angerly with his brother. But Fer- ter observation of their lives, manners, and (cas bidding him be gone as an enemy, and whole carriage of themselves both in word he bore a due respect unto his Father, and donians. For proof hereofhe cited a Letter, well to fend him thither again, accompanied

one whose murdrous purpose was detected, and deed. And herein he may seem to have fent him away with an entertainment no dealt both justly and compassionately. But better than defiance. The next day the mat- from this time forward he gave himfelf over ter was brought before the King. The elder wholly to Perseus : using so little conference brother accused the younger unto the Father with his younger Son, that when he had matof them both. Much there was alledged, ters of weight in hand, such especially as conand, in effect, the same that hath been here cerned the Romans, he liked neither to have recited, fave that by misconstruction all was him present, nor near unto him. Above all, he made worse. But the main point of the accu- had especial care to learn out what had palfation, and which did aggravate all the rest, sed between Demetrius and T. Quintius, or was, That Demetrius had undertaken this any other of the Roman great ones. And to murder, and would perhaps also dare to un- this purpose he sent Embassadours to Rome, dertake a greater, upon confidence of the Philocles and Apelles; men whom he thought Romans ; by whom he knew that he should no way interested in the quarrels between be defended and born out. For Perfess made the brethren, though indeed they altogether shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with was forry to fee him spoiled, and daily robbed them a Letter, faid to be written by Titus of somewhat by them. And for this cause he (whose seal they had counterfeited) unto the faid it was, that they did animate his brother King. The contents whereof were, A depreagainst him : as also that they sought how to cation for the young Prince; with an intimawin unto Demetrius the love of the Mace tion, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious defires had caufed fent of late from Titus Quintius to the King him to enter into practices unjuftifiable, himself: whereof the contents were, That against his elder brother, which yet should he had done wisely insending Demetrius to never take effect : for that Titus himself Rome; and that he should yet further do would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This manner of excuse did forwith a greater and more honourable train of cibly perswade the King to think his Son a Macedonian Lords. Hence he enforced, dangerous Traitor. To ftrengthen him in this That this counsel was given by Titus, of pur- opinion, one Didas, to whom he gave Demepose to shake the allegiance of those, that trius in custody, made shew as if he had pithould wait upon his brother to Rome; and tied the estate of the unhappy Prince, and fo make them, forgetting their duties to their wrung out of him his secret intentions, which old King, become servants to this young he shortly discovered unto Philip. It was the Traitor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made purpose of Demetrius to fly secretly to Rome; answer; by rehearling all passages of the day where he might hope not only to live in safeand night foregoing, in such manner as he re-ty, from his father and brother, but in greamembred them, and had conceived of them: ter likelihood, than he could find at home, bitterly reprehending Persew, that con of bettering such claim as he had in reversion verted matters of pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusa- hopes and meanings were, all came to nought tion, whereby he fought his innocent bro-through the falfnood of Didas; who, playing thers death. As for the love which the Ro- on both hands, offered unto the Prince his mans did bear him, he said that it grew, if not help for making the escape, and in the mean while

while revealed the whole matter to the in a more equal ballance. Then found he no. King. So Philip resolved to put his Son to ching that could give him tatisfaction, or he death, without further expence of time. It good probability induce him to think, that was thought behoveful to make him away malice had not been contriver of the whole privily, for fear left the Romans thould take process. His only remaining Son Perfere the matter to heart, and hold it as a proof could so ill diffemble the pleasure which he fufficient, at least, of the Kings despight took in being freed from all danger of comagainst them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. Didas therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accurfed minister of his Kings unadvised fenrence, first gave poyson to Demetrius : which wrought neither fo haltily, nor fo fecretly, as was defired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedy: who villainoully accomplished their work, by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the more diligently courted, than in former greatest hope of Macedon.

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been found a King, that had thus cruelly for old Philip, he was left in a manner dealt with any Prince of his own blood. The defolate, some expecting his death, and houses of Lysimachus and Cassander fell some scarce enduring the rediousness of such either with themselves, or even upon their expectation. This bred in the King a deep heels; by intestine discord and jealousies, melancholy; and filled his head with suspigrounded on defire of foveraign rule, or tious imagination; the like whereofhe had fear of losing it. By the like unnatural ha- never been flow to apprehend. He was tred, had almost been cut off the lines of much vexed : and so much the more, for Ptolomy and of Selencus : which, though nar- that he knew neither well to whom, nor perrowly they escaped the danger, yet were feetly whereof to complain. One honourable their Kingdoms thereby grievoully diftem- man, a Couzen of his, named Antigonis, pered. Contrariwife, it was worthy of extra- continued fo true to Philip, that he grew ordinary note, how that upftart family of the thereby hateful to Perfeus: and thus becom-Kings of Pergamus had raifed it felf to mar- ing subject unto the same jealous impressions vellous greatness, in very short space, from which troubled the King, became also the condition of meer the confeders, whereof a partaker of his secrets. This Counsellor, principal caute was, the brotherly love maintained by them, w th fingular commendation of their piety. Neither was Philip ignorant of these examples, but is said to have propounded the last of them to his own of the treason objected; as also that Philo-Certainly he had reason so to do : not more had brought from Rome that Epistle of Fla-

petition: as there might easily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from tome other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The Romans were now no less to be feared than at other times; when he, as having accomplished the most of his desires, left off his usual trouble of mind, and carefulness of making provision against them. He was times, by those that well understood the dif-In all the race of Antigonus there had not ference between a rifing and a fetting Sun. As when he found that the anger conceived against Persess would not vent it felf, and give ease to the King, until the truth were known whether Demetrius were guilty or no children, as a pattern for them to imitate cles and Apelles ( the Embassadours which in regard of the benefit which his enemies minim, that ferved as the greatest evidence reaped by their concord, than in remem- against Demetrius) were suspected of forgery brance of the tender fosterage, wherewith in the business: made diligent enquiry after King Antigonus his Tutor had faithfully the truth. In thus doing he found one cherished him in his minority. But he was Xychue, a man most likely to have understood himself of an unmerciful nature; and there- what false dealing was used by those Embasfore unmeet to be a good perswader unto sadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the kindly affection. The murders by him done Court, and prefented unto the King: faying, upon many of his friends, together with the that this fellow knew all, and must therebarbarous outrages, which for the fatiating fore be made to utter what he knew. Xychus of his blood-thirity appetite, he delightful- for fear of torture, uttered as much as was ly had committed upon many innocents, both | before suspected: confessing against himself, strangers and subjects of his own ; did now that he had been employed by the Embasiaprocure vengeance down from Heaven, dours in that wicked piece of business. No that rewarded him with a draught of his marvel if the Fathers passions were extreme, own poyson. After the death of his Son, when he understood that by the unnatural he too late began to examine the crimes that practice of one Son, he had so wretchedly had been objected; and to weigh them cast away another, far more virtuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himfelf, and withall against the Authors of the mischief. Upon the first news of this discovery, Apelles fled away, and got into Italy; philocles was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not deny it when Xythus confronted him, yielded himself guilty; or else was put to torture. Perseus was now grown the difference between the imaginary happiwho also concealed it a while from those to their own Country. that were about the Court. So Perfess came thither on the fudden, and took possessily gotten.

#### 6. I V.

haviour of Perseus in the beginning of his became more obnoxious to Rome, than in delightful spectacles, magnificently by him

former times. Further quarrels to Perteus. He feeks frinedship of the Acheans, and is with tood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of warring

TMmediately upon the death of Philip, came the Baftarna into Thrace; where order itronger, than that he should need to fly the had been taken, long before, both for the Country: yet not so flout as to adventure free passage, and for the indempnity of himself into his fathers presence. He kept on the Country. This Compact was friendly the borders of the Kingdom towards Thrace, observed, as long as no other was known whilft his father wintred at Demetries. Philip than that Philip did live to recompense all therefore, not hoping to get into his po- that should be done, or sustained, for his ferwer this his ungracious Son, took a reso vice. But when it was heard, that a new. lution, to aliene the Kingdom from him, King reigned in Macedon 5 and not heard and confer it upon Antigonia. But his weak withal, that he took any care what became body, and excessive grief of mind, so dif of the enterprize : then was all dasht and conabled him in the travel thereto belonging, founded. The Thracians would no longer that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, afford so good markets unto these strangers. he was conftrained to yield to nature. He as formerly they had done. On the other had reigned about two and forty years: al fide, the Bastarne would not be contented waies full of trouble; as vexed by others, with reason, but became their own carvers. and vexing himself with continual wars; of Thus each part having lost their rich hopes which that with the Romans was most un-reposed in Philip, grew careful of thriving in happy, and few or none of the rest found the present; with little regard of right or the conclusion, which a wise Prince would wrong. Within a while they fell to blows have defired, of bringing forth together and the Baftarne had the upper hand, fo as both honour and profit. But for all the they chased the Thracions out of the plain evil that befell him, he might thank his Countrys. But the victors made little use of own perverse condition : fince his Uncle, their good fortune. For whether by reason King Antigonus, had left unto him an estate, of some overthrow, received by them in affo great, and so well settled, as made it easie faulting a place of strength; or whether befor him, to accomplish any moderate desires, cause of extream bad weather, which is said if he had not abhored all good counsel, to have afflicted them as it were miraculous-Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling ly : all of them returned home, save thirty thousand, which pierced on into Dardania. ness of a Tyrant, which he affected, and How these thirty thousand sped in their vovthe life of a King, whereof he little cared to age, I do not find. It seems that by the careperform the duty. His death, even whilst less using of some victories, they drew loss yet it was only drawing near, was fore-figni- upon themselves: and finally took that ocfied unto Perfeus, by Caligenes the Physitian, casion, to follow their companions back in-

As for Perfew, he thought it not expedient, in the novelty of his reign, to embroil on of the Kingdom : which in fine he no less himself in a war so dangerous, as that with improvidently loft, than he had wicked the Romans was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his mind to the fettling of his Estate, which well done, he might, afterwards accommodate himfelf, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for How the Baftarnæ fell upon Dardania. The be- war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of Anreign. Some wars of the Romans: and how tigonus. To win love of his people, he fate they suffered Masanissa cruelly to oppress the personally to hear their causes in judgement, Carthaginians. They quarrelled with Per- (though herein he was fo over-diligent and feus. They allow not their Confederates to curious, that one might have perceived this make war without their leave obtained. The his vertue of justice to be no better than fai-Treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece ned ) as also he gratified them with many

necessity of war with Rome : and therefore made lamentable complaint unto the Romade it his first work, to send Embassadors man Senate. They shewed how grievously thirder to renew the league; which he ob- they were oppressed by reason of two Artained, and was by the Senate faluted King, ticles in their League : That they should not and friend unto the State. Neither was he make war out of their own Lands; nor with negligent in feeking to purchase good will of any Consederates of the Romans. Now althe Greeks, and other his neighbours: but though it were so that they might lawfulwas rather herein so excessively bountiful, ly withstand the violence of Masanissa, inthat it may feem a wonder how in few years, vading their Country, howfoever he was to his utter ruine, he became so griping and pleased to call it his : yet since he was Contenacious. His fear was indeed the mastring federate with the Romans, they durst not passion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into fo many thapes, as made it hard to but fuffered themselves to be eatenup, for difcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proof of this, there is Wherefore they intreated, that they might requifite no more, than the relation of his have fairer justice; or be suffered to de-

actions past and following.
The Romans continued, as they had long, bufie in wars against the Spaniards and Ligurians; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered Istria; subdued the rebelling Sardinians; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Over the Carthaginians they bore (as ever fince the victory) a heavy hand: and Suffered Masanissa to take from them what he listed. The Carthaginians; like obedient Vaffals to Rome, were affraid, though in defence of their own, to take arms: from what should be appointed by such Judges; which they were bound by an Article of than continually to live in fear, and none peace, except it were with leave of the Romans. Masanissa therefore had great advanthis Numidian Hangman. And herewithal tage over them, and was not ignorant how to the Embaffadors threw themselves proftrate use it. He could get possession by force, of on the ground, weeping; in hope to move whatfoever he defired, ere their complain- compaffion. ing Embassadors could be at Rome : and then Here may we behold the fruits of their were the Romans not hardly entreated to envy to that valiant house of the Barchines; leave things as they found them.

from them the Country of Emporia: and fo did he use them again and again: with pretence of title, where he had any ; otherwise, without it. Galathe Father of Masanissa had won fome land from the Carthaginians; which afterward Syphax wan from Gala

fet forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all right. Hereof by their Embaffadors, they presume to bear defensive arms against him fear of incurring the Romans indignation. fend their own by strong hand; or at least, if right must wholly give place to favour, That the Romans yet would be pleafed to determine, how far forth Masanissa should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained. then defired they, that the Romans would let them understand, wherein they had offended fince the time that Scipio gave them peace; and vouchfafe to inflict on them fuch punishment as they themselves in honour should think meet : for that better and more to their comfort it were, to fuffer at once otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of

of their irrefolution in profecuting a war fo So had he once dealt before, in taking important, as Hannibal made for themin Italy; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they fervants, even to the fervants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, slaip, taken and sold as bondand within a while, restored to the right lilaves in the streets of Carthage, and in all Ciowners, for love of his wife Sophonisba, and ries of Africk and Greece. Now have they of Afdrubal his father-in-law. This did Ma- enough of that Roman peace, which Hanno fo fanissa take from them by force: and by the often and so carneftly defired. Only they Ransans ( to whose judgement the case was | want peace with Masanisa , once their merreferred) was permitted quietly to hold it cenary, and now their mafter or rather their The Carthaginians had now good experi- comentor out of whose cruel hands, they beence, how beneficial it was for their Estate, seech their masters to take the office of corto afe all manner of submiffive obedience to recting them. In such case are they and adore Rame. They had fearcely digested this in- the Romans, whom they see flourishing in such jury, when Masanissa came upon them prosperity as might have been their own. But again, and took from them above feventy the Romans had far better entreated Varro, Towns and Castles, without any colour of who lost the battel at Canne ; than Hannibal ans, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitiful behation; yet their tears may feem to have been mistrusted, as proceeding no less from envy to the Romans, than from any feeling of their own calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with Masanisa: which estimation of their forces was able to had not been unmindful of Perfews. They vicomparisons with Rome. Wherefore they with honourable spies to observe his behaviobtained not fuch leave as they fought, of our. These he entertained kindly at first, the reason of his coming; and had related unmians against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of known, that the Carthaginians had held Councel divers nights, in the Temple of Ælculatius: whereupon he himself was dis-Romans, and of his Father, might not be overmuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of Rome. This answer gave little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for Masanisia his

that wan it was used by the Carthaginians : | willed him to tell his Futher, that he should they had freely bestowed, every man of do well to fend Embassadors, more fullvinthem, all his private riches upon the Com- structed in this matter. This happened when mon-wealth; and employed their labours for the Macedonian war was even ready to the publick, without craving recompence: begin: at which time the Romans were not as also they had not thought it much, though willing too much to offend, either the Carbeing in extream want, to fet out an Army thaginians ( for feat of utging them unifeafointo Spain, at what time the enemy lay under nably to rebellion ) or Mafaniffa, at whose their own walls. These were no Carthagini- hands they expected no little help. So were an vertues : and therefore the Carthagini- they aided both by the Carthaginians and Masanissa : by the Carthaginians, partly for fear, partly for hope of better usage in the future : by Mafanilla, in way of thankfulnes : viour bred peradventure some commisera- though if it had happined (which was unlikely) that they should be vanguished; he made none other account, than that all Africk round about him, and Carthage therewithall, should be his own.

In the midft of all these cares, the Romans

make them, after a little while, enter into fited him daily with Embaffadors; that is, defending their own right by arms : but until (which fell out ere long) he perceived contrariwise, when without leave obtained, whereto their diligence tended. First they they presumed so far, the destruction of car- quarrelled with him about the troubles in thage was thought an easie punishment of Dardania: neither would they take any satisthat offence. At the present, they received faction, until the Bastarna were thence gone : agentle answer; though they had other wife though he protested, that he had not sent for little amends. Guluffa the Son of Mafaniffa them. Afterward they pried narrowly into was then in Rome, and had not as yet crav- his doings; and were no less ill contented ed audience. He therefore was called be- with good offices, by himdone, to fundry of fore the Senate; where he was demanded his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they faid ) he did unto other some. to him the complaint made by the Carthagi- Where he did harm to any; they called it making war upon their friends. Where he did good; they called fuch his bounty, feeking any Embassadors thither sent from Carthage, friends to take his part against them. The had therefore not given him instructions, Dolopians, his subjects, (upon what occasion how to deal in that business. Only it was it is uncertain) rebelled, and with exquisite torments flew Euphranor, whom he had appointed their Governour. It feems that Enphranor had played the Tyrant among them. patched away to Rome, there to intreat the For they were a people without strength to Senate, that these common enemies of the result the Macedonian : and therefore unlikely to have prefumed far, unless either they had been extreamly provoked; or elfe were recretly animated by the Romans. Whatfoever it was that bred this courage in them. Perfews did foon allay it, and reclaim them by strong hand. But the Romans took very aufake, they had done, and would do, whatfo- gerly this prefumption of the King : even as ever was reasonable, but that it stood not it he had invaded some Country of their Itawith their justice, to allow of this his vio- lian Confederates, and not corrected his lence, in taking from the Carthaginians, those own rebels at home. Fain they would have Lands, which by the covenants of the League had him to draw in the fame yoke with the were granted unto them freely to enjoy. Carthaginians; whereunto had he humbled With this mild rebuke they difmiffed Gu- once his neck, they could themselves have Insia; bestowing on him friendly presents (as done the part of Masanissa; though Enmenes, also they did on the Carthaginians ) and or some other fit for that purpose , had been

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RAP. VI.

wanting. And to this effect, they told him, not with standing; when Lycortas Prettor of That the Conditions of the League be- the Acheans had utterly subdued the Mel. tween them were such as made it unlawful fenians far sooner than was expected; and both to his Father heretofore, and now to when as not only no Town rebelled from the him, to take arms without their licence first Acheans, but many entered into their Corobtained.

To the same pass they would also fain favoured grace, tell the same Embassadors have reduced the Greeke, and generally all to whose petition they had made such had their adherents, even fuch as had entred in- answer (and who as yet were not gone out to league with them upon equal terms: whom of the City,) That they had straightly forusually they rewarded with a frown, when bidden all manner of succour to be carried to soever they presumed to right themselves Messene. Thus thinking, by a fained graby force of Arms, without feeking first the vity, to have served their own turns, they Oracle at Rome. Hereof the Acheans had manifested their condition : both to fer on good experience: whose confidence in their the weaker against the stronger and more proper strength, made them otherwhiles suspected, and also to assume unto thembold to be their own carvers; and whose hope selves a Soveraign power, in directing all of extraordinary favour at Rome caused matters of war, which diffemblingly they them the more willingly to refer their causes would have seemed to neglect. In like manto arbitrement. For when they went about | uer dealt they with all their Confederates: to have chastisfed the Messenian by War; not permitting any of them to make war; T. Quintius rebuked them, as too arrogant, in whether offensive or defensive; though it taking such a work in hand, without his au- were against meer strangers; without inthority: yet by his authority he ended the terpoling the authority of the Senate and matter, wholly to their good liking. Sem people of Rome: unless peradventure. fomeblably at other times were they reprehend- times they winked at fuch violence, as did ed, even with Lordly threats, when they help towards the accomplishment of their took upon them to carry any business of im- own secret malice. Now these Roman Arts. portance, by their own power, without stand- howsoever many ( for gainful or timerous ing unto the good grace of the Romans. Who respects ) would seem to understand them: nevertheless upon submission, were apt yet were generally displeasing unto all enough to do them right. Thus were they men endued with free fpirits. Only the tamed by little and little, and taught to for- Athenians, once the most turbulent City in get their absolute liberty, as by which they Greece, having neither subjects of their own were not like to thrive; especially in usurp- that might rebell, nor power wherewith ing the practice of arms, which belonged only to bring any into fubjection; for want of to the Imperial City. In learning this hard lef- more noble argument wherein to practice fon they were such untoward Schollers, that their eloquence that was become the whole they needed, and not long after felt, very remainder of their ancient commendations, Pion. 14. Sharp correction. Yet was there no small part were much delighted in flattering the most bufiness no way concerning them.

fall into much distress : were it not upheld break.

poration; then did the Romans with an illof blame to be imputed unto their Masters, mighty. So they kept themselves in grace For the Roman Senate, being defirous to hum- with the Romans, remaining free from all ble the Acheans, refused not only to give trouble, until the war of Mithridates: them fuch aid as they requested, and as they being men unfit for action, and thereby challenged by the tenor of the League be- innocent; yet bearing a part in many great eweenthem; but further, with a carelessin- actions, as Gratulators of the Roman vicefolency, rejected this honest and reasonable ories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanpetition, That the Enemy might not be sup- quished. Such were the Athenians become. plied from Italy, with victuals or arms. Here- As for those other Common-weals and with not content, the Fathers, as wearied Kingdoms, that with over-nice diligence, with dealing in the affairs of Greece, pronoun- strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands ced openly, That if the Argives, Lacedamonifrom confuming by piece-meal: they ann, or Gorinthians would revolt from the were to be devoured whole, and swal-Acheans; they themselves would think it a lowed up at once. Especially the Macedomian, as the most unpliant, and wherein This was presently after the death of Phi- many of the Greeks began to have affiance, longuen: at what time it was believed, that was necessarily to be made an example, how the Common-wealth of Achaia was like to much better it were to bow , than to

by countenance of the Romans. All this Neither Perfew, nor the Romans were ig-

porant,

affected. Perfer, by reason of his neer neigh- authority than himself therein. Wherefore hourhood, and of the daily commerce be- instead of well discharging his credence, and tween them and his subjects, could not alledging what was meetest in justification want good information of all that might of his people, heuttered a quite contrary tale; concern him, in their affairs. He wellknew, and strongly encouraged the Romans, to opthats Il of them now apprehended the dan- press both the Acheans, and all the rest of ger which Philopemen had long fince fore- Greece, with a far more heavy hand. He told told, of the miserable subjection, whereinto the Senate, that it was high time for them to Greece was likely to be reduced, by the look unto the fetling of their authority. Roman Patronage. Indeed they not only among his froward Countrimen: if they perceived the approaching danger, but as meant not wholly to forego it. For now being tenderly fentible of their liberty, felt there was taken up a custome, to stand upon themselves grieved with the present subject- points of consederacy, and laws: as if these ion, whereto already they were become ob- were principally to be had in regard, any innoxious. Wherefore though none of them junction from Rome notwithstanding. had the courage, in matters of the publick Hence grew it, that the Acheans, both now. to fall out with the Romans; yet all of them and at other times, did what best pleased had the care to choose among themselves themselves, and answered the Romans with none other Magistrates, than such as affect- excuses: as if it were enough to say. That ed the good of their Country, and would for by some condition of League, or by sorae no ambition, or other servile respect, be flat- of some Law, they were discharged or terers of the greatness which kept all in fear. hindred from obeying the Decrees of the Thus it feemed likely, that all domestical Senate. This would not be so, if he, and consoiracies would soon be at an end; when some other of his opipion might have their honesty, and love of the Common-weal, be- wills: who ceased not to affirm. That no came the fairest way to preferment. Of this Columns, or Monuments, erected, nor no careful provision for the safety of Greece, the solemn oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie Romans were not throughly advertised: the observance of Confederacy or Statute, either because things were diligently con- ought to be of force, when the Romans cealed from their Embassadors; whom all willed the contrary. But it was even the menknew to be litle better than spies; or fault of the Romans themselves, that the because little account was made of that in- multitude resused to give ear unto such pertelligence, which was brought in by fuch swasions. For howsoever in popular Estates, Traitors ( of whom every City in Greece had the found of liberty used to be more plaufitoo many ) as were men unregarded among ble, than any discourse tending against it: their own people, and therefore more like to yet if they which undertook the mainfpeak maliciously than truly 3 or perhaps tenance of an argument, seeming never so because the Embassadors themselves, being bad, were sure by their so doing, to pro-all Senators, and capable of the greatest Of-cure their own good; the number of them fice or charge, had no will to find out other would increase apace, and they become the matter of trouble, than was fitting to their prevalent faction. It was therefore, strange own defires of employment. But it is hard how the Fathers could fo neglect the adto conceal that which many know, from vancement of those, that fought wholly to those that are feared or flattered by many. enlarge the amplitude of the Roman Maje-Rome, that should both excuse them, as touch- rebellious purpose, did the Greeks; who ma-

norant, how the Greeks at this time stood Country, than to let any other be of more

The Acheans being to fend Embassadors to sty. More wisely, though with seditious and ing some point wherein they refused to obey ny times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great the Senate; and inform the Senate better in honours, upon men otherwise of little acthe same business: chose one Callicrates, count or desert, only for having uttered some among others, to go in that Embassage. By brave words against the Romans. The Fathers their making choice of such a man, one may hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith perceive the advantage, which mischievous he exhorted them to handle roughly those wretches, who commonly are forward in pur- that were obstinate, and by cherishing their fuing their vile defires, have against the friends, to make their party strong; resolplain fort of honest men, that least earnestly ved to follow this good counsel, in every thrust themselves into the troublesome bu- point; yea to depress all those that held finels of the weal-publick. For this Callicrates with the right, and to fet up their own folwas in such wise transported with ambition, lowers, were it by right or by wrong. And that he chose much rather to betray his to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth

had been their manner in former times; but some acts of hostility in his passage. Yet, as wrote at the present unto all Cities of Greece, if he ought not to have taken such a journey. requiring them to fee that their mandate without their licence; this also was made a (which was concerning the restitution of valuable matter, and cast into the heap of those that were banished out of Lacedemon) his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalf of love of the Acheans: which his Father had fo Callicrates, they advised all men to be such, lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade and to affected, as he was, in their feveral any Macedonians to enter their territories. common-weals. With this dispatch, Calli- It was jealousie perhaps, no less than hatred. crate: returned home a joyful man: having which caused them, at the first, to make such brought his Country into the way of ruine, a decree. For howfoever Philip had by mabut himself into the way of preferment. Ne- my vile acts, especially by the death of the vertheleishe forbore to vaunt himfelf of his two Arati, given them cause to abhor him. eloquence used in the Senate. Only he fore- yet in the publick administration of their ported his Embassage, that all men became estate, he had, for the more part, been to fearful of the danger, wherewith he threat- them fo beneficial, that not without much ned those that should presume to oppose the ado, and at length, without any general con-Romans. By such Arts he obtained to be made fent, they resolve to forsake him. Where-Prator of the Acheans: in which Migi-fore it was needful, even for preservation of stracy, as in all his courses following, he concord among them, to use all circumspeomitted nothing, that might ferve to manifest, crion, that he might not, by his agents, negohis re ady obsequionsness unto those whom tiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a he had made his Patrons.

wan many flatterers, and lost as many true fages, they might make themselves suspected friends : so Perseus on the orner side, think- by their new friends, but the continuance of ing by liberal gifts, and hopeful promises, to this decree, beyond the time of War. and assure unto himself those that ill could brook when all danger of inovation was past. his enemies; got indeed a multitude of was uncivil, if not inhumane; as nourishing partakers, though little honester than his deadly hatred, without leaving means of reenemies had. Thus were all the Cities of conciliation. And hereof the Acheans reased Greece distracted with factions : some hold- no good fruit. For, although they were not, ing with the Romans, some with the Macedo- in like fort, forbidden the Kingdom of Mamian, and some few, respecting only the good cedon: yet understanding what would be due of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the to them, if they should adventure thither, Lords of the Senate were highly offended ; none of them durft fet foot therein. Hence and thought it an indignity not sufferable, it came to pass, that their bond-men. know-That a King, no better than their Vaffal, ing a fafe harbour, out of which their Mashould dare to become head of a faction sters could not fetch them, ran daily away against them. This therefore must be reckon- in great numbers: exceedingly to the loss of ed in the number of the trespasses : whereof such , as made of their slaves very profiif not any one alone, yet all of them together, table use. But Perseus took hold upon this to hold friendship sincerely with all his advised what they did : for that this was neighbours. The Romans perhaps could none other, than a plain device, to make them have been pleased better, if he had behaved depart from the friendship of the Romani.

more peremptorily with the Acheans, than himfelf after a contrary fashion, and done Country towards him to doubtfully affected: Now, as the Romans by threatning-terms especially when by hearkening to his messhall afford them just occasion to make War occasion: as fitly serving to pacific those, upon him. Perfew having finished his business whose enmity fain he would have changed among the Dolopians, made a journey to into love. He therefore apprehended all Apollo his Temple at Delphi. He took his Ar- these fugitives, to send them home again: my along with him: yet went, and returned and wrote unto the Acheans, That as for in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no good will unto them, he had taken pains place was the worse for his journey, but the to restore back their servants, so should they good affection towards him generally increa- do very well to take order for keeping them, fed thereby. With those that were in his that hereafter they might not run away way, he dealt himself; to such as lay further again. His meaning was readily understood, off he fent Embassadours or Letters: praying and his Letters kindly accepted by the greathem, That the memory of all wrongs what- ter part; being openly rehearfed by the Prafoever, done by his Father, might be buried tor, before the Councel. But Callicrates took with his Father; fince his own meaning was the matter very angerly; and bade them be

Herewithall

Herewithall he took upon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Acheans beforehand acquainted with the War, that was coming How Eumenes King of Pergamus was bulked upon Perseus from Rome. He told them how philip had made preparations for the same War; how Demetring had been made away, because of his good affection to the Romans; and how Perfews had , fince his being King , done many things, tending to the breach of neace. Briefly, He rehearfed all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the Romans; the invation of the Baftarna, upon the Dardanians; the Kings journey against the Dolopians; his voyage to Delphi; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he faid) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expet the event of things, and not over-hastily Evenenes King of Pergamus had been to enter into any degree of friendship with ficient ( to one that could understand ) of and indirect courses of revenge. the condition wherein they lived. For The Lycians could not be faved by his Pacause of War was given.

with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His batred to the Macedonian : whom he acculeth to the Roman Senate. The Senate bonours him greatly, and contemns his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The unufual floutness of the Macedonian Embassadours. Perfeus his attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly love between Fumenes and Attalus. Perfeus his device to poylon lome of the Roman Senators : where-

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upon they decree War against him, and send him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.

the Macedonians. Hereto good answer was Pharnaces and Mithridates, his neighbours. made by the Prætors brother: That Calli- He had taken the right course, in making por Lig. grates was too earnest in so light a matter ; first his complaint to the Remans : by whom so so and that, being neither one of the Kings he was animated with comfortable words. Cabinet, nor of the Roman Senate, he and promise, That they, by their authorimade himself too well acquainted with all ty, would end the business to his content. that had paffed, or was like to follow. But in conclusion, by thehelp of the Kings, For it was well known, that Perseus had Prusias and Ariarathes, he ended the War renewed his League with the Romans; that himself; and brought his Enemies to seek he was by them faluted King, and friend to and accept peace, on fuch conditions as the estate : and that he had lovingly en-pleased him to give them. After this, being tertained their Embaffadours: This being fo; at good leifure; he began to confider how why might not the Acheans, as well as the the affairs of Macedon ftood under Perfeus. Atolians, Thesalians, Epirots, and all the His hatred to Perseus was very great : and Greeks, hold with him such correspondence, therefore he was glad to understand, that as common humanity required? Neverthe- the hatred of the Romans, to the same his les Callicrates was grown a man fo terrible, Enemy was as great, and withall notorious. by his Roman acquaintance, that they durst Now, besides his ancient and hereditary not over-stiffly gainsay him. Therefore quarrel with the Macedonian; it vexed him the matter was referred unto further deli- exceedingly, That his own honours (whereberation: and answer made the whilst, That of the Greeks, prodigal in that kind, had fince the King had only fent a Letter with- heaped immoderate store on his Father and out an Embaffadour, they knew not how to him ) began to wax every where stale; resolve. Better it was to say thus, than, that whilest Perseus, either by his currying fathey were afraid to do as they thought most vour, or by the envy born to the Romans, reasonable and convenient. But when Per- had gotten their best liking and withes. For smherewith not contented, would needs despight of this indignity. He stirred up the urge them further, and fend Embassadours: Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: then were they fain, without any good pre- and in helping these rebels, was so violent, tence, to put on a countenance of anger, and that he proceeded, in a manner, in open War. deny to give audience: which was prooffuf- But small pleasure found he in these poor

hearkening to this advice of Callicrates; tronage from severe and cruel chastisement, Post Le they were foon after highly commended by given to them by the Rhodians. This render 74.

a Roman Embaliadour: whereby it became ed him contemptible: as likewife, his acts apparent, that the Romans intended War of hostility, little different from robberies , upon the Macedonian; though hitherto no made him hateful to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not only continued falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a

misseseeming them to give, and affected by Persem, and that these marriages were solem. him beyond the proportion of his defer-nized with great concourse of Embassages vings. All this (which he needed not to from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell have regarded, had he not been too vainly them, (though feeming loth to utter it plainambitious ) befell him; especially for his ly ) That even the envy to their Estate was being over-serviceable to the Romans, and the cause, why many that could not endure for his malice to that noble Kingdom; which to hear of amity with Philip, were now if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not like to grown marvelloufly well affected to his ftand Now for the redress hereof, he thought Son. All this, and some facts of Persen. it vain to ftrive any longer with bounty, which might either be denyed or justified. against such an Adversary, as by hopeful (as that he had procured the death of some promiles alone, without any great perfor- which were friends to the Romans, and that mance, had over-topped him in the general he had expelled Abrypolis the Illyrian, who favour. And therefore he resolved even to invaded Macedon, out of his Kingdom, or overturn the foundations of this popularity, Lordship) Eumenes failed not to amplifie unby inducing the Romans utterly to take to the most; saying, That he thought it his away from the eyes of men this Idol, the duty to forewarn them: fince it would beto Macedonian Kingdom, which all so vainly himself a great shame, if Perseus got the start worthipped. Neither would it prove a diffi of him, and were in Italy making Warupon cult matter, to perswade those that were al- the Romans, ere Eumenes could come thither ready desirous : rather he was like to be to tell them of the danger. highly thanked, for fetting forward their withes; and perhaps to be recompensed with the Romans stood in fear of Perfeus, lest he fome piece of the Kingdom, as he had been should set upon them in Italy. Nevertheless, rewarded, for the like service, when An forasmuch as they loved not to make War tiochus was vanquished.

Rome: where, though he had little to fay, ther hurt intended: great thanks were which they knew not before, yet his words given to Eumenes, who had every way furwere heard with such attention, as if they nished them with such goodly colour, to had contained some strange novelty; and so beautifie their intendment. Now thoughit pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of were fo, that he told them little elfethan them were to turn the ballance, that before what they knew before : yet his person, and was equal. The death of Demetrius, the ex- the manner of his coming, made all feem pedition of the Bastarne into Dardmia, that greater. For if upon any relation madeby of Perseus himself against the Dolopian, and their own Embassadours, or upon tales devito Delphi, the great estimation of the Ma- sed by their flatterers and spyes, they had match; That King Prusias of Bythinia, by mination. The vanity, either of him, of some

decree of the Acheans, as too unmeasured, earnest fuit, had gotten to wifethe Sister of

It were too great folly, to believe that without fair pretence, not only of wrong To this end he made a second voyage to done to them or their associates, but of surcedonian in Greece, his intermedling in bu- warred against Fersem, ere he had committed finess of his neighbours, his riches and his any open act of hostility against them; their great provisions, were all the material injustice and oppression would have been points of Eumenes his discourse. Only he most manifest. But when the wrongs to them descended unto particulars, having searched done, were so notorious, and the danger into all (as he professed) like unto a Spy. He threatning them so terrible, that such a Prince faid, that Perjew had thirty thousand foot as Eumenes came out of his own Kingdom, as and five thousand horse of his own, mony in far as from Asia, to bid them look to thema readiness to entertain ten thousand Mer- selves; who could blame them, if they took cenaries for ten years, Arms to furnish a the speediest order to obtain their own right number thrice as great : The Thracians his and fecurity ? Toward this justification friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him of the war, and magnifying the necessity Souldiers as many as he should require ; that enforced them thereto, their more and that he prepared victuals for ten years, than usual curiofity, in concealing what because he would not be driven, either to Eumenes had uttered in the Senate, when live upon spoil, or to take from his own they could not but understand that his er-Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to rand was well known ; helped not a little. consider, that King Selencus, the Son and The Macedonian and Rhodian Embassadours fuccessor of Antiochus the Great, had given were at Rome, provided of answers to the his Daughter Laodice in marriage to Perfeus ; words, which they knew before-hand that Perfeus not wooing, but seleucus offering the he would speak; and with matter of recrifoightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope Romans, to alien quite from their own pro- to a work of fuch importance. Wherefore he, For proof hereof, they referred themselves how to use it. unto the Commentaries of the ten Embassain Afa, after the Victory against King Kings own heat; it appears by his daring to

Plainer language, and were told, That King current in Affa. Hence it came, that his brother Perfew defired much to give them fatisfacti- Attalm took upon him as King, and either on, concerning any deed or word of his, took, or would have taken to wife (supposing

about him, seems to have disclosed all: when | that might savour of hostility; but that, if his the weariness of the Fathers, in hiding that travel in this kind proved vain, then would which all men knew, made a notable shew be be ready to defend himfelt by arms, and of some fearful apprehension ; against which stand to the chance of War, which often falls it behoved their wisdom to neglect no pos- out contrary to expectation. There big fible remedy. Wherefore careless audience words may feem to have proceeded from was given to the Rhodian Embassadors; who the vehemency of Harpalus, that was chief accused Eumenes, as one more troublesome of the Emballadors; rather than from into Asia, than Antiochus had ever been, and struction given by the King, with whole a provoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there Rhodians had with great pomp conveighed good reason, why Perfew himself might, at by Sea unto Perseus , his Bride Laodice ; this time, think to speed better by a shew of which friendly Office, as the Macedonian daring, than he was like to do by any fubbountifully requited, fo the Romans de mission. For the eyes of all Greece being when the Lycians, as already vanquished, of deliverance from the Rom in lervitude; it were fetling themselves in their obedience to was not expedient that he should lessen, or the people of Rhodes, Embassadors came from perhapsutterly cut off, the general expecta-Rome with strangenews, which gave new life tion, and the good affection born to him. to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced which thereon depended, by discovering his That it flood not with the manner of the too much weakness of spirit, unanswerable tection any People or Nation by them van- or his Embassadour for him, was bold to quished: and that the Lycians were by them fet a good countenance on a game not very affigned unto those of Rhodes, not as meer bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune, Vassals, but as Dependants and Associates. which might have been his, had he known

Now that this bravery (as better it may be dors; whom they had fent to dispose of things termed than courage) proceeded from the Antiochus. Hereat Eumenes, Masanisla, the adventure soon after, on a practice that Etolians, and all other Kings or Estates that more justly might anger the Romans, and were beholding to Rome, for increasing the give them fairer shew of reason to make War number of their subjects, had cause to find upon him. It was known that Eumenes, in themselves agrieved, if they well conside- returning home, would take Delphi in his way red the matter: fince by force of this or the and there do facrifice to Apollo, Ferfeus deadlike decree, those their Subjects might ea- ly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, fily be made their Fellows, whenfoever it resolved to way-lay him, and by making should please the Senate: though it were so there of him a facrifice, to rid his own hands that all men knew the present meaning of the of a most mischievous Enemy. So there were Senate: which was only to plague the Rho- appointed three or four Ruffians to do dians for their good will to Perfess, by fetting the murder: who placing themselves behind them and the Lycians together by the ears, a broken mud-wall, on the fide of a very The Fathers could therefore see no reason to narrow path leading up from the Sea to the diflike Eumenes, upon this complaint made Temple, did thence affault the King; whom by the Rhodian Embassadors, which indeed they forely bruised with great stones, and more nearly touched themselves. Rather left for dead. They might have finished they honoured the King so much the more : their work, such was the opportunity of for that others (as they would needs take it) the place which they had chosen; but fear of confoired against him, because of his love to being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all fure, flee in such haste, that But the Macedonian Embassage they heard they killed one of their own Companions, not fo carelesly as angrily : though perad- who could not hold pace with them; because venture it well contented them to find cause he should not discover them. Eunienes was of anger: for whereas at other times all conveighed away to the little Isle of Ecina. care had been taken, to pacifie them with where he was cuted : being all the while kept gentle words and excuses: now heard they so secretly, that the same of his Death was

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it be like a matter of State) stratonica the | should hereafter name, a poyson of rare onadaughter of King Ariarather, whom he then lity; fure in operation, yet not to be perceithought the Widow of Eumenes. It may well wed either in the taking or afterward. He be numbred among the rare Examples of durst not refuse to accept this Employbrotherly love, That when the King turned ment: for fear lest the vertue of this Medialive home, Attalus going forth to meet him cine should be tried upon himself. But being and do his duty, as in former times, received once at liberty, he discovered all. Rammius none other check, than, That he should forbear was but one man, and one whom the King to marry with the Queen, until he were well had never feen before, nor was like to fee assured of the Kings death. More than this, again: and therefore, besides that the Kings Fumencs never spake of these matters; but denial ought to be as good as such a fellows bequeathed at his death, unto the same Bro- affirmation, the accusation was improbable. ther, both his Wife and Kingdom. As likewife Thus did Perseus, in time shortly following. Attalus forbore to attempt any thing to the answer for himself; and in like fort concerprejudice of the King his Erother: though the oing the attempt upon Eumenes: denying to Romans (with whom he continued and grew have had any hand, either in the one or in special sayour, when Eumenes fell into other : yet withall professing, That such their hatred) were in good readiness to have objections were not to be made unto a King, transferred the Kingdom from his Brother to prove the Rightfulness of making War to him. By such concord of Brethren was the upon him, but rather unto a subject pleading Kingdom of Pergamus raised and upheld; as for his life in judgement. But howsoever the might also that of Mucedon have been, if De-Romans neglected the getting of stronger metrius had lived, and employed his grace proof (which might have been easie) than

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he understood that his Ministers had both very suitable to these practices. Neither did accomplished his will, and had faved all from the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matdiscovery. But as he was deceived in the terwith him: these his treacheries being held main point, and heard shortly after, that Eu- inexcusable. And as for his Royal Estate, menes lived, fo was he beguiled in that other wherein he supposed that they ought not to hope, of the concealment; which he vainly touch him for such private Offences, it gave esteemed the less material. For he had him no priviledge: they judging him to have written to one Praxo, a Gentlewoman of offended in the nature of a King Herein fure-Delphi, to entertain the men whom he fent ly they wanted not good reason. For if he about this business: and she, being appremight not lawfully make War upon Eumehended by C. Valerius, a Roman Embassador, nes their Confederate; that is, if he might then attending upon the matters of Greece, not fend mento waste the Kingdom of Pergawas carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. mus, or to befiege the Towns: might he Valerius also brought with him to Rome, out fend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were of Greece, one Rammius a Citizen of Brundu- no less breach of the League to destroy the fum; who coming newly from the Court of Senators by fire or famine, than by violence Macedon, loaden with a dangerous secret, of the Sword, was it lawful for him to doit had prefently fought out the Embaffadour, by poyfon ? Wherefore they prefently deand thereof discharged himself. Brundu- creed War against him; and sent Embassagiving to such of the Romans as the King that he had entertained long and secret confe-

with the Romans, to the benefit of Perseus. | any that we find by them produced : vet It is likely that Perfeus was very glad, when the base and cowardly temper of Perseus was finm was the ordinary Port for Ships passing dours to denounce it unto him, unless he between Italy and Greece. There had Ram- would yield to make fuch amends as they mine a fair house; wherein he gave enter- should require. He seemed at this time to tainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassa- have been so consident in the general favour dors, and other honourable personages, both of Greece, and other comfortable appearan-Romans and Mucedonians, journying to and ces, that if he defired not War, yet he did fro. By occasion of such his Hospitality, he not fearit: or at least he thought by shew of was commended to Perfess, and invited into courage, to make his Enemies more calm. He Macedon with friendly letters; as one, whose caused the Embassadors to dance attendance, many courtefies to his Embassadors, the King till being weary, they departed without auwas studious to requite. At his coming, he dience. Then called be them back, and bade was much made of; and shortly, with more them do their Errand. They made a tedious familiarity than he expected or defired, made rehearfal of all matters, which they had long partaker of the Kings Secret. The fum been collecting against him, and wherewith of all was, Thathe must needs do a turn, in Eumenes had charged him: adding thereto, remptorily required fatisfaction; as was their constant in his resolution. For if his heart manner when they intended to give defiance. could ferve him to undertake the War, he Better they might have stood upon the evi- should couragiously have managed it, and Praxo. For if those accusations could be ve- Enemy was unprepared; not have lost the opwhereon to build: of which otherwife they obtaining a worse peace than the former. were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be ftrong, well-beloved, & well-befriended. Perfews answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the Romans greedy, proud, infolent, The Romans folicite the Greeks, to joyn with them and underminers of him by their daily Embaffadors, that were no better than meer spies. Finally, he promised to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the League made between them and his Father; and renewed by himself indeed only for fear; but wished them to descend to more equal conditions; whereupon he, for his part, would

advise, as they might also do for theirs.

In the form of the League between Philip and the Romans, as is fet down by Polybius, we find no condition, binding the Mucedonian to any inconvenience in the future ; excepting those which he immediately performed. But Livy inferts a clause, whereby he was exprefly forbidden to make any War abroad, without leave of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman Confederates were included in this peace : whereby every one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring shortly into league with Rome, did so bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make O long had the Romans been feeking oc-war abroad, than if he had been restrained by Casson to take in hand this Macedonian plain covenant. And thus might that feem an War, that well they might have been ready Article of the Peace, which never was agreed for it, when it came; and not (as they were) upon, but only was inferred by consequence. behind hand in Provisions. But it was on a Now if the Romans would urge this point sudden that they met with a confluence further, and say, that the Macedonian might of good pretences to make the Warr: not bear Defensive Arms, without their per- whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, mission; then had Perfess very just reason to yet all of them together seemed more than find himself agrieved. For since they had sufficient. This opportunity of making allowed his father, without controll, to their Cause honest in common opinion, was make war in Thrace, (whilest they themselves not to be neglected : though otherwise were unacquainted with the Thracians) else- they were unprepared for the Action. where abroad, though he asked not their li- Wherefore knowing, or having reason to becence: why should they now interpret the lieve, that their own strengths were such as bargain after another fashion? Was it now would prevail in the end; they hastily embecome unlawful for him to chastise his own braced the fair occasion of beginning, and Rebels? or to repay an Illyrian that invaded referred other cares to the diligence of time. Macedon ? By such allegations he maintain- Neither was this their unreadiness a small ed the right of his cause in very mild fort ; help, towards examining the disposition of when it was too late. At the present, by dis- the Greeks and others; who must afterwards claiming the League as unjust, he ministred dearly pay for any backwardness found in occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him their good will. There was not indeed any

rence in the ille of samothrace, with Embaf- meffage, he commanded them to be gone out fadors fent to him out of Affa, about fome of his Kingdom in three days. But either ill purpofe. In regard of all which, they pe- he should have been less vehement, or more dence, brought against him by Rammin and have faln to work immediately, whilst the rified, then wanted they not good ground portunity, as now and often he did, in hope of

#### 6. V I.

in the war against Perfeus. How the Greeks flood affected in that war. The timeroufness of Perfeus. Martius a Roman Embaffador deludes him with kope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of Theffaly. The forces of Lemius the Roman Conful: and what Afficants the Romans had in this War. Of Tempe in Theffaly; & what advantages the Mucedonian had, or might have had; but luft by his fear. Perfeus braves the Romans, fight's with them, knows not how to ufe his Viciery jues for peace, and is denied it by the Lar milhed. Perfeus having the worse in a A would forfakes all the Country lying about 1 ..... The Beotians rebel against the Romain, and are ricoroully punished. The Ro-Man Commanders unfortunate in the War against Postius. They vex the Greeks their firmis: for whose ease the Senate makes Prowillow bearing beard their Complaints. The Hattering Alabanders.

defiance. Having heard the worst of their cause to fear, that all of the Greeks, or Aaaaaaa 2

other Eastern People should conspire toge-' serve to terrifie him: and consequently, that ther, and take part with the Macedonian : it should at all times be in the Romans Power. fuch was the diffention between the feveral by giving him any tolerable conditions of Estates; howsoever the generality of them peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those were inclin'd the same way. Nevertheless which had affisted him : little cause was Embassadors were sent to deal with them there why any should adventure to partake all; and to crave their help against Perseus, with him. He made indeed a great noise: or rather to demand it, in no less ample man-leading about his army; taking by force or ner, than heretofore they had yielded it composition some few Towns, and soliciting against Philip and Antiochus, in Wars pre- all to joyn with him. But wife men could tending the Liberty of Greece. The Embaf- not be to beguiled. For at the same sime, he fadors used as gentle words for fashion fake, as fought all means of pacification: air to that if they had stood in doubt that their request end, made humble juit unto the Roman Emmight happen to be denied. But the Greeks bassadors. 2 Martius, the chief of those were now grown well acquainted with Embaffadors, and a min of more fineness fuch Roman courtelie: and understood that in cunning than was usual among the Ronot only such as made refusal, but even they mans, made shew of inclination to the Kinos who might feem to have granted half un-defire; and gave out fuch comfortable willingly, were like to hear other manner words, that the King entreated and obtaiof words, when once this business was end- ned a meeting at the River Peneus. There did ed. Wherefore none of them were forupu- Martins very gently rebuke the King, and lous in promiting the best of their help to charge him with those crimes that are before \* 2011 the Romans : the \* Acheans and Rhodians, mentioned. Whereto though Persons made which were chief am ong them, being rather none other answer, than the same which doubtful, even when they had donetheir they could have made for him; yet the Emhalted in some part of their duty. It is strange in good part, as therewith satisfied: and ad-

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best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had bassadors, and especially Martins, took it that men could be so earnest to set up the vised him to give the like satisfaction to the side, whereof they gladly would have seen Senate. That this might conveniently be the ruine. The vulgar fort was everywhere done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had addicted to Perfens; of the Nobles and Ru- Martins his defire; which was to make the lers, if some were vehemently Roman, they Kinglose time. For Perseus had all things wanted not opposers, that were wholly Ma- then in a readiness, and might have done cedonian; yea, the wifest and most honest, much, ere the Roman Army could have been who regarded only the benefit of their in Greece. But by the interpolition of this Country, wished better to Perseus than to the truce, he no way increased his forces; he Romans. And of this number Polybins the suffered a most convenient season of winning chief of Historians was one: who though upon the Enemy, to flip away; and obtained He \* judged the victory of Persens, like to in recompence nothing else, than leisure prove hurtful unto Greece, yet wished he and vain hope. Yet was he pleased herethe Romans ill to thrive, that so the Greeks with, as it had been with some victory : pubmight recover perfect Liberty: for his en-lishing a copy of the Disputation between deavours in which course, he was at length him and the Romans, whereby he gave men tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed here- to understand how much he had the better, after. This considered, it appears that an and what great hope there was of peace. He extraordinary fear, and not only reverence fent Embassadors also to the Rhedians, of of the Imperial City, made the Achaens, whose good will to him he was best perswaand other Estates of Greece, thus conforma- ded; not only to let them know how much he ble to the Romans. The occasion of this their was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, fear may be justly imputed unto the ti- that they would take upon them, as Moderamorous demeanor of Perseus himself. He tors, to compound the differences between had undertaken a War, whereof the bene- him and the Romans, if perhaps notwithfit should redound, not only to his own standing the goodness of his cause, he should Kingdom, but unto all that were oppressed be denied peace. These were poor helps. by the Romans. Yet no fooner were fome For hereby it appeared, that his late standfew Companies brought over-lea, to make a ing upon point of Honour, was no better than countenance of meaning somewhat against meer vanity; his own safety being the uthim, than he began to speak the enemy fair, most of his ambition. This his fearfulness and sue for peace at Rome. Since therefore might seem excusable, and the blame thereof it was known, that every small thing would to appertain unto the Greeks; who de-

him in a time of necessity, that was partly ther did this poor courtesie serve alone to their own: had it not been his Office, who hide the craft of Martins, as if he had meant took upon him as their Champion, to give none other than good earnest : but it was a fuch a manly beginning to the War, as might likely mean both to keep a long while from encourage all others to follow him. But Perseus the knowledge of his business, and to his timorous quality being found, mengrew stagger his resolution, when he should need daily more and more averse from him ; and it most firm. were careful not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom the Roman Conful was at Apollonia, in a he had many stout Partizans, desired him not manner as soon as the Macedonian Embassato crave any thing at their hands, in which dours were with their King at Pella. Which they might feem to do against the good liking though it were enough to have rouzed Perof the Romans. The Baotians also, who fem, and have made him lay aside all cowardhad entered of late into a ftrict fociety with ly hope of getting Pardon, yet was he conthe Macedonian; renounced it now, and made tent to deliberate a while, Whether it were the like with the Romans: to whom further, not better to offer himself tributary to the in a fort, they yeelded themselves as vassals. Romans, and to redeem their good will with Neither was Martius contented to accept some part of his Kingdom, that so he might their submission under a general form; but enjoy the rest; than to put all at once to caused their several Towns to make cove- hazard. But finally, the stoutest counsel prenant apart, each for it self; to the end, that vailed; which also was the wisest, and so being thus distracted into many little Com- would have proved, had it been stoutly and monweals, they might not (were they never wisely followed. He now began, as if the so desirous to rebel) have such sorce to do War had not begun until now, to do what hurt, as when they agreed, and were incor- should have been done long afore. He porated into one, under the City of Thebes. caused all his Forces to be drawn together; This work, of separating the Buotians from and appointed their Randezvouz at Cied the Lacedamonians.

who came last on the same errand, did their gines and Munition. meffage without the Walls, in the Temple of Out of his own Kingdom he iffued forth Bellona (the usual place of giving audience into Thessaly: knowing that the Romans to open Enemies, or to such Commanders as were to pass thorow that Country, in their might not, by reason of some custom enter Journey towards him. Some Towns of the City) and had only the short warning The sale opened their Gates unto him, with-

ceived his expectation, by being wanting to of eleven days, to be gone out of Italy. Nei-

And accordingly it fell out. For Licinius Thebes their Head, was more than Agestlans tium, a Town in Macedon. All being in readicould effect, or Epaminondas would suffer, ness, he did Royal Sacrifice, with an hunthen when all Greece followed the Lacede- dred Beafts, to I know not what Minerva, monians. So far more available to Thebes, that was peculiarly honoured in his Counbeing destitute of help from abroad, was try: and then with all his Courtiers, and the virtue of Epaminondas, and a few brave those of his Guard, set forward to Citium. His Citizens, than was the society with King Per Army he found confisting of nine and thirfens, against a number not so great as follow-ty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foot, and a Martius brought this to effect, whilest the thousand horse were strangers, of sundry King fat still, as being bound by the truce: Nations, most part Thracians; the rest of his and having done this, he turned to the City; own Macedonians. These he animated with where, vaunting what he had wrought by lively speeches; laying before them the glory his craft, he was commended, and (though of their Ancestors, the insolency of the Rosome reproved it as dishonest) employed mans, the goodness of his Cause, the greatagain by the Senate, with commission to nessof his Provisions, and the many advandeal as he should think expedient. Touch- tages which they had of the Enemy, especialing the Embassadours which Perfews had ly in numbers. They answered him chearfulfent; audience was given to them, for that ly, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of they should not plainly see how their Master good courage. From all Cities of Macedon was deluded: but neither excuse nor in- there came likewise Messengers, offering to treaty would serve their turn: the Senate help him with money and victuals, according being resolved before-hand what to do. It to their several Abilities. He gave them was enough that they were admitted into the thanks : but answered, That his own provi-City, and had thirty days respite allowed sions would abundantly suffice, willing them them to depart out of Italy: whereas they, only to furnish him with Carts, for his En-

he balked, thinking them too ftrong or well- thither this Fleet. But whatfoever Gentius manned; and some he wan by force. Of thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost thefe laft was Myle; a Town thought im- both his Kingdom and himself, in the end of pregnable, and therefore, not more floutly this War; by offering, rather than giving than proudly defended by the Inhabitants, his help to Perfeus. who gave contumelious language to the Af- With none other company than what he failants. it was taken by reason of a sally; brought over the Sea, Licinius came into which the Towns-men rathly made, and be- Theffaly: fo tyred with a painful journey, ing driven back, received the Macedonians, through the Mountainous Country of Athathat entered pell mell with them at the gate. minia, which flood in his way from Epirm; All cruelty of War was practifed here: to that if Perfess had been ready, attending his the greatesterrour of the obstinate. Sole descent into the Plains, the Romans must latia and Connus ( Towns of much impor- needs have taken a great overthrow. He tance, especially Comme, which stood in the refreshed himself and his wearied Army, by straights of Ofia, leading into Tempe) yielded the River Peneus; where he encamped, atat the first. Having well fortified this passinge, tending his Auxiliaries, that came in as fast the King marched onwards to Sicurium, a as they could. It was not any flender help, Town feated on the foot of Mount offa ; that could enable him to deal with Perfeus. where he be reticula while, expecting news Therefore he refolved to abide where he of the Enemy.

In two human Legions: being promited tenting himself in the mean while, to have other itreng h of Auxiliaries, which was gotten quiet entrance into the Country. The thought sufficient. Eumenes and Attalus his Land of Thesaly, in which these two Armies brother came to him in theffaly, with four lay, was better affected to the Romans, than thousand foot, and a thousand Forfe. This any part of Greece besides: as having been ther also came, from every part of Greece, freed by them from a more heavy yoke of fuch 2 d as the everal Estates could afford, bondage to the Macedonian, when there was or thought expedient to fend: which from little hope of expectation of fuch a benefit. the meft of them was very little. Of the le was generally rich, fruitful, and abounding Kings abroad; Misanissa sent thither his Son in all things needful to mans life. In the Attitutenes, with a thousand Foot, as many midft of it, but somewhat more to the East, Horse, and two and twenty Elephants, was that beautiful Valley of Tempe, fo exarriarathes the Cappadocian, by reason of ceedingly full of all delights, that the name his Affinity with Exmenes, was friend to the was often used at large to fignifie the most Romans, and had fent to Rome his young pleasant and goodly places. This Valley of Son, there to be brought up: yet he did it felf was not great; but adding to it those livile or nothing in this war; pernaps because huge Mountains offa and Olympus (famous in Exmens himself began within a while, but Poesie) with their Spurs or Branches, by when it was too late, to be otherwise advifed than he had been in the beginning. Prulias was content to be a looker on: as being allied to Perfens, and yet fearing the Romans. Antiochus and Ftolomy ( hough Ptolo my was then young, and under luters ) had business of their cwin ; the Syrian meaning had long, in vain, attempted to do. Perseus to myade the Igyptian: yet each of them promited help to the Romans, which they cared not to perform. Gentius the Illy rians was inclinable to the Macedonian, yet made good countenance to the Romans, for fear. It was a pretty trick wherewith M. Lucretius, the Roman Admirals Brother. ferved him for this his counterfeit good will This King had four and fifty Ships, riding it the Fraven of Dyrrachium, uncertain to what purpose: all which Lucretzus took away. ter a very kind fort; making thew to believe That for none other end than to ferve the

out making offer to defend themselves; some , Romans, their good triend Gentius had sent

then was, and keep his trenches, until his Lie, mess the Conful brought with him on- numbers were fufficiently increased : conwhich it was on all fides enclosed; it occupied the better part of Thessaly. And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon; unless they would make an hungry journey thorow the Country of the Daffaretians, as in the former war with Philip, they therefore had no small advantage, by being Master of the Straights leading unto Tempe : hough far greater he might have had, if by mit-spending of timehehad not lost it. For f in defending the ragged passages of these Mountains, he were able to put the Romans often to the worfe; yea, to win upon them (for a while) every year more than other, with in strength and reputation : questionin he might have done far greater things, and he feized upon the Straights of AONS, which his Father once kept, and defended all he Country behind the Mountains of Pindus.

Surely, not without extreme difficulty, must | was inevitable, if he gave a little further the Romans have either travelled by Land, ground. What was performed by him or the with all their Carriages and Impediments. Romans, all the while that he kept his footthrough places wherein was no relief to be ing in The faly, it is hard to the w particularly. found or else have committed their Armies, for that the History of those things is much and all things thereto needful, unto the perished. Wherefore we must be contented mercy of Seas that were very dangerous; if with the fumm. they would have fought other way into The Conful having no defire to fight, un-Macedon, than through the heart of Greece : til fuch time as all his forces were arrived : upon neither of which courses they once kept within his Trenches, and lay still endeviced, notwithstanding any trouble which camped by the River of Pencus, about three they found in this present War. It may per- miles from Lariffa. That which persuaded has be faid, that the Greeks, and others, the Consulto protract the time, did contrawhom the King must have left on his back, wise incite the King, to put the matter unto a would have made him unable to defend any hasty trial. Wherefore he invited the Roplaces too far from his own home. But they mans into the field; by wasting the Land of were all, excepting the Theffalians, better af the Pheraans their Confederates. Finding

fefted now to him, than they had been to his them patient of this indignity; he grew bold Father in the former War. The Etolians, to adventure even unto their Trenches : out upon whom the Athamanians depended, of which, if they issued, it was I kely that his grew into suspicion with the Romans (as we advantage in Horse would make the Victory hall find anon) even as foon as they met his own. At his coming they were troubled; with Perfess. The Baotians, how politically for that it was fudden : yet no way terrified; foever Martius had wrought with them, ad- as knowing themselves to be lately lodged. ventured themselves desperately in the Ma- They sent out a few of King Eumenes his cedonian quarrel: what would they have Horse, and with them some light-armed foot, done, if he at first had done his best? The to entertain skirmish. The Coptain, and some Rhodians, Illgrians, yez, and Eumenes himself, other of these were slain : but no matter of after a while began to waver, when they importance done; for that neither Licinius faw things go better with Perfeus, than they nor Eumenes, found it reasonable to hazard had expected. So that if instead of discou- battel. Thus, day after day, a while together, raging his Friends, by fuing basely for peace; Persen continued offering battel: which they he had raifed their hopes, by any brave per- still refused. Hereby his boldness much informance in the beginning; and increased creased; and much more his reputation: to the number of his well-willers; yea, and the grief of those, who being so far come to bought down with money (as he might have make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame done) some of his enemies, and among them that fell upon them by their enduring these Eumenes, who offered for good recompence, bravadoes. The Town of Sycurium, where to forget his broken head: then might the Perfeus then lay, was twelve miles from the Romans perhaps have been compelled to for- Romans: neither was there any convenient fake their imperious patronage over Greece; watering in that long march, which used to and to render the Liberty by them given, en- take up four hours of the morning, but he tire; which otherwise was but imaginary. was fain to bring water along with him in Such benefit of this War, fince it was hoped Carts, that his men might not be both weafor afterwards, might with greater reason ry and thirsty when they came to fight. For have been expected at first, from greater adreemedy of these inconveniencies, he found vantages. But as a fearful company running out a lodging seven miles nearer to the enevantages. But as a rearm company funding out a loging leven miles nearer to the enter from their Enemies, till fome River flay my: whom he vilited the next day by the their flight; are there compelled by meer defperation to do fuch acts, as done, while the battel lafted, would have won the Victory: foreign to the danger of that War, whereof he laft he danger of the danger of that war, whereof he laft he danger of that war, whereof he laft he danger of the danger of that war, whereof he laft he danger of the bould have fought the honour; he left his friends that would have ftood by him, and give check to his pride. Wherefore he sent gave them cause to provide for their own forth his Brother C. Licinius, King Eumeafety: yet being overtaken by necessity, he nes, Attalus, and many brave Captains, with choic rather to set his back to the Mountains all his power of Horse, his Velites, and all of Tempe, and defend himself with his proper the rest of his light Armature to try their forces; than to be driven into such misery, as fortune: he himself remaining in the Camp,

with his Legions in readiness. The ho- might learn by Examples of either kind nour of this morning, was the Macedonian that if they would shun indignation, or in-Kings; for he ob assed the Victory in a man-cur favour, then must they adventure no ner intire (though the Theffalians made a less for their Lords the Romans, than gladly good retrait) with little loss of his own. But they would do for their own Liberty. Thus he di covered his weakness ere night, by fared it with the Consul and his Army hearkening, as Princes commonly do, to Perfess came the next day to correct the countel given by one of his own temper. former days errour ; which how great it For where as the Romans were in great fear, was, he not until then found. The Romans lest he should assault their Camp; and to were gotten into a place of safety; whithat purrole, upon the fift news of his ther they could never have attained, if the fuccess, his Phalanx was brought unto him King had either pressed his Victory, or by the Captains, though unient for : he ne- given better heed to them that night: his vertheless took it for found advice, which light Armature alone being sufficient to have indeed was timorous and base, To work routed them whilest they were conveying wastly, and moderate his victory; by which themselves to the other lide of Peness. But means it was taid. That either he should get it was vain to tell what might have been honest conditions of Peace, or at leastwise done, since there was no remedy. The many Companions of his fortune. Certainly Romans were bearen, even the flower of it was like that his good fortune would ex- their City, The Gentlemen of Rome; out alt the Hope and Courage of his Friends. of whom were chosen their Senators, and Yet, had it been greater, and had he won the consequently the Generals themselves, Piz-Roman Camp, his friends would have been tors, Confuls, and all that bore Office or was his folly, in hop ng then for peace: beaten to thamefully, that they ftole away And in fuing for it, even when he had the vi- by night, and fuffered him to gather up the

the more, and the bolder. But over great Command among them; yea, they were ctory; what Ife did he, than proclaim unto spoils of them without resiltance, as yieldall which would become his partakers, That ing themfelves overcome. With such brave neither good nor had fortune should keep words did the King set out the Glory of his him from yielding to the Romans, when to- Action; dividing the spoils among his Fulever they would be pleated to accept him? lowers. But there was much wanting At this time the joy of his victory would ad- within him, to have made his honour found. mit none of the Confiderations. He had He came nearer to the Romans, and enflain of the Roman Horse two hundred, camped at Monfelus, a place in a mid-way beand taken of them preforers the like num tween Tempe and Lariffa: as if it were his ber. Of their foor he had flain about two meaning to press them fomewhat harder. thousand: losing of his own no more than Nevertheless he was easily perswaded touse twenty Hotle, and torty foot. The Roman the occasion, which he feemed to have, of Camp, after this difafter, was full of heavi- obtaining peace. Therefore he fent unto the ness and fear : it being much doubted that Conful, and offered to yield unto the same the enemy would fee upon it. Eumenes gave Conditions, wherein his Father had been counfel to diflodge by right, and remove bound to the Romans; if the War might fo to a furer place beyond the River Peneus, take end. It were needless here again to The Conful, though athamed to profess, by thew the folly of this his course. Towards so doing, in what sear he stood; yet thought the accomplishment of this desired Peace, it better to acknowledge the Loss past, there was in the Conful no greater power than by standing on proud terms, to draw than to grant a Truce, whilest Embassadours upon himself a greater Calamity. So he might go to Rome : it resting in the Senate passed the River in the dead of the night, and People to approve the conditions, & raand en amped more strongly on the further tifie the League. And of such a truce granted fide. The Atolians were forely blamed for by Martius, he had lately found no small disthis los: as it rather a traiterous meaning, commodity redounding. But Licinium dealt than any true fear, had occasioned their plainly, and returned answer, That other flight, wherein the rest of the Greeks follow- hope of peace there was none; save that Ferseed them. Five of them that were men of espe- | se would yield both his Kingdom and Person, cial mark, had been observed to be the first simply and absolutely, to discretion of the which turned their backs: an observation | Senate. A manly part it was of Licinius to likely to cost them dear, at a time of better be so resolute in Adversity. On the other leiture. As for the Theffalians, their virtue fide, it argued a very faint heart in Perfess, was honoured with reward : fo as the Greeks that having receiv'd an answer so peremptory

ing taken in good feason, he failed in the felf. enterprise. As for the forragers; he had a After the same fashion dealt they that prey to the Romans.

he ftill perfifted, making vain offers of great came within themfelves more absolute, that ter tribute. Finding that the peace which formerly they had been. The cautes hereof he so much defired, could not be purchased were to have been sought among the with mony, the King withdrew himfelf back changes happening in their variable factions: to Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what whereof the knowledge is now loft. Some the Enemy did; whose forces were well re- of them rebelled, and were throughly pupaired by the coming of Misagenes the Son nished by Lucretius the Roman Admirai: of Majanisa, with the aid before mentio- who got so much by spoiling them, that he aed. This distance between the King and would have brought others to rebell in them, caused the Romans to wax the more like fort, if by extream oppression he could bold in making their harvest: about which have driven them to far. Neither was Libusiness they ranged over all the fields. Their cinius the Conful undiligent in the same eareless demeanour gave him hope to do kind. What his doings were, after such some notable exploit: which he attempted, time as he was at leiture from Perfeus, I both upon their Camp, and upon those that find no where mentioned. Only this is faid in were abroad. The Camp he thought to general; That in the War which he made, have fired on the fudden: but the alarm be he cruelly and covetuously demeaned him-

good hand upon them, if he could have with- commanded in the year following; Hostiius drawn it, and given over in time. But whilft the Conful, and Hortenfine the Admiral, or he strove to force a guard, he was visited Prator of the Fleet. Hostilius shewed by the Conful; by whom either in a skirmish more of his industry, in picking quarrels of horse, or (for the report is divers ) in a with the Consederates of Rome, than in progreat battel, he was overcome. This milad- fecuting the War against the Macedonian. venture, whether great or fmall, caused Per- For concerning the Roman War upon his few, after a few daies, to fall back into Ma- Kingdom, after that the Conful had fought cedon; as being naturally given to fear passage in vain over certain mountains, Perdanger, even where none was; where- feus feemed in a manner, free from it. He was by what loss he felt, will appear here-troubled indeed on that fide which looked after. He left all behind him, fave only Tempe, towards Illyria, by Ap. Glaudius, whom the weakly guarded: and consequently an easie Conful sent thither with an Army of four thousand, and who, by levies made upon the After the Kings departure, Licinim went Confederates, doubled this his Army. But straight unto Connus; hoping to have taken Claudius thinking to have taken Ofcana, it, and to to have gotten entrance into Tem- a border town of Illyria, by Treason; came But finding the work too hard, he thither in such careless order, that the inreturned back unto the Perrabians and habitants which had made thew of Treaothers; from whom he won some Towns, son, with purpose only to train him into and among the rest, Larifa. There were danger; fallied forth upon him, overthrew fundry Towns thereabout, bearing the same him, and chased him so far, that hardly he name of Lariffa: fo that this which the escaped with the fourth part of his compa-Conful took, may feem not to have belong ny. Yet this Town of Ofcana, thortly afed unto the Thessalians; unless, perhaps, ter became Roman: which howsoever it hapafter his victory, Perseus did greater acts pened, Perseus very soon recovered it, and than we find recorded, and got some part of many other places therewithall : Cotys a I bracian King, fecuring him on the one fide Of matters happening in Greece at this of Macedon; and Cephalus an Epirot, revoltime, it is hard to give a precise account; for ted from the Romans, on the other. Perseus that the Histories of them are greatly de-likewise made a painful journey into Etofective. One may think it strange, that the lia; where he was promised to be admitted Beotians, whom a Roman Embaffador could into Stratus, that was the strongest City in terrifie, and bring altogether to his own will, that Region. Of this hope though he were thould not be afraid of a Roman Army, then disappointed by those of the Romans faction foot in Greece, and a Navy on their on, yet in his return home, he took in coast. But more strange it is, that the The-bans, from whom their dependants were takenby the Art of Martins, were more true ten by Cleves, one of his Lieutenants. Such to Rome, than other petty Towns, which success had the Macedanian War under Hoby that same distraction of the Beetians, be Itilius. The same Consul offended much

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his Embailadors made into mens affection to- burden for the present war, unless it were wards Rome. For these Embassadors travel- such, as the Senate had likewise thought ling thorow all the Citis of Peloponneseus, meet. Of this Decree the whole Country gave out speeches tending to shew, That was glad : for it was, or seemed, a good remethey liked no better of those who sought dy of many inconveniences. But they that nor by might and main to advance their bu- franding on priviledges hereof, refused to fulfinels, than of those which were of the Ma- fill every commandment, were numbred cedonian faction. Their meaning was, to among the Patriots; which in the end of have accused by name, in the Parliament of this war proved little better, if not worse. Achaia . Lycortas that worthy Commander , than to have been Traitors. The Senate was who nobly followed the steps of Philope driven to set down this order, by reason of men; and together with him his fon Polibius, many and vehement complaints brought who foon after was General of the Achean to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Horse; but more notable by that excellent Roman Magistrates, and especially by the Ad-History which he wrote, than by his great mirals, Lucretius and Hortensius. Encretius employments, which he well and honoura- was condemned in a great fumm of mony, for bly discharged. The fumm of the accusati- the wrongs by him done : highly to the comon should have been; That these were not mendation of the Romans, in that they lohearty friends unto the Romans, but fuch as ved not to have their subjects oppressed. abitained from raising troubles, more for Hortensius being still in office, had warning to lack of opportunity, than for any love to the amend. common quiet. But fince no colour of truth | Among the great number of Embaffages could be found, that might give countenance that came to Rome about this time, either to to fuch a tale ; it was thought better, for the feek redress of injuries, orto offer their ferpresent, to let it alone, and give gentle words, vices: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, as if all were well. In like manner dealt a Town of the leffer Affa, there was prefented they among the Atolians : They demanded unto the Senate, and well accepted . a most hostages; and found some in the Councel base piece of flattery. These Alabanders that approved the motion: as also among brought three hundred horsemens targets, the Acarnanians, there were that intreated to and a crown of gold, to bestow upon jupihave Roman Garrisons bestowed in their ter in the Capitol. But having a desire to Towns. But neither the one northe other gratifie the Romans with fome exquisite toof these propositions took effect. They of ken of their dutiful obedience, wherein the Roman faction, accused not only such as they would be singular, and being not able were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also to reach unto any great performance : they the good Patriots; making it no less than a built a Temple, unto the Town Rome, and matter of treason, to be a Grecian in Greece. appointed anniversary games to be celebra-On the contrary side, there wanted not some, ted among them, in honour of that goddes. who roundly told these pick-thanks of their Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly base flattery, rating them openly, in such fost, of Alexander, Antigones, Ptolomy, and the like that one of them hardly escaped being sto- vain men, that would be thought gods; or at ned, even in the presence of the Embassa- the shamefull flattery of such as bestowed dors. Thus was all full of acusations, and upon men, and not the most vertuous excuses: among which the Embassadors of men, divine honours; when he sees carried themselves, as men that could believe a Town of houses, wherein powerfull none ill : though it were well enough known men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess; what they thought. The best was, that and receiving (without scorn of the Gian order from the Senate was brought into vers, or shame of the Present ) the title of should be free for all men, to refuse obedi- banda?

the Greeks, by the strict inquisition which ence to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any

Greece, and published to this effect : That it Deity, at the gift of fuch a rascal City as Ala-

#### ø. VII.

O. Martius the Roman Conful, with extream difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of Perfeus in abandoning Tempe. The Town of Dium quitted by Martius : repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill success. Their affairs in bard eftate. Marrius a cunning and abad man. Polybius fent Embaffadour to Martins from the Achaans. Polybius his honest wisdom beneficial to the Achaans. King Eumenes grows averse from the Ro mans. Perfeus negotiates with Antiochus. and Eumenes. His false dealing with Gentius King of Illyria ; whom he draws into the Roman war. He fends Embassadours to the Rhodians : who vainly take upon them to be arbitrators between him and the Romans. Perfeus loseth a mighty succour of the Bastarna, by his wretched parsimony.

Greece, than when the war began; which but met him, and fought with him, two or had been thought likely to reform all those three daies together; each returning to Countreys, and bring them to what pass their own Camp at night, with little loss on the Romons defired; as it did in the end either fide. This bickering was on the Persons had hitherto the better, and was narrow ridge of a mountain, which gave ftronger now, than when he lived in peace. fcarcely room unto three to march in front. He had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian So that very few hands came to be employfide; his friends, in all parts of Greece, took ed: all the rest were beholders. In this courage daily; and his reputation grew case it was impossible to get forwards : yet fuch, as caused those that were before a shame to return. Wherefore Martins wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of took the only course remaining; and inthe war might prove, and thereupon to be- deed the best : Part of his men he left with come wife for themselves. Contrariwise, Li Popilius, to attend up a the Macedonians; cinius and Hostilius the Consuls, had one after whillt he, with the rest, fetcht a compais the other spent their time in vain, seeking bout, and sought out waies that never way into Macedon; and defaced the glorious had been trodden. Herein he found exenterprize of conquest, by many losses re-tream difficulty: which notwithstanding ceived. The Roman Admirals had so de he overcame. Basides the troubles commeaned themselves, that many Towns even monly incident to such journeys, through or elfe of the Con'ul himself (for they tains, in this way which he took : that but taking pains to climb the mountains bred great confusion. Having therefore

which were thought able to forbid all paffage over them, without help or need of any custody. The King heard of his approach ; and being uncertain what way he meant to take, distributed his own forces, to the efence of all places which might give enrance, or permit afcent. But the Conful proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be discovered by the Enemy, or to break through all oppolition or at leaftwife, to fight on as convenient ground, as they hould have that lay to ftop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a fale retreat. He fent before him four thousand of his most expedite foot, to dif over the waves. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcoming the difficulty of no more than fitteen miles: after which they had fight of the Enemy, that lay to deny their patiage. They occupied therefore a fafe piece of ground ; and fent back word to the Conful, where they were ; intreating him to halten unto A Fter two years of the Macedonian war, them : which he did. The Macedonians things were further out of tune in were not a whit dismayed at his arrival; of the best effected to Rome, kept them places unfit for habitation : he was comout by force. Generally, the fear was great pelled by labour of hand; to make paths on the Roman fide; and the Army much where none were; yea, where Nature might leffened, not only by casualties of war, but feem to have intended, that none should be. by the facility of the Tribunes or Colonels, So steep he found the descent of the mounlaid the blame one upon the other ) in li- of feven miles, which they travelled the centing the Souldiers to depart. Quintius first day, his men were compelled, for the Martius the new Conful, who succeeded un more part to rowl themselves down; as to Hostiliue, was to amend all this : which not daring to trust their feet. Neither was nevertheless was more than he knew how to this the worst. For they met with rocks, do; though he brought with him a strong that stood one over another, so upright: supply of men. He began hotly to set the and cumbersome to get down : that their war on foot, which along time had sleps. Elephants were affraid of that giddy project, And he began the right way: not feeking to and calling their governours, made a terforce the straights that were surely guarded, rible noise, which affrighted the horses, and

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rous journey; there was nothing more de- third were the fame which Martins had arfired by the fouldiers, than that they might tempted in vain, and another like unto it; be suffered to creep back again, the same the last, by the City of Dium out of Mace. way which they had come. But shift was don. All these were sufficiently guarded made to let down the Elephants, by a kind and whofoever would feek any other way of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: must be fain to take such pains as Martine whereof the one end was joyned to the had undergone. The entrance by Dinm edge of the cliff; the other fustained by was fairer than any of the rest : whereof ontwo long polts, fastened in the ground be- ly the King had benefit : for that his enemies low. Upon thete two posts, or poles, (which could not get thither, fave through the valindeed, not being very strong, since it was ley it self, into which they must first pierce intended that they should be either cut or another way. Dium stood upon the foot of broken ) were fastened two rafters, answe- the huge mountain Olympus, about a mile rable in length to the distance, between the from the Sea : of which mile, the River Hehigher and the lower fall : fo as the end of licon becoming there a lake, and called Baone bridge might reach to the beginning phyras, took up the one half, the rest being of another. These were covered with such as might easily have been fortified. Beplanks and turfe; that they might feem fides all thefe, there was in the midft of Tempe. continent with the ground : fo to make a passage which ten men might easily keep: the beafts adventurous to go upon them, where the fours of the mountains, reach-If there were a plain of any good extent ing far into the valley; drew near to the from the foot of a rock, to the next down- very banks of Penem, a goodly and deep fall; then might thebridge be shorter. When River which ran through it. Wherefore an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon nothing had been more easie, than to make one of these; the posts upholding the frame the Consul repent him of his troublesome were cut afunder; thereby causing him to journey : if Perseus could have seen his own fink down unto the next bridge; whence advantages. For the Roman Army was not he was conveyed in like manner, to the only in ill case to fight, after the vexathird, and onward ftill to the very bot-tion of that miserable travel : but must endure the labour.

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Tempe: the first by Connus; which the Ro- take out of Dium, what he could carry

gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grie- mans were unable to force: the second and tom. Thus went they down fliding, fome needs have either perished for want of vion their feet, others on their buttocks, auals, or been inforced to return the same till they came to an even valley. By this it way that he came if the King hade made good appears, how throughly provided the Ro- the straight of Dium. To have returned. mans used to be in their journeys, of things and climbed up with their Elephants and needful in all occasions: as also what in- carriages, against those rocks, from which, estimable pains they took in this descent, with extreem labour, they could hardly get about the conveyance of themselves and down, it seems a matter of impossibility: all their carriages down the mountains. The especially confidering how the enemy from next day they rested; staying for Popilius above their heads, would have beaten upon and his company, who hardly, or perhapes ne- them; being now aware of the path which ver, should have overtaken them, if the Ene- they had taken, though he knew it not when my had followed, and fet upon him from aloft. they stole away from him. It may therefore The third and fourth daies journeys were be thought strange that the Romans did nor like unto the first : fave that custome, and rather take their journey into Macedon, from the nearness to their waies end without the side of Illyria, whence that Kingdom meeting enemy, caused them the better to had often been invaded, as lying open on that part : than put themselves to the trouble of Perfew could not be ignorant of the Ro- breaking into Tempe, whence, after that they mans coming towards him: fince they fought were arrived, there was no means to with his men upon the passage, three daies escape, without forcing one of those passatogether; helying so nigh, that he might wel- ges, which they despaired to win. But near have heard the noise. Yet was he so the cowardize of Perseus did commend the possessed with sear; that he neither stirred counsel by them followed, as wise. For to help his own men, or to hinder the Con- he no sooner heard that the Enemy was come ful, nor made any provision for that which over the Mountains into Tempe, than he might fall out; but as one void of councel, fared like one out of his wits; faying, That fate hearkening after the event. Four he was vanquished, and had lost all, only passages there were, leading into without battel. Herewithall he began to

of the Sea by their diving, were payed their ted the action. wages after the same fort : that so there By understanding the folly, or cowardize might be no witness of the Kings base folly. of Martins; the King recollected himself, Such end must they fear, who are privy understood his own errour; sought to hide it to dishonourable actions of great Princes. by such poor means as have been shewed, If Perfess would have gone furely to work, and laboured to make what amends he for the hiding of his fault; then must be so could, He quickly repossessed the Town of royally have behaved himself, that no man Dium, which he hastily repaired, finding it might believe him to be the Author of any dif-mantled by the Romans. This done, he unworthy act or councel. But his vertue encamped strongly by the River of Enipeus : was of no such capacity. He thought it meaning there to stop the Enemies proceed-

Town that yielded, he was compelled by hope was nothing like fo great: his chief

away in hafte; and straightwaies abandon- meer lack of food for his men, to return back edthe Town. In the same vehemency of towards Thessaly. His Fleet came to him, in amazement, he sent a straight command this time of necessity, well appointed to have ment to Thessalonica, that the Arsenal there holpen him in the war : but having left should be set on fire; and to Pella, that his behind, at Magnesia, the ships of burthen, reasures there should be cast into the Sea : as which carryed the provisions. Wherefore it if the Romans were like presently to be Ma- fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had been careful to occupy the Caffles pointed to drown the treasure, performed it about Tempe, which were forsaken by the as hastily as well he could : though foon Mucedonians : for by those wates only might after his Master grew forry for the loss ; and Corn be brought into the Army. To meet itwas all, in a manner, recovered by Di- the fooner with this Corn, which was vers from under the water. But Andronicus, most desirously expected, he forfock Dinm. who had charge to fet fire on the Kings and went to Phila; by which foolish jour-Arfenal, deferred the execution , forefeeing ney (if not worfe than foolish) he lost more, that repentance might follow: and so he than a little the longer fafting had been prevented the damage. Whether Niceas, worth. It is probable that his Carts, with all. for his absolute and blind obedience, or or the most of his store, were lost among the Andronicus, for his careful providence, me- Mountains : for otherwise it had been madrited the greater commendation, or more ness to put himself on such an enterprize so easie pardon; it rested in the King to inter- stenderly provided, as that without enforcepret. The reward of his fervice, was this, ment, or fight of the Enemy, he should Persem growing ashamed of his mad cowar be fain to quit it. Howsoever it was : men dize, that appeared in this hasty direction: thought him a coward, or at least a bad man caused them both to be slain. Also those of war; since he thus recoyled and gave off, poor men, which had fetcht his treasure out when it most behoved him to have prosecu-

enough to lay the blame upon others. And ing all that Summer. Lefs diligence, more therefore, having called Hippias away ( the timely used, would have been enough, not Captain which had stopped the Consul on only to have delivered Martins into his hand, the top of the Mountain) and Asclepiodatus, who had beguiled him with an idle hope from defence of the passages, whereto they of peace, but to have given him such a noble were by him appointed: he rated them victory, as might cause the Romans to seek openly; faying, That they had betrayed a good end of the war upon fair conditions, unto the Enemy the gates and bars of Mace- and not to begin again in halte. Yet this don. Of this reproach, if they would dif- recovery and fortification of Dium, was to charge themselves, by laying it upon him, the Consul an exceeding hinderance. For to whom of right it belonged, then might little or nothing could afterward be done they have fped as did Niceas and Andro- toward the Conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Only the Town of He-The Conful Martin had great cause to re- raclea, standing on the River of Pencus, five joyce, for that the King had so hastily relin- mile from Dium, was taken by force, or raquished his possession of Tempe, and all the ther by a trick of climbing upon mens heads, paffages leading thereinto: fince the Roman fomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. Army, this notwithstanding, was hardly able But it made such defence as it could, and to subsist for want of victuals. He took Dium was not given up for fear. After this, Martius without refistance, and thence went for-didset a bold face towards Dium; as if he ward into Macedon: wherein having travel- would have taken it again, and have driven led about a daies journey, and gotten one the King further off: though his intent or care, being to provide for his wintering. He | ( that he might not be quite without work ) fent the Admital, to make attempt upon the had fent his Lieutenant to befiege it : and by Sea-Towns, The falonica, Caffandrea, De- the terrour of his appearing suddenly over metrias, and others. All these were affayed: their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge but in vain. The fields about Theffalonica in all hafte, fetting their Camp on fire. were walted; and fome companies, that fundry times adventured forth of the Town, rather, fo far was their ability thort of their werestill put to the worse. As for the Town | Enterprises ; ever fince their Conful ( wheit felf; there was danger in coming near ther dastardly, or carelesly ) most unlike a it either by Land or Sea; by reaton of the good Commander, had let go his hold of engines, which shot from the walls, and Macedon, by forfaking Dium: yea, it is to be reached unto the Fleet. Wherefore the Ad | fuspected , that fom: greater harm befell miral fetting fail from thence, ran along by them, or, at least, that they were in some grea-Ania, and Antigonea, (landing near to each of ter danger, than is expressed in the broken them, and both doing and receiving hurt) un remaining History of this war. For Martil he came to Pallene in the territory of Caf- tius perswaded the Rhodians by Agespolis (andrea. There King Eumenes joyned with their Embassadour, who came to him at Hehim, bringing twenty thips of War: and five racles about other bufiness of icis imporother were fent thither from King Prufin. tance, That they should do well to interpose With this access of strength, the Admiral themselves as Mediators, and seek to finish ly cast by Perfeus, before the Town: which, malicious device of Martius, craftily feekwhile the Romans were filling up, question ing to bring the Rhodians in danger ( as was made, What became of the earth taken anon it fell out) by their opposing the resothence, for that it lay not upon the bank? Iution of the Senate; than that it proceeded By this occasion, it was learned, that there from any true fear in him, either of Perfens. were Arches in the Town-wall filled up with or of Antiochus, who had then an Army on that earth, and covered with one fingle row foot : yet fince he made shew of fear, it is of brick. Hence the Admiral gathered hope like withall, that fomewhat had happened, of making way into the Town, by sapping which might make his fear seem not counterthe walls. To this work he appointed fuch as feit. And to were the Rhodians moved to he thought meetelt : giving an alarm to the think of him; not only for that the extraorother fide of the Town, thereby to shadow dinary courtesie, both of him and of the Adhis attempt. The breach was foon made miral, towards their Embassadour, com-But whileft the Romans were shouting for ing from proud natures, did argue diffiwhat was done; and fallying forth unexpect- the Embassadours of Perseus, and of Gentine

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Such fortune attended on the Romans : or was bold to try his fortune at Cassandrea: the War. Now, although Polybius do most rain which was bad. There was a new ditch late- probably conjecture, that this was rather a joy, and ordering themselves for the assault : dence, where there was no ambition to cause the Captains within the Town perceived it ; but much more, for that foortly after ed, gave a fierce charge on the companies the Illyrian, did fet our their bufinels at that were between the ditch and the wall; of Rhodes, not more with the ftrength of a good whom they flew about fix hundred, and fuf- | Fleet, which the Macedonians had gotten, fered few to escape unwounded. This dif- than with the honour of some victory, where; after, and the want of good success on that in he had lately sain great numbers of the part of the Town which King Eumenes Roman horse. Thus much we find intimated; affailed ( a supply in the mean while entring though the time, place, or other circumstan-gates the Town by Sea) caused the fiege to break ces of the fight, be not specified. And hereto up. Torone was the next place which the Ad- may be referred, the report of those that miral thought meet to attempt: and thence were fent from Rome to view the estate of likewise he was repelled. Finding this too Martins his Army. For they found the Conwell manned; he made way towards Deme | ful wanting meat; the Admiral wanting men; trias : whereinto Euphranor, a Macedonian and, for those few that he had wanting both Captain, was gotten before his coming, with money and clothes: and App. Claudius the fuch forces, as were not only fufficient to have | Prætor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, fo desended the Town, if the Admiral had laid unable to invade Macedon, that contrariwife, siege to it, but to keep the Land about it he was in extream danger; so as either he from spoil; or, at least (as they did) to make must quickly be sent for thence, or a new the enemy pay dear for all that he there got. Army be tent thither to him. Wherefore it This Euphranor had taken his journey to De- may feem, that some blow had been taken on metrias, by Melibaa; whither the Conjul the Illyrian fide, which made all to halt; or

from some of the Towns which they be-

fieged.
Now, although it were fo, that Martius, in very few of his actions, behaved him (elf was to deliver his opinion in the Councel like a man of war : yet in exercise of Cunsing, which one hath most aptly termed, A gooked or finister kind of wisdom, he dealt as felf, and those of his party. For as he was a crafts-master, with a restless working sure to incurr the great indignation of the diligence. This indeed neither proved his fufficiency, nor commended his honesty; him in charge; so was it manifest on the fince thereby he effected nothing to his own other fide, that the words by Martius utterhenefit; and nevertheless out of envy, ed to himin private, would prove no good vain-glory, or such delight as weak and bu- warrant for him and his friends, if openly pleasure. Polibius found the Consul busie in prisonment. finding passage thorow Tempe into Macedon.

at least that the Romans, with greater los | whether it were for love to the Achauns than is before spoken of, had been driven that the Consul was so earnest in this bullness; or rather for envy, and to hinder Ap. Claudius from doing any thing, fince himself could do nothing. But when Polibius touching this matter ; then found he a new doubt, that more nearly concerned his own fie-headed men take, in creating inexpli- they should refuse to help Clauding, alledging cable troubles, he directly made opposition that he had no need : In this case therefore, to the good of his Country. At fuch time as he had recourse unto the Decree of the Se-Perfeus, by the fuccess of his doings against nate: which exempted men from necessity Hostiline, had gotten much reputation, and of doing what the Roman Commanders was thought likely to invade Thessals. Archo, should require, unless, by special order from Lycortas, and other good Patriots among the Senate, the fame were likewise appointthe Acheans , judged it expedient for their ed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate. Nations to help the Romans, as in a time of this demand of Appins was referred unto adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not the advice of the Consul: by whom it to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the decree, which passed : That the Acheans Acheans were savers, of more than an hunshould fend their whole power into The faly, dred and twenty Talents: though Polibius and participate with the Romans in all dan- himself ran into danger of Appins his difgers. So the Army was levied: and Polibius, pleasure; and for such honest dealing in his with others, fent Embassadors unto Mar- Countries behalf, was afterwards rewarded tim, to certifie him thereof, and know his by the Romans with many a long years im-

Whether it were by the like policy of He went along with the Army , and awaited Martins, that King Eumenes grew cold in his the Confuls leisure, till they came to He- affection to the Romans; or whether this raclea; where, finding the time convenient, King began when it was too late, to stand in he presented the Decree , and offered the fear lest the fire, which he himself had helped service of his Nation, wherein soever it should to kindle, would shortly take hold on his be commanded. Martius took this very own lodging; or whether the regard of mony kindly; but faid, That he needed now no were able to oversway all other passions; it manner of help. Forthwith Polibius dispatch- is hard to determine : fince they that had ed home his companions, to fignifie thus better means to know the truth, have not much : tarrying himself behind in the precisely affirmed any certainty. One report Camp. After a while, word was brought to is, That Eumenes did not so much as give any Martins, that Ap. Claudius desired, or ra- help to Martins : but coming to have joynther imperiously required, of the Atheans, ed with him, in such friendly manner as he five thousand men, to be sent him into Epirus, did with the former Confuls, was not enter-It was manifest, that Appins had need of these tained according to his liking; and theremen; and that if he were strong in field, upon returned home in such anger, that he he might do notable service, by distracting refused to leave behind him certain horse of the forces of Persens. But the Labirinthian the Gallo Greeks, being requested to have head of Martius, could not allow of such done it. If this were true, and that his broplain reason. He called unto him Polibius, ther Attalus tarrying behind with the Conto whom he declared, That Appine had no ful, did the Romans good service; then is the need of fuch aid, and therefore willed him to reason apparent, of the hatred, born afterreturn home, and in any wise take order that ward by the Senate to Enmenes, and the love the men might not be fent, northe Achaans to Attalus. But it is more generally received; beput to fuch needless charges. Away went that Eumenes gave a willing ear to Perfeus his Polibius; musing, and unable to resolve, desire of accord, for meer defire of gain, (HAP. VI.

And it might well be, that covetouinels drew [deferved fomewhat, howfoever the bufinels him on in the course, whereinto indignation might happen to succeed : so that needs he first led him. Howsoever it befell : Perseus canfed Eumenes to be founded, and found him fo tractable, that he was bold to folicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his ad vertifements, both to Eumenes and Antiochus. between a King and a free City: that the Romans had quarrel alike to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the help of one against another; that Philip was oppressed by them, with the help of Attalus; Antiochus, with the help affailed with help of Eumenes and Prusias. Herewith he willed Eumenes to consider, way, they would be doing with him in Alfa. which lay next at hand; yea, that already him. In like fort he admonished Antiochus. That if he might have fifteen hundred Ta-

would have part of his wages in preft. Thus he two Kings did no more, than lofe time; and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans is a Traitor.

After the fame manner dealt Perfeus with was: That there could be no perfect love King Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainly, and aid. That without mony he could not ftir. Hercunto Perseus loved not to hearken: thinking, that his Treasures would serve at the last cast to deliver him from all his fears. But when the Romans had gotten within of Philip and Eumenes; and now Perseus tempe, then did his fear urge him to prodigality; fo as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which Gentius demanded for a that when Macedon was taken out of their recompence. So the bargain was foon nade, and pledges on both fides delivered for performance. This was openly done by they began to think better of Prulias than of Perleus, to the end that all his Army might have comfort, by fuch access of strength to not to look for any good conclusion of his their party. Presently upon the bargain war with the Egyptian, folong as the Romans made, Embassadours were sent to Rhodes, could make him give over, by denouncing from both Perfess and Gentiss : who defired their will and pleasure. Finally, he request- the Rhodians, to take upon them, as Arbitraed both of them, either to compell the Ro- tors, between Perfew and the Romans, and to mans to furcease from their War upon Mase- bring the war to an end. The Rhodians thinkdon; or else to hold them as common ene- ing that Martius the Conful was no less demies unto all Kings. Antiochus lay far out firous of peace than the Macedonian, arroof the Romans way: and therefore was little gantly promifed, that they, by their authotroubled with such remonstrances. Eumenes rity, would make peace; wishing the Kings was more nearly toucht; and as he felt part to shew themselves conformable. But the of this to be true, so had he reason to stand Roman Senate, hearing proud words to the in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should same effect, from the Rhodian Embassadors; give answer, he began to offer a bargain of gave an answer as distainful, angry, and peace for mony. He thought the Romans to menacing, as they could device : so as this be no less weary, than Perseus was affraid. vain glory of the Rhodians was thoroughly Wherefore he promifed for his own part, chaftifed; and more thoroughly should have been, if their submiffion had not been as lents for withdrawing his hand from this humble, as their folly was proud. Suchuse of war, then would he remain a Neuter there- Gentius his friendship, made Persess, within : and that for some greater quantity of mo- out laying out one ounce of silver. Now fain ny (how much I find not) he would also he would have hastened this young and rath bring the Romans to condescend unto peace : Illyrian to enter with all speed into the War: and for affurance of his true meaning herein, but then must the mony be hastened away. he offered to give hostages. Perfeus liked Pantauchus the Macedonian Embassadour, well to receive the hostages, but not to lay who remained with Gentius, exhorted him out the mony; especially before hand, as was daily to begin the War by Land and Sea, required. He would fain have peace with whilest the Romans were unprovided. But Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For pro- finding what it was that made all to flay; curing of this, he promifed to be at any rea- he fent word to Perfew. Hereupon ten Tasonable cost; but he would lay down the lents were sent to Pantauchus: who delivermony in the Temple at Samothrace : whence ed it to the young King, as Earnest of that it should be delivered unto Eumenes, after which followed. More followed indeed; that the peace was fully concluded and rati- and fealed up with the feal of the Illyrians, fied. The Isle of Samothrace was Fersens his but carryed by Macedonians, and not too own : and therefore Eumenes thought the fast. Before this mony came into Illyria, money no nearer to him, being there, than Gentius had laid hands upon two Roman if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour Embassadours, and cast them into prison.
Which called his Treasure-bearers, and sent them fently towards Danubius, wasting the neighwith their load to Pella; for that now the bour-parts of Thrace; yet suffering this craf-Will was of necessity to make war with ty messenger to escape unburt : which was the Romans, whether he were hired thereto more than he could have well expected.

Wria to the aid of Persem, under one Clondi- for the Komans, without diminishing the cus, a petty King, ten thousand horse, and summ. But of this painful Office he was very ten thouland foot of the Gauls, which were foon discharged by L. Anylius Paulus the (as Plutarch hath it) the Baftarne. Thesehad new Consul: who in fifteen daies after his before-hand made their bargain, and were fetting forth from Haly, brought the Kingto receive present pay at the first. At their dom of Atacedon to that end, for which entry into the Kingdom, Persess sent one to God had appointed over it a King so foolish them; defiring their Captains to come visit and so cowardly. him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their General asked, was, Whether the King had fent money to give their Souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargain? Hereto the mellenger had not what to answer. Why then faid Clondicus ) tell thy Master, that the Gauls will not ftir one foot further, until they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. Perseus hereupon took counsel : if to utter his own opinion before men fo wife that they would not contradict him, were to take counsel. He made an invective against the incivility and avarice of the Bastarna : who came with Antigonus could make no better answer, than enough to manage this War ; either to

Which Perfess no fooner heard, than he re- | thifting excuses, the Baftarna returned pre-

Thus dealt Perfeus . like a carefull Trea-There came about the same time through surer, and one that would preserve his mony

#### o. VIII.

Of L. Amilius Paulus the Conful. His journey. He forceth Perseus to discamp. He will not hazard battel with any disadvantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moon. Emylius bis Superstition. The battel of Pydna. Perseus bis flight. He forsakes bis Kingdom: which hastily yeelds to Emylius. Perseus at Samothrace. He yeelds himself to the Roman Admiral, and is fent prifoner to Æmylius.

BY the War of Mucedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. such numbers as could not but be dangerous Which, though it were not accompanied to him and to his Kingdom. Five thou and with any danger, yet the indignity fo horse of them he said would be as many as he moved them, that either \* they decreed should need touse; and not so many, that he that Province to L. Emylius Paulus, with Angel. should need to fear them. It had been well out putting it, as was otherwise their mandone, if any of his Counsellors would have ner, to the chance of lot, between him and told him, That there wanted not employ- his fellow-Conful; orat least were gladder ment for the whole Army of them, fince that the lot had cast it upon him, than without any danger to the Kingdom, they that fo worthy a man was advanced to might be let out, by the way of Perrabia, into the dignity of a second Consulship. He The flaty: where, wasting the Country, and refused to propound unto the Senate any filling themselves with spoil, they should thing that concerned his Province; unmake the Romans glad to forsake Tempe, even til by Embassdours, thither sent to view for hunger and all manner of want; therein the estate of the War, it was perfectly doing the King notable service, whether understood, in what condition both the they won any victory or not. This, and a Roman Forces, and the Macedonan, at the great deal more, might have been alledged, present remained. This being throughly if any man had dared to give advice freely, known to be such, as hath been already Inconclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, that had been with them before, was fent not only to the Conful, but unto the Naagain, to let them know the Kings mind. He vy, and likewise to the Army that lay bedid his errand : upon which followed a great tween Illyria and Epirus; from which ADP. murmure of those many thousands that had Claudius was removed, and L. Anicius sent been drawn fo far to no purpose. But Clon- thither in his place. Æmylius, before his dieus asked him now again, Whether he had departure from Rome, making an Oratibrought the mony along with him to pay on to the people, as was the custom, spake those five thousand, whom the King would with much gravity and authority. He reentertain.Hereto when it was perceived that quested those that thought themselves wife

Cescece accompany

accompany him into Macedon, and there af | out. There was a narrow paffage over Olym. -fitchim with their advice; or effe to govern | pur, leading into Perrabia; hard of afcent. their tongues at home, and not take upon but flenderly guarded, and therefore prothem to give directions by hearlay, and cenfure beild'e reports : for he told them plain-It, that he would frame his doings to occafeen anot to the expectation of the multitude. The like freich of his Father L. Amplius , who died valiantly in the battel of Canna. toight well be living in some of their me mories: which was enough to make them confirm themse'ves the more glasly unto reinstructions gives by a wife and refolute

All the business within the City bein, di featched, Complies was honourably attendad at his feeting forth on his journey, with to examine the doings and purpofes of their the was : theigh that he should finish it fo shouland men to this enterprise; whereofhe foon and happly, was more than could have committed the charge unto Scipio Emyliabeer hoped or imagined. He came to Trun- nus and Q Fabius Maximus, his own Sons by dufium : whence, when the wind came fair, nature; but adopted, the one of them, by a Son he fet fail at break of day, and arrived of scipio the African; the other, by one of the 12thly at the life of Coregra before night. Fabir. Scipio took with him some light-ar-Thence patied he to Delphi: where having med Thracians and Cretians; but his main done facrifice to Apollo , after the fifth day ftrength was of Legionaries. For the Kings he feet torwards to the Camp, and was there guard, upon the mountain, confifted in a in five daies more. So are there but five of manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers; who the fiveen daies remaining, in which he though, at some distance they might do no-

ving thated no labour of men and of women away their aim, they were like to makea to fortifie the banks of Enipeus, where it was bad nights work, being to deal with those foordable in dry weather: to as there was that were armed to fight at hand. To conceal little hope or rone, to force him; and the business about which they went, scipio confequently, as little peffibility to enter and Fabius took a wrong way towards the that way into Macedon, One great inconveni- Fleet: where victuals were provided for their once troubling the Romans, and much dia- journey it being noised, that they were torun bling them to make attempt upon Dinm, was along the coasts of Macedon by sea, and waste lack of fresh water. For there were ten miles | the Country. All the way they were passing between Dium and Tempe; all the way lying the mountains (which was about three daies) between the Scaffore and the foot of Olym- the Conful made thew of a meaning to fet sher way: which by enquiry was foon found understand, that their labour was in vain-

miling a fair journey. Martius either had not been informed hereef, or durft not attempt 115 or perhaps could not get his Souldiersto make the adventure ; they fearing left it would prove such a piece of work as had been their march over Offa into Tempe. But Paulus was a man of greater industry, rourage, and ability to command. He had reormed even at his first coming, many diforders in the Koman Camp: teaching the foulliers among other good leffons, to be obedient and ready in execution ; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner. an eleccial hope of mer, that he thould finish | General. And now he appointed about five table fervice against those that should climb Terfess lay ftrongly encamped at Dium : ha- up unto them; yet when the darkness took pus, without any Brook or Spring breaking upon Perfeus where he lay, rather to divert torthen that fide. But Zimylim found pre- the Kings attention from that which was his fent remedy for this, by digging Wells on the main Enterprise, than upon any hope to do thore; where he found sweet Springs: as good, in seeking to get over Enipeus. The commonly there is no shore that wants them, | channel of Enipeus, which received in Winthough they rife not above the ground, ter time a greatfall of waters from the moun-Want of this knowledge was enough to hin- trains, was exceeding deep and broad; and Get Martins from taking up his lodging any the ground of it was fuch, as though at the nearer to the Enemy, than the Town of He- present it lay well-near all dry, yet it served racles, on the River of Peness; where he had not for those that were weightily armed to watering at pleasure, but could persorm no fight upon. Wherefore Emplius employed fervice of any worth. Yet when the Roman | none fave his Veliter; of whom the Kingslight Camp had such means to lye close to the Ma- armature had advantage at far diffance, cedonian, as it presently did, the passage though the Romans were better appointed for onward being defended as bath been shew- the close. The Engines from off the Towers ed, seemed no less difficult than before. which Perseus had raised on his own bank, did Wherefore it was necessary to search ano- also beat upon the Romans, and gave them to recontinued his affault, fuch as it could be, more, than to give battel immediately: file of scipio, may each of them have been about him the next day. true. Thus was an open way cleared into That evening (which followed the third opportunity.

Yet Emplius perfifted as he had begun: and notably well fortified: they defired nothing the second day. This might have served to doubting lest otherwise the King should teach the Macedonians, that fome greater change his mind, and getfurther off. And work was in hand: fince otherwise a good to this effect scipio brake with the Conful; Captain, as Amylius was known to be, would praying him not to lose occasion by delay. not have troubled himfelf with making fuch But Amylius told him, that he fpake like a bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But young man; and therefore willed him to Perseus lookt only unto that which was before have patience. The Romans were tyred with his eyes : until his men, that came run-their journey; had no Camp wherein to rest ning fearfully down the Mountain, brought themselves; nor any thing there, save on y wordinto the Camp, that the Romans were thebare ground whereon they trod. For following at their backs. Then was all full these, and the like respects, the Consul made of tumult, and the King himfelt no left a frand : and shewing himfelf unto the Ma-(if not more ) amezed then any of the seal cedonian, who did the like, in order of bat-Order was furthwith given to diflodge: or re', gave charge to have the Camp measured rather without order, in all tume tuous out and entremened behind the Armyswherehafte, the Camp was broken up, and a spee by into, at good leifure, he fell back, without retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were any manner of trouble. After a nights restait for that they which had the custody of the was hoped both by the Romans and the Mapassage were taken sleeping, or whether they cedonious, that the matter should be deterwere beaten by plain force, Scipio and Fabi mined; each part thinking their own Genew had very good success in their journey. It rat to blame, for that they had not fought may well be, that they flept until the Romans the fame day. As for the King, he excused came somewhat near to them; and then ta- himsel by the backwardness of the enemy, king alarm, when their arrows and flings who advanced no further; but kept upon could do little (ervice, were beaten at handy ground arving ill for the Philanx: as on the ftrokes: fo as the different relations that are other file, the Conal had the reasons before cited by Plutarch out of Polybius, and an Epi- shewed, which he communicated to those

Macedon: which had been effected by Mar- of September, by the Roman account) C. Sultius in the year foregoing; but was closed pitius Gallus, a Colonel, or Tribune of a up again through his not profecuting so rich Legion, who had the former year been Prætor, foretold unto the Conful, and (with his Perseus was in an extream doubt what good liking) unto the Army, an Eclipse of course to take, after this unhappy begin- the Moon, which was to be the same night: ning. Some gave advice to man his Towns, willing the Souldiers not to be troubled and so to linger out the War: having been therewith, for that it was natural, and might taught by the last years example, how reso-lute the people were in making defence. But the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses far worse counsel prevailed: as generally to beats Pans of Bras, and Basons, as we it do in turbulent and searful deliberation. The King resolved to put all at once that thereby they did the Moon great to hazzard of battel: fearing belike to put lease, and helped her in her labour. But himself into any one Town, lest that should this prognostication of sulpitius converted be first of all besieged; and he therein ( as their superstition into admiration of his cowardly natures alwaies are jealous ) not deep skill, when they saw it verified. Conover-carefully relieved. This was even trariwife, the Macedonians howled and made that same that Amiliu, or any invader, a great noise, as long as the Eclipse lasted: should have defired. So a place was chosen rather perhaps because it was their fashion, near unto Pydna, that served well for the than for that they were terrified therewith, Phalanx, and had likewise on the sides of it as with a prodegie betokening their los: some pieces of higher ground, fit for the since their desire to fight was no whit lesse-Archers and light armature, There he abode ned by it. I will not here stand to dispute, the coming of the enemy; who stayed not Whether such Eclipses do signifie, or cause long behind him. As foon as the Romans any alteration in civil affairs, & matters that had fight of the Kings Army 5 which with have small dependance on natural complexigreater fear than discretion, had hasted away on: for the argument is too large. More worfrom them, forfaking the Camp that was fo thy of observation it is, how superstitio Ccccccc 2 captivates

the help of true religion is wanting. Emy | cd into the River, wading after him up to tim, though he were sufficiently instructed the knees. The Kings men lay on the further concerning this defect of the Moon, that it bank : whence a couple of Thracians ran inwas no supernatural thing, nor above the to the Water, to draw this horse over to their reach of humane understanding, so as he own side. These fell to blows, as in a private thould need to trouble himfelf with any devout regard thereof: yet could be not refrand His Countrimen feeing this, hafted to refrom doing his duty to this moon, &congra- venge their fellows death, and followed tulating with facrifice her delivery, as fuon those that had flain him over the River. as the shone out bright again: for which he Hereupon company came in, to help on each is commended even by Platarch, a lage Phi-part, until the number grew such, as made it losopher, as a godly and religious man. It patt a fray, and caused both the Armies to be Sulpitive perhaps did not affift him in this careful of the event. In fine, each of the Gefoolish devotion, vet it is like, that he being nerals placed his men in order of battel, aca Senator, and one of the Councel for war, ordingly as the manner of his Country, and to whom belonged the guidance of m lita contrary to the rules of war.

Now concerning the battel; Emilius was throughly perfwaded, that the King means to abide it: for that otherwise be would no have stayed at Pydna, when as, a little be fore, his leifure ferved to retire whither he

tivates the wisdome of the wisest, where | two or three of the Roman Souldiers followquarrel; and one of the Thracians was flain. was partaker the next morning in a facrifice | the arms wherewith they ferved, did repuire. done to Hercules; which was no less foolish. The ground was aflat level, save that on the For a great part of the day was vainly con lides a few hillocks were raifed here and fumed ere Herenles could be pleased with there; whereof each part might take what any facrifice, and vouchizfe to shew tokens advantage it could. The Macedonians were of good luck in the entrails of the beafts. At the greater number, the Romans the better length, in the belly of the one and twentieth fouldiers, and better appointed. Both the Cacrifice, was found a promise of victory to King and the Conful encouraged their men Emplius : but with condition, That he with lively words: which the present condishould not give the onset. Hercules was a tion could bountifully affoord. But the King, Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to having finished his Oration, and fent on his the Macedonian than to the Roman. Where- men, withdrew himself into Pydna: there to fore it had been better to call upon the new | do facrifice, as he pretended, unto Hercules. goddefs, lately canonized at Alabanda; or It is the less marvel, that he durst adventure upon Romulus, founder of their City, on battel, fince he had bethought himself of whom the Romans had bestowed his Deity; sucha stratageme, whereby to save his own or(if a God of elder date were more authe person. As for Hercules, he liked not the fantical ) upon Mars the Father of Romalus, crifice of a Coward : whose unseasonable devotion could be no better then hypocrifie. ry affairs; and who therefore would have For he that will pray for a good Harvelt, limited his favour, with no injunctions ought also Plough, Sow, and Weed his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battel, he found it no better than loft: and he in looking to his own fafety, caused t to be loft altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we find relifted the Romans being further off. In re | corded are, That the Roman Elephants, could gard of this, and perhaps of the tokens ap- dono manner of good : That the Mucedonipearing in the Sacrifices, the Conful thought an Phalanx did fo ftoutly prefs onwards, that he might wait upon advantage, with and beat off all which came before it, as out making any great hafte. Neither was it Amplius was thereat much aftonished, that to be neglected, that the morning Sun was the Peligni rufhing desperately on the Phafull in the Romans faces: which would be lanx, were over-born; many of them flain, much to their hinderance all the forenoon. and the squadrons following them so discou-Since therefore Perfess kept his ground, that raged herewith, as they retired apace towas commodious for the Phalanx, and Ami- wards an hill. These were the things that lise fent forth part of his men to bring in fell out averse to the Romans; and which the Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood Conful beholding, is faid to have rent his of fighting that day. But about ten of the Coat-armour for grief. If the King with all his clock in the morning, a small occasion power of horse, had in like manner done his brought to pass that, which whereto neither devoyre, the victory might have been his of the Generals had over earnest desire. | own. That which turned the fortune of the A Horse brake loose at watering, which battel, was the same which doubtless the Conful expected even from the beginning : the | nd houshold-fervants, ready to attend him difficulty or almost the impossibility of holding the Phalanx long in order. For men that had escaped from the battel, there whileft fome of the Romans fmall battalions preffed hard upon one part of it, and other recovled from it ; it was necessary (if the Treasurers that had the boldness to come to Masedonians would follow upon those which him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But were put to the worse ) that some files ha- in reward of their unseasonable admonitiving open way before them, should advance ons, he stabled them both to death. After themselves beyond the rest that were held this, none whom he sent for would come at a stand. This coming so to pass, admo- at him. This boded no good. Wherefore nished the Consul, what was to be done. The standing in fear, lest they that refused to come long Pikes of the Macedonians were of little at his call, would fliortly dare some greater use, when they were charged in flank by mischief, he stole out of Pella by night. Of the Roman Targettires; according to the his friends he had with him only Evander direction given by Emplies, when he saw (who had been employed to kill Eumenes at the front of the enemies great battel become | Delphi ) and two other. There followed him unequal, and the ranks in some places open, likewise about 500. Cretians, more for love by reason of the unequal resistance which of his money than of him. To these he they found. Thus was the use of the Pha- gave of his plate, as much as was worth lanz proved unavailable against many small about fifty talents, though shortly he couse-Squadrons, as it had been formerly in the ned them of some part thereof; making thew battel of Cynoscephale : yea this form of as if he would have redeemed it, but neembattailing was found unferviceable a- ver paying the money. The third day afgainst the other, by reason, that being not ter the battel he came to Amphipolis, where every where alike distressed, it would break he exhorted the Towns-men to sidelity, with of it felf; though here were little fuch in- tears : and his own speech being hinderconvenience of ground, as had been at Cyno red by tears, he appointed Evander to speak scephalæ.

rout, turned his bridle prefently, and to look well to them elves. Upon the ran amain towards Pella. All his Horse first fame of the overthrow, they had emescaped, in a manner untouched, and a great pried their Town of two thousand Thranumber followed him; the little harm cians that lay there in Garrison: sending which they had taken, witnefling the little them forth under colour of a gainful emgood service which they had done. As for ployment, and shutting the gates after them. the poor foot, they were left to the mercy And now to be rid of the King, they plainly of the Enemy : who flew above twenty bad Evander to be gone. The King hearing thousand of them; though having little cause this, had no mind to tarry : but embarking to be furious, as having lost in that battel , himselfand the treasure which he had there, only some fourscore, or sixscore men at the in certain vessels that he found in the River most. Some of the foot, escaping from the Strymon; passed over the Isle of Samothrace : execution; overtook the King and his where he hoped to live fafe, by priviledges company in a Wood, where they fell to of the Religious Sanctuary therein. railing at the Horsemen , calling them | These miserable shifts of the King make it cowards, traitors, and such other names, till the less doubtful, how all the Kingdom fell at length they fell to blows: The King was into the power of Amilius, within fo few in doubt left they had ill meaning to himfelf: daies after his victory. Pydna, which was and therefore turned out of the common nearest at hand, was the last that yielded. way being followed by fuch as thought it About fix thousand of the fouldiers, that good. The rest of the company dispersed were of fundry Nations, fled out of the battel themselves : every one ashis own occasions into that Town; and prepared for defence: guided him. Of those that kept along with the confused rabble of so many strangers their King, the number began within a while hindering all deliberation and confent. to lessen. For he fell to devising upon whom Hippius, who had kept the passage over Offa he might lay the blame of that daies misfor- against Martin, with Pantaucus, who had tune, which was most due to himself: there- been fent Embassador to Gentim the Illyrian, by caufing those that knew his nature, to were the first that came in : yielding thrink away from him, how they could. At themselves, and the Town of Berea, whither his coming to Pella, he found his Pages they had retired out of the battel. With

as they had been wont. But of his great was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his what him elf would have uttered. Persent, when he saw his battel begin to the Amphilopitans made it their chief care

nica, from Pella, and from all the Towns of breaks off without effect. Pre ently there Macedon, within two daies : the loss of the arrives at Samothrace Cn. Odavius the Rohead bereaving the whole body of all fense man Admiral with his Flect : who aslayes, and strength. Neither did they of Pidna, as well by terrible threats, as by tair lanftand out any longer, when they knew that guage, to draw the King out of his lurking the King had forsaken his Country: but hole; wherein, for fear of imprisonment, opened their gates upon such terms, that he had now already imprisoned himself. the fack of it was granted to the Roman Ar- When all would not ferve, a question my. Emylins fent abroad into the Country, was moved to the Samithracians; How fuch as he thought meeetest, to take charge they durst pollute their Temple, by receiof other Cities : he himself marching to- ving into it one that had violated the like ward Pella. He found in Pella no more than holy priviledge of Sanctuary, by attempting three hundred Talents : the same, whereof the murder of King Eumenes at Dephi & This Perfems had lately defrauded the Illyrian, went to the quick. The Samoibracians, be-But within a very little while he shall have ing now in the rower of the Komans , take

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taken Sanctuary in the Temple at Samo- the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, thrace : his own Letters to the Consul con- committed at Delphi, whereof unless he can frming the report. He sent these Letters clear himself in judgement , he must not by per onsot such mean condition, that his be suffered to prophane that holy place, care was pitted, for that he wanted the fer- by his abiding in it. The reverence born v ce ot better men. The scope of this wri- to his Majesty, now past, makes them forting was to cefire favour : which, though he bear to fay , that Perfeus him eif is charged begged in terms ill befeeming a K ng, yet with the same crime. But what will this fince the inscription of his Epistle was, King avail, when the Minister of the fact being Perfeus to the Conful Paulus; the Conful, who brought into judgement, shall ( as istobe had taken from him his Kingdom, and teared) appears the Author? Perfor here-would not allow him to rerain the Title, fore willeth Evander to have confideration refused to make any answer thereunto. So of the little favour that can be expected at there came other Letters, as humble as the Romans hand; who are I ke to be precould be expected: whereby he craved and fidents and overfeers of this judgment: fo as obtained, that some might he sent to confer it were better to dye valiantly, fince none with him about matters of his present other hope remains, than hope to make good estate. Nevertheleis, in this Conference, an ill cause; where, though he had a good he was marvelloufly earnest, that he might plea, yet it could not help him. Of this be allowed full to retain the name of motion Evander feems to like well : and King. And to this end it was, perhaps, either kills himself, or hoping to escape that he had to carefully preferred his thence, by deferring the time as it were to Treasure, unto the very last : flattering get poyson wherewith to end his life, is kilhimself with such vain hopes as these: That led by the Kings commandment. The death

the like message came others from the sjalo- far against his mind, that the Conference this matter to heart ; and kno word to the It was foon understood, that Perfess had King, that Evander, who lives with him in the Romans would neither violate a San- of this man, who had stuck to Persess in all duary, nor yet neglect those great riches times of need, makes all the Kings friends inhis possession; but compound with him that remained hitherto, to forfake him: foas for money, letting him have his defire to none are left with him, ave his wife and chillive at eale, and to be called King. Yea, dren, with his Pages. It is much to be fuit feems that he had indeed, even from spected, that they which leave him upon this the beginning, a desire to live in this life occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That of Samothrace : both for that in one of his the King hath loft the priviledge of this holy confultations about the War, he was de-Sanctuary, by murdering Evander therein. horted by his friends, from feeking to Or if the Romans will affirm to much, who exchange his Kingdom of Macedon, for shall dare to gainsay them? Since therefore \*fuch a paltry Island; and for that he offer- there is nothing but a point of formality, and ed to lay up the money which Eumenes de even that also liable to dispute, which premanded, in the holy Temple that was there. ferves him from captivity; he purpofethto But he finds it otherwise. They urge him make an escape, and fly, with his Treasures, to give place unto necessity, and, without unto Costs his good friend, into Thrace. Commore adoe. to yield to the discretion and andes, a Cretian, lay at Samothrace with one mercy of the people of Rome. This is to thip; who eafily was perf waded to watt the

mimfelf; with his wife and \* children (if that fuch was the mercy of the people at rather it were not true, that he had with Rome. After these good words, being inhim only \* Philip his elder Son , who was vited to the Confuls Table, and respectively 18. 44. only by adoption his Son, being his \* brother entreated, he was committed prisoner to by nature) with much ado got out at a 2 Ælius.
window by a Rope, and over a mud-wall. Such end had this Macedonian War, after day, whilest Perfess was scarching all along translated unto Rome. the shore: who had stayed so long about this, that he might fear to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ran therefore amain towards his lodging: and Gentius King of the Illyrians taken by the thinking it not fafe to enter it the common Romans. way, left he should be taken, he hid himfelf in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ran up and down making inquiry ; Arity, Anicius the Romans Prætor, who till Octavius made Proclamation, That all succeeded unto App. Claudius, had the like yield themselves to the Romans. Hereupon the way, fought with him, overcame him,

King thence. With all secrecy the Kings mo | answered all with a searful filence. He was ny, as much as could be so conveyed, was comforted with hope of life, or (as the carryed aboord by night; and the King Conful termed it ) almost affurance; for

Athis coming to the Sea-fide, he found no four years continuance: and fuch end there-Oroandes there: the Cretian had played a withall had the Kingdom of Macedon; the cretian trick, and was gone with the money glory whereof, that had sometime filled all to his own home. So it began to wax clear parts of the world then known, was now

#### ø. IX.

A Bout the same time, and with like celethe Kings Pages, and Macedonians whatfo- fucces against King Gentius the Illyrian. ever, abiding with their Master in Samo- Gentius had an Army of fifteen thousands thrace, should have their lives and liberty, with which he was at Liffus, ready to aswith all to them belonging, which they had fift King Perseus as soon as the money should either in that Isle, or at home in Macedon, come, whereof he had received only conditionally, That they should presently ten Talents. But Anicius arrested him on they all came in. Likewise Ion, a Theffa- and drave him into \* Scorda. This Town Called lonian, to whom the King had given the was very defensible by nature, besides the now Same custody of his children, delivered them up help of fortification; and strongly manned task to Octavius. Laftly, Perfeus himfelf, with with all the force of Illyria; which, affifted his Son Philip, accusing the gods of Samo- with the Kings presence, made it seem unthrace, that had no better protected him, possible to be won, in any not a very long rendred himself, and made the Roman time. Yet Anicius was consident in his Victory compleat. If he had not trusted in late Victory ; and therefore presented his those gods of Samothrace, but employed his Army before the walls, making countewhole care in the defence of Macedon, with nance to give an atlault. The Illyrians, out other hope of living; than of reigning that might easie have defended themselves therein ; he might well have brought this within the Town, would needs iffue forth War to an happier end. Now, by dividing and fight. They were, it feems, rather his cogitations, and purfuing at once, those passionate, than couragious : for they were contrary hopes of faving his Kingdom by beaten; and thereupon forthwith began Arms, and himself by flight, he is become a amazed to treat about yielding. The spectacle of misery , and one among the King sent Embassadours ; by whom, at first, number of those Princes, that have been he desired truce for three daies, that he wretched by their own default. He was might deliberate concerning his estate. It presently sent away to Emplius; before ill became him, who had laid violent hands whom he fell to the ground so basely, that on the Roman Embassadours, to have rehe seemed thereby to dishonour the Victory course to such mediation. But he thought over himself', as gotten upon one of ab- his own fault pardonable, in as much as hiject quality, and therefore the less to be therto there was no greater harm done by esteemed. Amplius used to him the lan- him, than the casting of those Embassadours guage of a gentle Victor: blaming him, into prison, where they were all alive. Hathough mildly, for having, with so hostile ving obtained three daies respite, he passed a mind, made war upon the Romans. Here- up a River, within half a mile of the Roman to good answer might have been returned Camp, into the Lake of Scorda, asit were by one of better spirit. As for Persew, he to consult the more privately; though intrue, the hisbrother Caravantine was com- averse from the Romans in the late War of ing to his rescue. Finding that no such Macedon, were either taken and condemnhelp was toward, it is wonder, that he was ed, or fent prisoners to Rome; excepting fo foolish as to return into scorda. He sent some that slew themselves for fear, whose meffengers craving access unto the Prætor; goods also were confiscated. Yet this probefore whom, having lamented his folly past cured little grace; and less would have ( which, excepting the dishonesty, was not done, if old M. Cato, a man by nature veheto great as his folly prefent ) he fell down ment, had not uttered a milde fentence, and humbly, and yeilded himself to discretion. advertised the Senate, That in decreeing All the Towns of his Kingdom, together War against Rhodes, they should much difwith his wife, children, brother, friends, honour themselves, and make it thought, that were presently given up. So this War \* rather the wealth of that City, which they how all had passed.

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6. X.

feus.

Tyrannically upon those that had been Romans make themselves terrible in all parts ger. The Rhodian Embassadours were still famous places therein, as for his pleasure: danger of War from Rome being known had been payed unto the Kings, was leffened

deed, to hearken whether the report were at Rhodes, all that had been any whit were pretently given by the people of Rome were greedy to ranfack, than any just cause. Constant not knowing that it was begun, until Perhad moved them thereto. This confiders sale, a penna, one of the Embassadours that had tion, together with their good deserts in the conta been imprisoned, brought word from Anicius Wars of Philip and Antiochus, helped well Califer, the Rhodians: among whom a none of any mark remained alive, fave those that had been of the Roman faction. All which notwithstanding, many years passed, ereby im-How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece portunate suit, they could be admitted into and Macedon after their Victory over Per- the fociety of the Romans : a favour which till now they had not efteemed; but thought themselves better without it, as

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the pride of their fortune; and to look With the like, or greater feverity, did the unmannerly toward them before, whilest of Greece. Zemilie himself made progress the War with Persens seemed full of dan-thorow the Country; visiting all the at Rome, when the tydings of these Victor vernot forgetting to make them understand ries were brought thither. Wherefore it what power he had over them. More than was thought good to call them into the Se- five hundred of the chief Citizens in Demenate, and bid them do their errand again. trias were flain at one time by those of the This they performed with a bad grace; Roman faction, and with help of the Rofaving. That they were fent from Rhodes to man Souldiers. Others fled, or were bamake an overture of peace; for a funch as it nished, and their goods confiscated. Of was thought, that this war was no less grie- which things, when complaint was made to vous to the Romans themselves, than to the the Conful, the redress was such, as requited Macedonians and many others: but that not the pains of supplication. His friends, now they were very glad, and in behalf of that is to fay, those which betrayed unto the Romans did congratulate with the Se- the Romans the liberty of their Country, he nate and people of Rome, that it was ended feafted liked a King, with exceffive chear; much more happily than had been expeyet fo, that he had all things very cheapin cted. Hereto the Senate made answer, his Camp : an easie matter, fince no man That the Rhodians had fent this Embal-durft be backward in fending provisions, nor fage to Rome, not for love of Rome, but in fet on them the due price. Embaffadours favour of the Macedonian ; whose partizans likewise were fent from Rome ; some, to they were, and should so be taken. By give order for settling the estate of Macethese threats, and the defire of some (co- don, towards which they had more particuvetous of the charge) to have War pro- lar instruction from the Senate, than was claimed against Rhoder; the Embassadours usual in such case; and some, to visit the afwere so affrighted, that in mourning Ap- fairs of Greece. The Kingdom of Macedon parel, as humble Suppliants, they went was fet at liberty by Emplius, and the Emabout the City, befeeching all men, espe- bassadours, his assistants, who had order cially the great Ones, to pardon their in- therefore from the Senate. But this liberty discretion, and not to prosecute them with was such as the Romans used to bestow. The vengeance, for fome foolish words. This best part of it was, That the Tribute which

divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the othere. Al the Nobility were fent captive into Italy with their wives and children, as many a were above fifteen years old. The ancien Laws of the Country were abrogated and new given by Amilius. Such mil chief the Senate thought it better to do at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, that otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the Greeks, that were not lubicat to Rome, the things done to them could deserve no beetter name than meer tyrauny : yea, and shameless perjuiy; were it not fo, that the familiar cuftom, among Princes and great Estates, of violating hirst, and let them answer; which if they Leagues, doth make the Oaths of confoe deration feem of no validity. The Em them: Then faid the Roman boldly. That baffadours that were fent to visit the all their Prætors, as many as had led their Greeks, called before them all fuch men Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this of note, from every quarter, as had any were true, faid Xenon, a temperate man, and way discovered an unserviceable disposi- consident in his innocence, than should I tion towards the Romans. These they likewise have been friend to Perseus: fent to Rome; where they were made fure | whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall enough. Some of these had sent Letters throughly answer him, either here presentto Perfess, which fell at length into the Ro- ly, or before the Senate at Rome. Upon mans hands: and in that respect, though these words of Xenon the Embassadour laid they were no subjects; yet wanted there hold, and said, That even so it were the not colour, for using them as traitors, or best way, for him and the rest topurge at least as enemies. But since only two hemselves before the Senate at Rome. men were beheaded, for having been open- Then began he to name others, and left ly on the Macedonian fide; and fince it is not until he had cited above a thoufand; less afflicted in this inquisition, than they the Senate. This might even be termed the that had fold themselves to the King : this captivity of Greece; wherein so many of manner of proceeding was inexcufable ty- the honestest and worthiest men were carranny. With the Acheans these Embassa- ried from home, for none other cause, than dours were to deal more formally : not so their love unto their Country ; to be pumuch because that Common wealth was nished according to the will of those, who adherents, had been employed by the Na- thieft among them) to inform the Senat the Romans; but only fuen as were the be ft by the Acheans, nor yet held to be offenthe time : wherein, fince all men rembled not expedient for the Country , that thefe men for fear of Rome, the featon ferved atty to should return into Achaia. Neither could any

by half. As for the relt, the Country was | rank the Acheans with the relt. And hereto Callicrates was very urgent : fearing, and procuring them to fear in behalf of him and his friends, that if some sharp order were not now taken he and his fellows should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embaffadours came among the Acheans: where one of them, in open ailembly of the Nation, spake, as Callicrates had before instructed him. He said, That some of the chief among them, had with mony and other means betriended Perseus. This beng fo, he defired that all such men might be condemned; whom, after sentence given he would name unto them. After fentence given ( cryed out the whole affembly ) what justice were this? Name them cannot well do, we will foon condemn confessed, that the good Patriots were no willing them to appear and answer before strong; (though this were to be regarded could not endure, that virtue, and rezard by them, having no Commission to make of the publick liberty, should dwell to geor denounce War) and like to prove un- ther in any of the Greeks. At their coming tractable, if manifest wrong were offered; to Rome, they were all cast into prison, as as for that there appeared no manner of men already condemned by the Achaans, fign, by Letters, or otherwise, whereby Many Embassages were sent from Achaia any one of the Acheans could be fuspici- (where it is to be wondred, that any such oufly charged to have held correspon- honest care of these innocent men c ul be dence with the Macedonian. It was also remaining : since honesty had been hus so, that neither Callecrates, nor any of his punished as a vice, in to many of the wortion, in doing or offering their fervice to that these men were neither condemned Patriots. Yet would not therefore the Em- ders. But in stead of better answer, it was balladours neglect to use the benefit of pronounced; That the Senate thought it

att were either dead in prison, or, having which these Embassadours came. made offer to elcape, whether upon the way before they came to Rome, or whether cut of Jayle, after that they were commit-

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the Epirots. For the Senate being defirous to preferve the Macedonian Treasure whole ; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, that was memorable in the shorttime followthe whole Country of Epirus should be ing of his reign and life. He died the fix and put to fack. This was a barbarous and hor-thirtieth year after he had worn a Crown, rible cruelty; as alfoit was performed by and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of Amylius with mischievous subtilty. Ha Ptolomy Epiphanes; while he attempted to use the liberty bestowed upon them by three Sons, Seleucus, Philopator, Antiochus the people of Rome ; he sent unto the Epirots for ten of the principal men out of Daughter, Cleopatra, whom he had given every City. There he commanded to deli- in marriage to Ptolomy Epiphanes King of ver up all the Gold and Silver which they Egypt. Seleucus, the fourth of that name, had; and tent along with them, into every and the eldest of Antiochus his Sons; reignof their Towns, what companies of men he ed in Sgria twelve years, according to Esevery one the Town whereinto he was received, took from him the means of fent. Thus in one day were threescore and managing any great affair. Of him, about ever otherwise his virtues were.

their victory, with the Greek and Macedo- the Books of the Maccabees take begin-

folicitation of the Acheans, who never cea- | nians. How terrible they were to other sed to importune the Senate for their liber- Kingdoms abroad, it will appear by the ty, prevail at all; until after seventeen years, efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to fewer than thirty of them were inlarged, Antiochus; whereof, before we speak, we of whom that wife and virtuous man Poly | must say somewhat of Antiochus his forein the great Historian, was one. All the goers, of himself, and of his affairs about

ø. XI.

ted thereto, suffered death as malefactors. The War of Antiochus upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman Embaffadours.

A Ntiochus the Great, after his peace Muith the Romans, did nothing that ving taken leave of the Greeks, and of the rob the Temple of Bel, or (according to Straits. Maccdonisms, with bidding them well to Justine) of Jupiter. He left behind him 142-15. Epiphanes, Demetrius Soter; and one thought convenient, as it were to fetch febius, Appian, and Sulpitins : though Jo- Espain the mony. But he gave secret instructions sephus give him but seven years. A Prince, Con. Aprince, C to the Captains, that upon a certain day who, as he was flothful by nature, fo the date 251. by him appointed, they should tall to fack, great loss which his Father Antiochus had ten Cities, all confederate with the Ro three hundred years before his birth, D4mans, spoiled by the Roman Souldiers; niel gave this judgment, Et stabit in loco present and besides other acts of hostility in a time ejus vilissimus & indiguus decore regio. Mass of peace, ahundred and fifty thousand of And in his place (speaking of Antiochus, the that Nation made flaves. It may be grant- Father of this man ) fhall flart up a vile pered, that some of the Epirots deserved pu- son, unworthy the bonour of a King. Under nishment, as having favoured Perseus. But this Seleucus, those things were done which fince they among this people, that were are spoken of Onias the high Priest, in these thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but words, and other to the same effect : What coldly affected to the Romans, had been al- time as the holy City was inhabited with all ready fent into Italy, there to receive their peace, became of the godlines of Onias the due ; and fince this Nation, in general, was Prieft, it came to paß, that even the King did not only at the present in good obedience, honour the place, and garnished the Temple but had even in this War done good fer- with great gifts. And all that is written in vice to the Romans : I hold this act fo the third Chapter of the second of Maccawicked, that I should not believe it, had bees, of simon of Benjamin, who by Appolany one Writer delivered the contrary. lonius betrayed the Treasure of the But the truth being manitest by consent of Temple : and of Heliodorus sent by the all, it is the less marvellous that God was King to seize them; of his miraculous pleased to make Emplies childless, even striking by God, and his recovery at the in the glory of his triumph, how great fo- prayers of Onias; of the Kings death, and of his successour Antiochus Epiphanes. Itis In such manner dealt the Romans, after therefore from the reign of this King, that

vered by one and the same hand. For the first Book, although it touch upon Alex in der the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his ftory ; nor of the acts of his fucceffors, till the time of Antiochus Fpiphanes, the his victory over Sogras, that was General brother and successor of this Selencus, from of the Egyptian Forces in the parts. N. whom downward to the death of Simon vertheless, Piology achered to the h Maccabeus ( who died in the hundred mans : whereby he lived has the greater threescore and seventeen year of the security. Helest behind him two Sons, this Greeks in Spria ) that first Book treateth. Ptolomy Philometer, and Piolemy Physicon; The Author of the fecond Book, although with a Daughter Cleopatra. Cleopatra was he take the flory somewhat further off, by wife to the elder of her brethren, and acway of a Proceme, yet he endeth with the ter his death to the younger, by whom the hundred and one and fiftieth year of the was cast off, and her Daughter taken in Grecian reign, and with the death of Ni- her flead. Such were the marriages of canor. flain by Judas: remembring in the thefe Egyptian Kings.

usurped from his brothers Son-

Eagle holding a Dragon in her claws.

been about feven years King of Egypt.

them, whilest he was a child. But they and recovering again at the Prayer of found such other business ere long with the Onias : yet sufficed not this example to

Which Books feem not to be delig Romans, as made them give over the unjust purpose; especially zinticelon, who gave with his Daughter in marriage, time this Ptolomy, the Provinces of Colombia Phanice, and Judga, which he had we also

fourth Chapter the practice of fason the Ptolomy Philometer, so called (that is, brother of Onias; who, after the death of the Lover of Lis Mother) by abitter nick-Selencus, prevailed with Antiochus Epipha- name, because he slew her, tellinco hatred nes, his fuccessor, for the Priesthood. It is with his subjects, and was like to be chawest also held by Jansenius, and other grave sed out of his Kingdom, his younger bro-Writers, that it was in the time of this ther being fet up against him. This can have Onias, that Arius King of the Spartans fent | ving a ftrong party, got peffession of Alex-Embaffadours to the Jews, as to their bro- andria; and Philometer held himself in thers and kinsmen. Which intelligence be- Memphis, craving succour of King Antiotween them and the Greeks, Jonathan the chus his Uncle. Hereof Antiochus was glad : brother and successor of Judas, remem- who under colour to take upon him the breth in the Preamble of that Epistle, protection of the young Prince, fought by which he himself directed to the people of all means possible to possess himself of that Sparta by Numenius and Antipater his Em- Kingdom. He fent Apellonius the Sen of baffadours, whom he employed at the Mnestheus Embaffadour into Feet, and fame time to the Senate of Rome; repeating under colour to affift the Kings Coronsal'o the former Letters word by word, tion, he gave him instructions to persuade which Arius had sent to Onias the high the Covernours of the young King Phillips Priest, whereto Josephus adds, that the meter, to deliver the King his Nephew, name of the Lacedemonian Emballadour with the principal places of that Kingdom, was Demoteles, and that the Letters had a into his hands; petending an extraordisquare Volume, and were sealed with an nary care and defire of his Nephews safety and well doing. And the better to answer Now to this Selences, the fourth of that all arguments to the contrary, he prepared name, fucceeded Antiochus Epiphanes, in a forcible Army to attend him. Thus came the hundred and seven and thirtieth year he alongst the coast of Syria to Juppe, and of the Greeks in Syria. He was the fecond from thence on the fudden he turned him-Son of the Great Antiochu: and he ob- feif towards Jerufalem; where, by Jufon Mic. 4. taled his Kingdom by procuring the death the Prieft, (a Chaplein fit for such a Paof the King his brother; which also he tron) he was with all pump and solemnity received into the City. For though late-Ptolomy Philometer, his Nepheww by his ly, in the time of Selencus, the brother and 2 Mac 3 Sifter Cleopatra, being then very young, had predecessor of Fpiphines, that impious Traitor Simon of the Tribe of Benjamin, Ptolony Epiphanes, the Father of this Ruler of the Temple, when he would have King Philometor, had reigned in Egypt four delivered the Treasures thereof to Apolloand twenty year, in great quiet, but doing nius Governour of Califoria and Phalittle or nothing that was memorable. Phi- nicia, was disappointed of his wicked purip of Macedon, and the Great Antiochus, pose by miracle from H aven; the said Apolhad agreed to divide his Kingdom between lonius being strucken by the Angel of God,

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though he not long enjoyed it. being over-reached by another in the Crowns, and the Golden Apparrel. He tookaltime kind, calls to mind a by-word taken fo the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious up among the Acheans, when as that mif- fewels, and the fecret Treasures: and when chievous Callicrates, who had been too he had taken away all, he departed into his hard for all worthy and virtuous men , own Land, after he had murdered man, men. was beaten at his own weapon, by one of It was about the beginning of the Ma-Las his own condition. It was thus:

One fire in in other burns more farcibly, One Walf than other Walves does hise more fore, One Hark than other Hawks more fwift does fly : So one melt mifebievous of men before, Callicrates , falfe knave as knave might be, Mes with Menalcidas more falle than he.

who within three years after was betray- Achaans, Robdians, Athenians, and other of ed, and over-bidden by Menelaus the bro- the Greeks, pressed him, by several Embasther of simon, that for three hundred Ta- fages, to some good conclusion. But his lents more obtained the Priesthood for answer was, that if the Alexandrians could himself: Jason thereupon being forced to be contented to receive their King his fly from ferusalem, and to hide himself Nephew Philometer, the elder brother of among the Ammonites.

Phonicia, to augment the numbers of his he faw that it was an hard piece of work men of war, and to prepare a Fleet for his to take Alexandria by force: he thought expedition into Eggpt; with which, and it better to let the two brothers confume 1 Mac 1. with a mighty Army of Land-forces, He themselves with intestine War, than by the went about to reign over Egypt, that he terrour of his arms, threatning destruction might bave the dominion of two Realms, and unto both of them, to put into them any entred Egypt with a mighty company 5 with defire of coming to agreement. He there-Chariots and Elephants, with Hersemen, and fore withdrew his Forces for the present; with a great Navy., and moved War against leaving the Ptolomies in very weak estate, V.18, 19, Ptolemæus King of Egypt; but Ptolemæus the younger almost ruinated by his invawas afraid of him, and fled, and many were fron ; the elder hated and forfaken by his wounded to death. He wan many strong Ci- people. tics, and took away the spoils of the Land of But how weak soever these Egyptians Egypt. Thus was fulfilled the Prophecy were, their hatred was thought to be fo

of Daniel: He shall enter into the quiet and strong, that Antiochus might leave them to Dan. 11.24 nlentiful Frovinces, and he shall do that the profecution thereof; and follow, at which his fathers have not done, nor his Fa- good leifure, his other bufinels at Jerufathers Father. Never indeed had any of the lem, or elsewhere. So after the lack of fe-Kings of Spria fo great a victory over the rufalem, he rested him a while at Antioch, Egyptians, nor took from them fo great and then made a journey into Cilicia, to riches. For he gave a notable overthrow suppress the Rebellion of the Thracians and to the Captains of Ptolomy, between Pelu- others in those parts, who had been given, fium, and the Hill Cassium, after which he as it were, by way of dowry to a Concuentred and fackt the greatest and richest bine of the Kings, called Antiochis. For of all the Cities of Egypt, Alexandria Governour of Syria in his absence, he lest

en, this Justin, the brother of Onias, feek-ten Egypt, he turned again, and went up to ing to supplant his brother, and to obtain wards Israel and Jerusalem with a mighty in somers of money. So he got his delire, ments thereof, and the table of the Shembread, and the pouring Veffels, and the Bolls. This naughty dealing of Jason , and his and the Golden Basons , and the Vail and the

CHAP. VI

cedonian War, that Antiochus took in hand this Egyptian bufinefs. At what time he first laid claim to celogria, justifying his title by \* the same allegations which his Father tons. had made; and fliffly averting, that this fa. 2. Province had not been configued over to the Egyptian, or given in dowry with Cleopatra. Bafie it was to approve his right unto that which he had already gotten, when Papa, Ly. And even thus fell it out with Juson: he was in a fair way to get all Egypt. Thesishing the Ptolomies, then should the War be pre-From Terusalem, Antiochus marched into fently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when

ved with zeal, and detesting the facrifedge eth Noble, or Illustrious. fearing his revenge, he withdrew himfelf for a fecond voyage into Egypt, and then into a Sanctuary at Daphne.

abused to lust, and other such voluptuous- Histories have delivered us, some more, nels. Whether it were well done of Onias some less. Before the destruction of Te-Apollo and Diana, or to claim priviledge a sword appeared in the Heavens directly from the Holiness of a ground consecrated over the City, after which there followed ownopinion, that the inconvenience is far Pliny tells us, that the Armies were feen less, to hold this Book as Apocryphal, than fighting in the Air from the morning till to judge this fearful shift which Onias the evening. either commendable or allowable, as the fountain poured out blood in stead of wa-Book seems to do. As for this refuge, it ter, in or near the City of Genoa; soon afcould not fave the life of the poor old ter which the City was taken by the Sara-Sandhary : 6 be flew him incontinently that in the Emperour Nero, the off-fpring without any regard of righteousness. Hereof of the Casars, as well natural as adopted, when complaint was made to Antiochus took end; whereof this notable fign gave after his return out of Cilicia, He took warning. amy Andronicus bis garment of purple, When Livia was first married to Augand rent his clothes, and commanded gustus, an Eagle let fall into her arms a bim to be led throughout the City; and in white Hen, holding a Lawrel branch in her the same place where he had committed the mouth. Livie caused this Hen to be care-

one Andronichus, a man of great authority | fently after this, at the first of one Ptolomy about him. In the mean while, Meneland a Traitor to Ptolomy Philometer, he conthe brother of Simon, the same who had demned innocent men to death, who justthrust Jason out of the Priesthood, and ly complained against Menelays, and his promifed the King three hundred talents brother Lysmachus, for a second robbing for an In-come; committing the charge of of the Temple, and carrying thence the the Priesthood to his brother Lysimachus, Vessels of Gold remaining. Hereby it is stole certain Vessels of Gold out of the manifest, that he was guided by his Temple: whereof he presented a part to own outragious will, and not by any re-Andronichus the Kings Lieutenant, and gard of justice : fince he revenged the fold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities ad- death of Onias, he slew those that were in iovning. This he did, as it feemeth to ad- the same cause with Onios; Who, had they vertices vance the payment of the three hundred told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, talents promised; the same being now by they should have been heard as innocent. By softratus eagerly demanded. Hereof when reason of such his unsteadines, this King Onias the Priest (formerly dispossessed by was commonly termed Epimanes, that is, Jason) had certain knowledge, being mo- Mad, instead of Epiphanes, which signifi-

of Menelaus, he reproved him for it; and After this, Antiochus made preparation 2 Me. 5 Id were there feen throughout all the City of Je-Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning rusalem, forty daies long, horsemen running as a suburb to Antioch. In compass it had in the air with robes of gold, and as bands aboutten miles : wherein were the Tem- of spear-men, and as troops of Horsemen let ples of Apollo and Diana, with a Grove, in array, encountring and coursing one weet Springs, banquetting places, and the against another. Of these prodigious like; which were wholly, in a manner, figns, or rather forewarnings of God, all to committ himself to the protection of rusalem by Vestatian, a Star in the form of

to any of the Heathen Gods, I will not a flaughter like unto this of Epiphanes, Plin. 6b. 2: stand to discourse. Only I say for mine though far greater. In the Cymbrian wars, 49 57.

(though a vertuous man ) made for his life, In the time of Pope John the eleventh, a man: for Menelaus taking Andronicus apart, cens, with great flaughter. Of these and Morton, Viprayed him to flay Onias. So when he the like prodigious signs, Vipera hath colle-per de came to Onias, he counselled him craftily, and many, and very remarkable. But this Prodig. L.S. giving him his right hand with an oath, one seemeth to me most memorable, be-pijee and perswaded him to come out of the cause the most notorious. All men know, save sale.

When Livia was first married to Au- sun Galbai wickedness against Onias, he was stain as fully nourished, and the Lawrel branch to a murderer. In taking revenge of this be planted: of the Hen came a fair ininnocent mans death, I should have crease of white Poultry; and from the litthought that this wicked King had once the branch there sprang up in time a in his life time done Justice. But pre- Grove of Lawrel; so that afterwards, in

carry in their hands a branch of Bayes ta- ther unto him, which he gave in answer ken out of this Grove; and after the tri- to all Embassadours; yet he now preparumphs ended, to set it again in the same ed to make a sharp war upon them both. ground: which branches were observed, And to this end he presently surnished and when they happened to wither, to fore-flew the death of those persons who car-ried them in triumph. And in the last to enter Egypt the Spring following. When year of Nero, all the broods of the white he was on his way as far as Rhinocorura, Hensdied, and the whole Grove of Bayes he met with Embassadors sent from Prolowithered at once. Moreover, the heads my. Their errand was partly to yield of all the Cafari Statues, and the Scepter thanks to Antiochus for the establishing placed in Augustus his hand, were stricken of Philometer in his Kingdom, partly to down with lightning. That the Jews did beseech him, That he would rather be not think such strange signs to be unwor- pleased to signifie what he required to thy of regard; it appears by their calling have done in Egypt, which should be perupon Cod, and praying, that these tokens formed, than to enter it as an enemy with might turn to good.

into Egypt, was occasioned by discord of the ther call back his Fleet, nor withdraw his two brethrentherein reigning; so was this Army, upon any other condition; than fecond Expedition caused by their good that Ptolomy should surrender into his agreement. For the elder Ptolomy being hands, together with the City of Pelulum, left in Memphis, not strong enough to the whole Territory thereto belonging: force his brother, who had defended Alex- and that he should also abandon and leave andria against all the power of their Un- unto him the Isle of Coprus, with all the cle; thought it the best way to feek en- right that he had unto either of them, for trance into that royal City, rather by per- ever. For answer unto these demands, he fwasion, than by arms. Physican had not fet down a day certain, and a short one. wet forgotten the terrour of the former Which being come and past, without any fiege: the Alexandrines, though they love accordinade, the Syrian Fleet entred Nied not Philometer, yet loved they worse lus, and recovered as well those places to live in scarcity of victuals ( which was which appertained to Ptolony in Arabia, already great among them, and like to as in Egypt it felf; for Memphis, and all grow extream) fince nothing was brought about it, received Antiochus, being unable in from the Country; and the friends of to refift him. The King having now no ftop the younger brother faw no likelihood in his way to Alexandria, passed on this of good iffue to be hoped for without re- therwards by easie journeys. conciliation. These good helps, and Of all these troubles past, as well as of above all these, the loving disposition of the present danger wherein Egyps stood, Cleopatra , who then was in Alexandria , the Romans had notice long ago. But they encouraged Philometor, in his purpose. found, or were contented to find, little rea-But that which made him earnestly de- son for them to intermeddle therein. For firous to accomplishit, was the fear where- it was a Civil war: and wherein Antiechne in he stood of his Uncle. For though seemed to take part with the juster cause. Antiochus was gone out of Egypt with his Yet they gave fignification, that it would Army ; yet had he left behind him a strong be much displeating unto them, to have Garrison in Pelusum : retaining that City, the Kingdom of Egypt taken from the which was the Key of Egyps to his own rightful owners. More they could not, or use. This confideration wrought also would not do; being troubled with Perwith Physcon, and with those that were few; and therefore loth to provoke Asabout him; so as by the vehement media-tiochus too far. Nevertheles, the Egption of Cleopatra their sister the two bretian Kings being reconciled, and standthren made an end of all quarrels.

all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to and a meaning to subject his younger bro-

fo puissant an Army. But Antiochus retur-Now, as the first voyage of Antiochus nedthis short answer, That he would nei-

ing joyntly in need of help against their When the news of this accord was Uncle, who prepared and made open brought to Antiochis, he was greatly enra- war against them both : it was to be exged : for notwithstanding that he had pre- pected, that not only the Romans, butmatended no other thing than the establish- ny of the Greeks, as being thereto obliment of the King Philometer his Nephew, ged by notable benefits, should arm in de-

the Auxiliaries, and his Son Polybius, Ge- could have done. neral of the Horse. Hereunto the Acheans That their Nation should, not with such tor, no less than his Brother and Sister. small numbers as were requested, but with In this ambassage of Ptolomy, now re-

fence of their Kingdom. Rome had been | from one meeting to another; and finalfultained with food from Egypt, in the ly broken by the violence of Callicrates War of Hannibal; when Haly, lying For when it was thought that the Decree waste, had neither corn nor mony where- should have passed; he brought into the with to buy sufficient store. By help of Theater where the Assembly was heldthe Egyptians had Aratus laid the founda- a Messenger with Letters from Martins; tion of that greatness, whereto the Acha- whereby the Achauns were desired to ans attained. And by the like help had conform themselves to the Roman Senate; Rhodes heen defended against Demetrius and to labour, as the Senate had done. Toliorcets . Neither were these friendly by sending Embassadours to set Egypt in turns, which that bountiful house of the peace. This was an advice against all Itolomies had done for fundry people reason. For the Senate had indeed sent abroad; ill followed, or feconded, by Embassadours to make peace; but as in a others as bad in requital : but with con-time of greater bufinels elsewhere, with tinuance of suitable beneficence, from such milde words, that nothing was eftime to time encreased. Wherefore the sected. Wherefore it was not likely two brothers fent abroad confidently for that the Acheans should do any good in aid; especially to the Rhodians and Ache- the same kind. Yet Polybius and his friend ans, who feemed most able to give it durst not gain-say the Roman Counsel, effectually. To the Romans, Physcon and which had the force of an Injunction. So Cleopatra had fent , a year fince : but the Kings were left in much diffress ; disaptheir Embassadours lay still in Rome . pointed of their expectation. But within Of the Acheans they defired in particu- a while was Perseus overcome; and then lar , that Lycortas the brave Warriour might the Embaliadours, fent from the Romight be sent unto them, as General of all man Senate, perform as much as any Army

Audience had been lately given by the readily condescended : and would imme- | Senate, unto those Embassadours of diately have made performance, if Calli- Physcon and Cleopatra: which having staycrates had not interposed his mischievous ed more than a whole year in the City. Art. He, whether seeking occasion to brought nothing of their business to effect vaunt his obsequiousness to the Romans, untill now. The Embassadours delivered or much rather envying those Noble Cap- their messege in the name of those that tains whose service the Kings defired; had sent them: though it concerned withstood the common voice: which was, ( which perhaps they knew not ) Philome-

all their power, be aiding unto the Pto- questing help from Rome, appeared a nolomies. For it was not now (he faid) table change of his fortune, from such as convenient time to entangle themselves it had been before three or four years last in any such business, as might make them past. For in the beginning of these his the less able to yield unto the Romans troubles, which began with the Macedowhat help soever should be required in nian War ; either he, or Eulaus, or Lenaus Pobb. ug. the Macedonian War. And in this sen- (upon whom the blame was afterwards 72. tence, he, with those of his faction, ob- laid) which had the government of him. ftinately perfifted 3 terrifying others with thought his affairs in such good estate, big words, as it were in behalf of the that not only he determined to set upon Romans. But Polybius affirmed, that Mar- Antiochus for Calofyria, but would have tius the late Consul had fignified unto interposed himself between the Romans him, that the Romans were past all need and Perseus, as a competent Arbitrator; of help : adding further, that a thousand though it fell out well, that his Embassefoot, and two hundred horse, might well dour was by a friend perswaded to forget be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, that point of his errand. From these high the Egyptian Kings, without disabling their thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the re-Nation to perform any service to the Ro- bellion of his brother and subjects, to live mans; forasmuch as the Acheans could under protection of the same Antiochus. without trouble, raise thirty or forty And now at such time as by attonement thousand Souldiers. All this notwith with his brother and subjects, he might standing, the resolution was deferred have seemed to stand in no need of such Ddddddd 2 protection.

protection, he hath remaining none other and people of Rome, whom they found help whereby to fave both his Kingdom obstinate, or using delay. So these Roand life, than what can be obtained by mans, together with the Alexandrine their intercession which were employed Embassadours, took their leave, and against him. This miserable condition went onward their way within three of him, his brother and fifter shewed it dayes after. felf, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorly clad; the hair on their way toward Egypt, Antiochus had of their heads and beards overgrown, as transported his Army over Luline, some was their manner in time of affliction; and forty miles from Alexandria. So near was they carried in their hands branches of he to the end of his Journey, when the Olive. Thus they entred into the Se-Roman Embassadours met him. After nate, and there fell, groveling and pro- greetings and falutations at their first en-Brate, upon the floor, Their garments counter, Antiochus offered his right hand were not fo mean and mournful, nor their to Popilius ; but Popilius filled it with a looks and countenances so sad and deject- Roll of Paper; willing him to read those ed, but that their speech was than either Mandates of the Senate before he did any of the other far more lamentable. For, thing elfe. Antiochus did fo; and having having told in what danger their King and a little while considered of the business. Country flood; they made a pitiful and he told Popilius, That he would advise grievous complaint unto the Senate, be- with his friends, and then give the Emfeeching them to have compassion of their bassadours their answer. But Popilius, ac-Estate, and of their Princes, who had al- cording to his ordinary blunt manner of waves remained friendly and faithful to speech, which he had by nature, made a the Romans. They said that the people Circle about the King with a Rod which of Rome had so much heretofore favoured he held in his hand, willing him to make this Antiochus in particular, and were of him fuch an answer as he might report to fuch account and authority, with all other the Senate, before he moved out of that Kings and Nations; as, if they pleased Circle. The King astonished at this so but to fend their Embassadours, and let rude and violent a Commandment, after Antiochus know that the Senate was of he had stayed and pawsed a while, I will fended with his undertaking upon the be content (quoth he) to do whatfoever King their Confederate; then would he the Senate shall ordain. Then Popilius presently raise his siege from before Alex- gave unto the King his hand, as to a andria, and withdraw his Army out of Friend and Allie of the Romans. Egypt into Syria. But that if the Senate Thus Antiochus departed out of Egypt repair to Rome, with shameful dishonour to filling every particular circumstance, both the Senate and people thereof, in that, in of returning, and of doing mischiefto Jethe extream dangers of all their fortunes, rufalem after his return; like as if these King no more for a friend to the Senate overthrow to the Egyptian ships.

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Whilest Popilius and his fellows were

protracted any time, or used any delay; without any good issue of his costly Exthen should Fiolomy and Cleopatra be short- pedition; even in such manner as \* Da-39,50 km ly driven out of their Realms, and make niel had prophesied long before: yea, fulthey had not vouch a fed to relieve them. things had rather been historified than The Lords of the Senate moved with foretold by the Prophet. As for the Rocompassion, sent incontinently E. Popilius man Embassadours, they stayed a while, Lenus, C. Decimius, and A. Hostilius, as and settled the Kingdom of Egypt, leaving Embassadours to determine and end the it unto the elder brother, and appointed War between those Kings. In commission the younger to reign over Cyrene. This they had first to find King Prolomy, and done, they departed towards Cyprus; which then Antiochus, and to let them both un-derstand, that, unless they surceased, and the Egyptian, having first sent away Asgave over Arms, they would take that tiochus Fleet, which had already given an

6. X I I. How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Pru-

Perseus and his Children. The inflability

clusion of the Work.

Bline, in doing his Message, and by and Maronea: thereby making uneffectuthe ready obedience of King Antiochin al their promise; which otherwise they to the will of the Senate; we may per- could not, without shame, revoke. And ceive how terrible the Romans were as for the Gallo-Greeks, which were about grown, through their conquest of Ma- to invade the Kingdom of Pergamus; they cedon. The same Popilius had been well sent Embassadors to them, with such incontented, a year before this, to lay structions, as rather encouraged than afide the roughness of his natural conditi- hindred them in their purpose. The difon, and to give good language to the Acheans and Etolians, when he went Embassa. Eumenes thought it worthy of his labour dor to those people of Greece, that were to make another voyage to Rome. He of far less power than King Antiochus. might well blame the folly of his second Likewise, Antiochus had with good words, voyage thither, for this necessity of the and no more than good words, dismissed third: fince, by his malice to Perseus, he other Embassadors which came from Rome, had laid open unto these abitious Poin such sort, as they complained not, much tentates the way to his own doors. No less used any menacing terms, though he sooner was he come into Italy, than the performed nothing of their request. But Senate was ready to send him going. It now the case was altered. So found other was not thought expedient to use him as

Kings as well as Antiochus. lus, to gratulate the victory over Perseus, avoided the note of singular inconstancy : and to crave help or countenance of the and to entertain him as a friend, was Senate against the Gallo Greeks, which more then their hatred to him, for his molested him. Very welcome was Attalus, ingratitude, as they deemed it, and lovingly entertained by most of the would permit. Wherefore they made a Senators: who bad him be confident, and Decree, That no King should be suffered request of the Senate his Brothers King- to come to Rome; and by vertue thereof dom for himself ; for it should surely be fent him home, without expence of much given him. These hopeful promises tickled farther complement. Attalus with fuch ambition, that he either approved, or feemed to approve the moti- Rome somewhat before; where he was welon. But his honest nature was soon re- comedafter a better fashion. He had learclaimed by the faithful councel of Stratius ned to behave himself as humbly as the a Physitian ; whom Eumenes had fent to proud Romans could expect or defire. For, Rome of purpose to keep his Brother up-entring into the Senate, helay down and right. So, when he came into the Senate, kissed the threshold, calling the Fathers his he delivered the errand about which he gods and faviours; as also he used to wear had been sent, recounting his own ser- a Cap, after the manner of slaves newly vices done to the Romans in the late War, manumiffed, professing himself an enfranvices done to the Roman intriciate was, where withall, he forgat not to make of chifed bondman of the people of Rome. He

his Brother as good mention as he could: was indeed naturally a flave, and one that and finally, requefted, That the Towns of by fuch abject flattery kept himfelf fare, and Maronea might be bestowed though doing otherwise greater mischief 895. Leg. upon himself. \* By his omitting to sue for than any wherewith Perseus had been his Brothers Kingdom, the Senate con charged. His errand was, besides matter of ceived opinion, that he meant to crave complement, to commend unto the Senate

granted all his defire; but in the presents which they gave unto him (as was their custome to Embassadors that came with an

acceptable meilage ) they used singular fias, Masanissa, and Coyts. The end of magnificence. Nevertheless Attalus took no notice of their meaning, but went his of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of Pau- way, contented with what they had alreahis, Anicius, and Octavius. With the Con- dy granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilft he was yet in Italy, Y this peremptory demeanour of Popi- they gave order for the liberty of Einus pleasure of the Senate being so manifest; an enemy, that came to visit them in love : Eumenes fent to Rome his brother Atta- neither could they, in fo doing, have

Prusias King of Bithynia had been at another day of audience for that busi- the care of his Son Nicomedes, whom he ness alone. Wherefore to make him under- brought with him to Rome, there to receive stand how gracious hewas, they not only education. Further petition he made, to

Ddddddd 3

have fome Towns added to his Kingdom: I had often made fuit to Amylius, that he whereto, because the grant would have might not be put to such disgrace : but been unjust, he received a cold answer. he still received one scornful answer, That But concerning the Wardship of his Son, it lay in his own power to prevent it; it was undertaken by the Senate : which, whereby was meant, that he might kill vaunting of the pleasure lately done to himself. And surely, had he not hoped rgpt, infreeing it from intiochus, willed for greater mercy than he found, he him thereby to confider, what effectual would rather have fought his death in protection the Romans gave unto the chil- Macedon, than to have been beholding to dren of Kings, that were to their Patro- the courtefie of his infolent enemies for a

nage commended. held his credit with the Romans, good. hope, was no better than this: After than His quarrels were endless with the car- he, and his fellow-King, had been led in thaginians: which made the friendship of chains thorow the streets, before the the Ramans to him the more affured. In Chariots of their Triumphing Victors. all Controversies they gave judgement on they were committed to prison, wherein his fide: and whereas he had invaded they remained without hope of release. the Country of Emporia, holding the It was the manner, that when the Tri-Lands, but unable to win the Towns; umpher turned his Chariot up towards the Romans (though at first they could the Capitol, there to do sacrifice, he should find no pretext, whereby to countenance command the Captives to be had away him in this oppression ) compelle I finally to prison, and there put to death: so as hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to of those that were overcome, might be the Numidian, for having hindred him both together at the utmost. This last senstay at home.

Costs the Thracian fent Embaffadours to the children of Perfeus, might be fet atli- Earth seemed too narrow. berry, for convenient rantome. His exhostages without necessity: Yet was his Son given bick to him ransome-free; toward the Romans in time following. His Kingdome lay between Macedon, fair terms.

Triumphs of Amylius and Anicius. Perseus ness; in stead of that blessed Counsel, Do

wretched life. The iffue of the Roman But above all other Kings, Mafaniffa clemency, whereof Amylius had given him the Carthaginians both to let go all their the honour of the Vanquisher, and misery of his due so long. Now indeed had Rome tence of death was remitted unto Perfem : good leifure to devise upon the ruine of yet so, that he had little joy of his life; Carthage: after which, the race of Mafa- but either famished himself, or (for it is #iffa himself was shortly by them rooted diversly reported) was kept watching perup. But hereof the old King never dream- force by those that had him in custody; ed. He fent to Rome one of his Sons, to and fo dyed for want of fleep. Of his Sons, congratulate the Victory over Persens; two dyed; it is uncertain how. The and offered to come thither himself, there youngest called Alexander (only in name to facrifice for joy unto Jupiter in the Ca- like unto the Great, though destined somepitol. His good will was lovingly accepted; times perhaps by his Father, unto the forhis Son rewarded, and he entreated to tunes of the Great ) became a Joyner, or Turner; or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the Roman Officers. In such poverexcuse himself touching the aid by him ty ended the Royal house of Macedon: given to Perseus, for that the Macedonian and it ended on the sudden; though some had him bound by hostages; and to in- eightscore years after the death of that treat, That his Son, which was taken with Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole

If Perseus had known it before, that his cuse was not taken; fince he had volundown Son should one day be compelled to tarily obliged himself: o Perseus, by giving earn his living by handy-work, in a painful Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonness of Soveraignty have with admonition, to carry himself better commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the Sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. and some barbarous Nations; in which He would rather have been very gentle, respect, it was good to hold him in and would have considered, that the greatest oppressors, and the most under-trodden As for those unhappy Kings, Perseus and wretches, are all subject unto the One Gentius, they were led thorow Rome, high Power, governing all alike with abwith their children and friends, in the foliute command. But such is our unhappymy felf. One hath faid truly.

\_vv-Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam Poffe volunt.

Would have it in their power to kill.

ability to do evil without controll which of the Booty. So great was the quantity is a dangerous temptation unto the per- of Gold and Silver carried by Fanlar into formance. God, who best can judge what the Roman Treasury, that from thenceis expedient, hath granted such power to forth, untill the Civil Wars which followvery few: among whom also, very few ed upon the death of Julius Cesur, the there are, that use is not to their own hurt. Estate had no need to butthen it self with For who fees not that a Prince, by racking any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph his Soveraign Authority to the utmost likely to have been hindred by the Soulextent, enableth ( besides the danger to diers ; who grudged at their General, for his own person ) some one of his own Sons not having dealt more bountifully with or Nephews to root up all his progeny? them. But the Princes of the Senate Shall not many excellent Princes, notwith- over-ruled the people and Souldiers heremost traiterously, and barbarously King private calamity, in stead of the pub-Edward the second; was, by reason of a lick. marriage, proclaimed, in time not long About the same time, Off avins the Adafter following, Heir apparent to the miral, who had brought Perfeus out of Sa-Crown of England: which, had he ob- mothrace: and Anicius the Prætor, who tained, then had all the power of Edward had conquered Illyria, and taken King fallen into the race of his mortal enemy, Gentius prisoner; made their several to exercise the same upon the Line of Triumphs. The glory of which magnidents, the evil that may fall on their own Rome, Sume Superbiam, Take upon thee the posterity : so do they necessarily make us Majesty that thy deserts have purchased.

# 1011 would be done unto, a fentence teach-| understand, how happy that Country is, ing all moderation, and pointing out the which hath obtained a King able to conway to felicity; we entertain that arro- ceive and teach, That "Gol is the fariff. The true gant thought, I will be like to the most and sharpest Schoolmssfor that can be derified have the best that is, I will do what shall please for such Kings, is think this world ordered a charter for such Kings, is think this world ordered a charter than the such as the su for them , without controlerant to turn it upfide-down at their pleasure.

Now concerning the Triumph of L. Amylius Paulus, it was in all points like unto that of T. Quintim Flamilius Even they that have no murdrous will, though far more glorious, in regard of the Kings own person, that was led along therein, as part of his own spoils; and in All, or the most, have a vain desire of regard likewise both of the Conquest, and ftanding their brotherhood, or other near- in, and brought them to reason by severe nels in blood, be driven to flatter the exhortation. Thus Paulus enjoyed as Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Har-much honour of this Victory as men could lot that governs one, the most unworth give. Nevertheles, it pleased God to thy of his whole house, yet reigning over take away from him his two remaining all? The untimely death of many Princes Sons, that were not given in Adoption of which could not humble themselves to which, the one dyed five dayes before the such flattery; and the common practice of Triumph, the other three dayes after the Turkish Emperours to murder all their it. This loss he bore wisely: and told brethren, without expecting till they of the people, That he hoped to see the fend; are two good proofs hereof. Here- Common-wealth flourish in a continuunto may be added, that the heir of the ance of proferrity; fince the joy of fame Roger Mortimer, who murdered his Victory was required with his own

that unhappy King. Such examples of the ficent spectacles, together with the coninstability whereto all mortal affairs are fluence of Embassages from all parts, and subject; as they teach moderation, and Kings, either visiting the Imperial City, admonish the transitory gods of King- or offering to visit her, and do their dudoms, not to authorize by wicked prece-ties in person; were enow to say unto

INY this which we have already fet wings far over his Neft, but the SDA-Down, is feen the beginning and end niard; who fince the time that Ferdinand of the three first Monarchies of the World; expelled the Moors out of Granado, have whereof the Founders and Erectors made many attempts to make themselves thought, that they could never have end- Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that ed. That of Rome which made the by the treasures of both Indies, and by fourth, was also at this time almost at the many Kingdoms which they posless in the highest. We have left it flourishing in Europe, they are at this day the most the middle of the field; having rooted up, powerfull. But as the Turk is now counor cut down, all that kept it from the eyes terpoifed by the Persian, so instead of so and admiration of the World. But after many Millions as have been spent by the some continuance, it shall begin to lose English, French, and Netherlands in a dethe beauty it had; the ftorms of ambition fensive War, and in diversions against shall beat her great boughs and branches them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with one against another; her leaves shall fall the charge of two hundred thousand off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of pound continued but for two years, or barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut three at the most, they may not only be her down.

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Nations, have been the subject of those brought back into their natural channels ancient Histories, which have been prefer- and old banks. These two Nations, I say, ved, and yet remain among us; and with- are at this day the most eminent, and to all offo many tragical Poets, as in the per- be regarded; the one feeking to root out fons of powerful Princes, and other mighty the Christian Religion altogether , the men have complained against Infidelity, other the Truth and sincere Profession Time. Destiny, and most of all against the thereof; the one to joyn all Europe to Variable success of worldly things, and Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Instability of Fortune. To these under- Spain. takings, their great Lords of the World

For the rest, if we seek a reason of the have been stirred up, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth up the Air, and less ambition in mortal men, we may add ory ame, which provert up the Air, and less ambition in mortal men, we may aud foweth in the wind; than by the affection to that which hath been already (aid; of bearing rule which draweth after it formuch vexation, and for many cares. And that this ist rue, the good advice of Ciness but not the ends of those great Ones to Pyrthus proves. And certainly, as which preceded them. They are alwaiss Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, foit is to the dead of no use at all; but they never mind the misery of the because separate from knowledge. Which, other, till they find the experience in were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bar- themselves. They negled the advice of gain of buying this lafting discourse, un- God, while they enjoy life, or hope of it; derstood by them which are dissolved; but they follow the councel of death, upon they themselves would then rather have his first approach. It is he that puts into wished, to have stoln out of the world man all the wisdom of the World, without without noise, than to be put in mind, that speaking a word; which God, with all they have purchased the report of their the words of his Law, promises, or threats, actions in the World, by rapine, oppres doth infuse. Death, which hateth and fion, and cruelty: by giving in spoil the destroyeth man, is believed; God, which innocent and labouring foul to the idle hath made him, and loves him, is alwaies and infolent, and by having emptied the deferred. I have confidered (faith Sahr-Cities of the World of their ancient Inha- mon ) all the works that are under the Sun, bitants, and filled them again with fo and behold, all is vanity and vexation of fimany and fo variable forts of forrows.

East, but that of the Turk : nor in the West any Prince that hath spread his perswaded to live in peace, but all their Now these great Kings, and conquering swelling and overflowing streams may be

rit : but who believes it till Death tells it Since the fall of the Roman Empire us? It was Death, which opening the con-(omitting that of the Germanes, which science of Charls the fifth, made him enhad neither greatness nor continuance) joyn his Son Philip to restore Navarre; and there hath been no State fearful in the King Francis the first of France, to com-

Murderers of the Protestants in Merindol tered, thou only hast cast out of the world and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. and despised : thou hast drawn together It is therefore death alone that can fud- all the far firetched greatness, all the denly make man to know himself. He pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and tells the proud and infolent, That they covered it all over with these two narrow are but abjects, and humbles them at the inftant; makes them cry, complain, and Laftly, whereas this Book, by the title repent ; yea, even to hate their forepassed it hath, calls it felf, The first part of the Gehappiness. He takes the account of the rich, neral History of the World, implying a second and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, and third Volume; which lass intended, which hath interest in nothing, but in the gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a discouragements, perswading my silence; Glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, it hath pleased God to take that gloand makes them fee therein their deformi- rious Prince out of the world, to whom tyand rottenness; and they acknowledge they were directed, whose unspeakable

whom none could advise, thou haste per- lucium Citharamea, & Organum meum in weswaded; what none have dared, thou hast cem flentium.

mand that justice should be done upon the done; and whom all the world hath flat-

and never enough lamented loss hath O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! taught me to say with Job, Versa est in

### TO THE READER.

like Annalls, yearly fet down all occurrences not more illustration, nor indeed fo much, to thete coherent. This here followeth, may ferve as an In- that are acquainted with works of this kind. To dex to the present part of this work, pointing un avoid prolixity, I have forborn to insert those to the feveral matters , that having fallen out at years, which I find not figned with some regarone time are far dif-joyned in the relation. Cer- dable accident, as with the birth or death of tainly it is not perfect meither do I think that any Some Patriarch; the beginning of Some Kings can be. For hom foever the years of the first Pa- reign ; Some change of Government ; Some triarchs may feem to have been well-neer com- battel fought, or the like. So of the 12. years pleat, get in the reigns of the Kings of Juda and wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Ifrael, we find many fractions, and the last year, Latines, I note only the first ; that is, omitting or years of one King reckoned also as the fore- all between the 4. of Jehosaphat, wherein Camoft of another. The same is most likely to have petus began , unto the 17. wherein Sylvius fallen out in many other, though not fo precifely Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and first reigned with Jehosaphat his father. For I imperfect forms of the year, which were in use a. thought it vain to have filled up a Page with mong fundry Nations, causing the \* Summer 12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth, 2. 2. months, in process of some ages, to fall into the 4. 5. and so still onwards, till I had come to winter, and so breeding extream consussion in the sirft of Aventinus, and the 17. of Jehothe reckoning of their times. Neither is it a Saphat. In setting down the Kings, there is small part of trouble, to choose out of so ma- noted over the head of every one, what place ng and so utterly disagreeing computations, he held in order of succession was whether he as have already gotten Authority, what may were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth probably be held for truth. All this, and intankof those that reigned in his Country, a great deal more , is to be alledged , in excuse without notable interruption : Before the name of such errours, as a more intentive and perfect is the first year of his reign; at the end or Calculator shall buppen to find herein. It may foot of the name ( as the space gives leave ) Scree to free the Book, and likewise the Rea- is the whole number of years in which he der ( if but of mean judgement, ) from any reigned; in the spaces following underneath, notorious Anachronicism; which ought to are those years of his, which were concurrent Suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in with the beginning of some other King, or with that regard ; not only from some errours of the year of any remarkable accident. Where two the Pres, in the numbring of years, but for numbers, or more, are found before one Kings some bastic mis rechonings of mine own, which name; there it is to be understood, that the fended with the rest, shall find reason to be Israel, was the Same with the second of his bropleased with this, as tending wholly to his ther Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. omneale.

dily be Conceived. Where two titles, or more, of them reigned in Some part of the Same year. are over the head, as [ Nationality ] there do the which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the numbers underneath proportionably answer, the first of Omri. Particularly, under the reigns higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. of the Egyptian Kings, are fet down the years For example, The walls of Jerusalem were fi- of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet Rome, and in the 314 from Nabonasser. In moneth, upon which Nabonassar's year began

HE use of Chronological Tables is need- like manner it is to be understood. That Achieve ful to all Histories , that reach to any Saphat began his reign in the 3774. of the fulength of time; and most of all, to those lian Ara, in the 3092. of the World and in that are most general: fince they cannot, the 99. year of the Temple. This meds not I defire to have hereby reformed, in hope that fame year belonged not only to the King then the Printing of this Table shall not want care beginning, but unto some one or more of his ful diligence. The Reader, of he be not of foregoers: as the sufference of Jehoram King of Sombere two or three names are found in one The titles over the Columns, have reference space, as in the 3077 year of the World Zimit, tothat which follows under them, as will rear Tibni, and Omri; it is meant, that every one nished in the 319. Tear from the building of to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the

#### To the Reader.

a in the place last above cited.

where due place was, in the book it self: be otherwhiles found in this Table but so, as the bart remaint thought on note, that under the difference is never of a whole year. rish of Olympiads, is fet down, first the numin of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the year greater number, over the years of the World. first year thereof.

Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and the multiplication of 19. 28. and 15. that is, other, had not beginning in one moneth, but of the Cycle of the Moon, the Cycle of the Sun, Some of them in March, Some in April, Some and the years of an Indiction. Being divided about Midsummer, and some at other times: the by any of the le, it leaves the number of the pre-better to express their several beginnings, some sent year, or if no fraction remain, it shows the painful Chronologers have divided them pro-last year of that Cycle to be current. For exampartypus chromosogers wave arounce norm pro-portionably in their feveral Columns, oppoling ple, in the 44.98. of this Period, when we part of the one year to part of the other: not fought the great battel of Cannæ, the Prime or ( as I have here done ) cutting all overthwart golden number was 14. the Cycle of the Sun. with one ftraight line, as if all had begun and 18. and consequently the Dominical letter F. as ended at one time. But this labour have I spared may be found by dividing the same number of ficulty. One familiar example will explain all.

ch, how it varied from other years, may be crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw down Images, and reformed many things in reoncerning the Exa, or account of years, ligion, all in her first year, yet not all in that to tohitus, who began the Olympiads, from year 1558. but the greater part in the year folbuilt, from Nabonassar, and the like; lowing, whether we begin with the first of Januthe armas thought convenient hath been ary, or with the 25. of March. The like may

The Julian Period, which I have placed as the .fthat Olympiad : as that Cyrus began his was delivered by that honourable and excellentreign in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the ly learned Joseph Scaliger : being accommodated to the Julian years, now in use among us. Now, for that the years of the world, of the It consisteth of 7980. years which result from as more troublesome than useful, since the more the Julian Period 4498. by 19, for the Prime, part would not have apprehended the meaning, by 28, for the Sycle of the Sun. This Julian and fince the learned might well be without it.

It will only be accepted to observe, that howseceeds the year of the world by 682. Besides the ever the Era of the Olympiads be 24. years former uses, and other thence redounding, it is elder than that of Rome, and 29. than that of a better Character of a year, than any other Nabonassar, jet the reign of some King may Era (as, From the beginning of the World, have been at such a time of the year as did From the Flood, From Troy taken, or the not sute with this difference. But hereof I take like) which are of more uncertain position. More little regard. The more curious will easily find I shall not need to write, as touching the use or my meaning: the vulgar will not find the dif- explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in Queen Elizabeth began ber reign the 17,0f No- works of this kind : it sufficeth if hereby all be vember in the year of our Lord 1558. She was made plain enough to the wulgar.



# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Years of the Julian Period, World, Patriarchs, Oc.

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57 375	745	640	550	480	415	253								
930	802	695	dos	535	470	308	2+3	55						
669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113						
724 0 <sub>4</sub> 2	912	807	717	647	582		355	168						
739 057	<u> </u>	822	732	662	597		370	183						
35 35 50 65 70	08   326 78   96   43   661 105   123   70   88   88   857   75   12   12   12   12   12   12   12   1	08   196   266   43   61   331   493   77   74   75   75   74   75   75   76   76   76   76   76   76	08   196   91   178   196   92   178   196   191   178   196   191   178   196   191   178   196   191	08	08   16   91   1   Cai-All the nam. are reckled   91   1   Cai-All the nam. are reckled   91   1   Cai-All the nam. are reckled   91   1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1	1   Cai   All the years of section   1   Cai   All the years of section   3:6   196   91	1   Cai   All the years of the Pate   All the years of the years of the Pate   All the years of	1   Cai- All the years of the Patriarchy, are reckened compleat: which is 910   children, mon.   are reckened compleat: which is 910   children, mon thofe that follower     78	1   Cai   All the years of the Patriarcks, whereis   326   196   91   man.   are reckoned compleat: which is inferred   90   ochidaren, mate valve   11. Ma   man.   12. Ma   man.   m	1   Cai-All the years of the Patriarcks, wherein they began in the point of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the point of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the point of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the point of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the point of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the point of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the point of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, wherein they began in the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, which is inferred out of the patriarcks, wh	1	1   Cai   All the years of the Patriarcks, whereis they begat children, dies   196   91   nan.   are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the additio	1   Cai-All the years of the Patriarcks, wherein they begatchildren, died, or perf	1   Cai   All the years of the Patriarcks, wherein they begat children, died, or performed a are reckened compleat: which is inferred one of the addition of the years before the year children, died, or performed a are reckened compleat: which is inferred one of the addition of the years before the years and years before the years before the years before the y

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	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Ara- l'us,40	121	52	21			ifrael into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 160	37	20	3
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rai the wife of Abraham died this year.	2827 2145 6	2		422	137	17	137	16	37				299 <b>t</b> 2309 226				141	58		10 1.Pera	31	5
If aac took Rebecca to Wife, when he was 40. year. I compleat.	6	6		420	141	21	141	20	41	_			2996 2314 231				146	43	3S	6	4 1. Argus,	5
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Abraham died this year.	218	9 460 901	175	7	5 15	19	175	20	15	-			3038 2356 273	97	13 I Mamit			lo is	2	43		
Heber died this year.	2187	46	4	75	7 19	١ _		24	19			The last year of Poseph.	305 I 2369 286	110	14			3 8	15	50		j
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Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	73	fins,		- -	26 —	ain Egeus, in few years after. In common of 1672- eign and releganting the years in the forty eight of Ageus in transiting them apart by themselver, breeds answerable forces in the times of the Athenians following, as Maesthe (2009, and the rest.	232	19	23	96 46	30	31	Q LAige	34
100 and Xuthus the fons of Hellen. See lib. 2. c. 17. 8. 6.	3 3 7 4 2692		15	43 43	17	.11	I	2	36	and the second s	3443			101	21 1. Ina-		12	45
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ifter the death of Acrifius, the Kingdom of the Agi eves divided into many small parts, and overgrown by that			15	8 63	37	31	3	2	56		2771 258	3	44	1. Amenophis,		7	22	55
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	3916 3234	387	29	14	25	37	:	27		2 1. Sofer- 1005, 30	The Era of Nabonassar. L.2. c. 25, %. 1.	396 328 2	5	30	2	13	2	natflar. Nahmaj	**, -0	6	6	
	3917 (3235	388	30	15	26	38	1	A gam ftar.	23	2	Ezekiah began in the very end of this yeat. L.2. C.25. S.1.	1320		31	8	Ezeki	ah 3	2	39	7	7	
	3918 3236	1	31	16	27	39	9		15 Syl.A sulius.	3	This year concurs with the first of Ezekiah.	Ibid. 328	9 8	3 =	8	1 15	4	3	143	8	8	
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L.2. c. 26. §,7.	3980 3298 305	19	43	11.	12	Kings of the Chal- deans.		1. Se- chon. 33		19	35	3	373 380	ا و8	118	2	1 fosi. as, 31	2	27	13	4	21
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	3986 5304 311	25	49	13	18	4	4	7		25	4 1 Carli 1 Carli	3	394 401 4084		139	35	22	23	4		7 1 Cyaxa- 1 es, 40	42
Merodach gets the whole Empire. This year or in e end of the year foregoing. An eclipse of the Moon	3993	32	56	14	25	I. Mero. dacb, 40	11	14		32	8		3402	123	147	3	30	31	12	10	9	1 Sady-
	Julian World Temple.	Rome.	Iphit.	Olym.	Juda.	Caldea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	I ydia.			3402 410		148	ĺ .	Jehohaz z masths	<u> </u>	13	11	10	2 }
Two eclipses of the Moon, in the second year of ardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15	26	2	15	33	9			minus be regarded in Aftronomical objervations concer- knime. L2C15. S-1. & C.28. S-6.	340+ 411	120	149	1 38	1. Jeho jakim,	1 33	14	12	II	3
	399 <b>7</b> 3319 322	36 31	60	15	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. Gy. ges, 38			3407 414		152	4	4	1. Nabu chedonofor the great.	17	15	14	6
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	3999 3317 324	38	62	16	2	7		tuter regnum one year	I. Deio- cet. 53				4096 3414 421	135	159	40	I Jechen 3 month 20  Zedekia	··	7	22	21	1 Haly asses 57
	3318 325	39	63	16	3	8	21	E. Numa Pompi- lius, 43	12	4	_	Zedekiah bis journey to Babylon. L.2. c.28. §.6.	4099 3417 424		162	2	11 year.	<u></u>   11	10	quin. Pr feur. 51	24,	4
L.2. C.27. S. 2.	4013 3331 33	5 <sup>2</sup> 8 47	76	19	16	21	reg-	14	15	17			3420 427	136	165	1	7	14	or Ho		27	7
	4015 3333 340	54	78	20	18	23	Prin- ces, 1	16	17	19	-	funfalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, with who shift the more part, and partly with whose 19.this wessers.	3424	140	169	43   I	11	18	5	8	31	11
The beginning of the fecond Messenian Warzwhic Ifted about 18. years. L.2, 6,37, 8,4.	6 4020 3347 35	68	92	23	32	37	s. Pfam miticus 4		3 1	33	_		fulsan   world	Nabo	Iph.t.	1	p. Capt.	i- Chal dea.	Egy	Rome	Med	ia Lydia.
L.2. c,28. §. 3.	3351 3351	72	96	4	36	1. Ben Mero- dach, 2	) >	34	35	37	-	ferufalem destroyed.	3425	140	170	3	1	19	6	9	32	12
	4035 3353 36	7+ 6 69	98	25	378	3	7	36	37	I. A	r-	Egyt conquered by Nabuchodonofor, L3, c.1. §, 8. & 9.	3429	145	174	2	5	23	phra flain and the Hingdom: Fuppt to loarned d years by b coroger.	13	36	-
	4043 3361 36	82	106	27	46	11	15	1. Tulli Hoftilis	al 47	9	-	Nikolod C. V. V. V. J. V.	3434	150	179	3	10	37	6	18		
	3370 3370	91	11	5 29	55	20	24	10	I Phr		-	Nabuchodonosor lives wild: and his Kingdon fourmed by others for him, during seven years L3.c.s. §. 13.	3443	159	188	48		nerod	il 15	27	10	30
and the same of th	4 <b>0</b> 53	92	110	5 29	1 • A	- 21	25	11	2	19			3127	ĺ.	190		2.1	1 Nigh far, &	- 17	29	12	32

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Nebuchadnezzat recovers his sense and kingdom.	131	170	194	47		ardach	21	33	16	36			3515	23 I		4_	1	_!_			Amen.	
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	3455	1		4			!	1	:  ,	+-	-	The Carthaginians first League with Rome.	4206	24)	269	1 00	1 15	: }	i	and	Confuls.	32
orty years after the conquest of Egypt past, Amasis	4151	190	214	45	5+	19	Ama-	15	or bet	;; 56	1	L.5.c.1. §. 2.	3524	240	1	1	1	1		Publ. co	ر ا	
gan his reign:this being inclusively the 41.6 there- re the next year seems concurrent with Amasis his t		185	2.4	2	7		fis, 34	H.		16	1		4211	250		6	bis ex		1	- 1		١.,
re the next year jeems committee will	4153	1		54	1					5	1	L.2. c.5. §.4"	1	1	27+	١.	dition	a- 1	į	1		35
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The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175	214	238		22	thafa		39	25	5	69	An Eclipseof the Sun. L.3. c.6. § 2.		267	29			(erxes ardes	bis Army at	1		_i_
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L.3. c. 9. § 1.	4209	320	352		Xerxes 2. months		1	the Athenians	L3, c.11. \$. 11.	3654	370	399	3	28	10			82
L.3.c.8 §. 1.	3607	323	"	4	7 Sogdiarus 8, months.		l	at Pylus. 39		4346		`	101			Trilumes of the people continued 5. Years In a		164
	4290	329		89	8		1	110		1	1 3/2	403		32	14	Trilums of the people continued 5. Jeans in m face, prop und social Laws a sensor winds for the Covalis first be first a Picture.		86
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L. 3.C. 6. §. J. & 6.	3610	326	337	3		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	Sparta. 3		4345			102		t. Taskot S. Euflin	u L. Sextins a Tlebe	il The hafty	16
	4301	340	T	92	ts. Experredeth against the Personand sets us Kings that resen success fruity, till Ocean his re- conguest.	1	1	The Athenian for 12	L3.c. 12. S. 4.	יייד	,,,,	408		37	telmet only 2, years to I.	t on and L Emilias	egrowth of the	1 -
L.3, c. 9. § 1. & c.8. § 8.			364		Burly, tell Ochus his Fe-	reus,		deftrojed. 4		3363	379		4		Reime, 6. but the fin of him prives mire.	Conjuis.	Theban Estate.	
	3619						-	The government of 12		4351	390		104	43 Mary Provin-		1	of Mantinea, Epa	į i
	4302	341	365	92	13. Darius enters	1 2	1	the 4.0, in Athen,		3669	185	414	2	Artaxerxes, and are four reclaimed.	7	1	minondas dies.	97.7 ona
Cap. 8. §. 9.	3620	336	30,	1	wish the Spartans			the year felloung.   5		4352		<del>-</del>	104	IO	3 Tachus betraye	d.	Peace in Greete. The de theme, no greatus tito felors by a martine fort treafuse to cam ujer.	176 ab
The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Army	4204	343	1	93			)	The Athenians 12	L3, c.12, 6.8.	4,,,,	1	415	1 4	1. Ochus.	by Agefilaus.	į	treafme to cam ujer.	98 Pr
300000. L 5. c. 1. § . 4. † 3.	1	ì	367	1	15	4	1	begin to recever frength.		3670	386	;	13_	2.3	1. Nellanebus. 1	31		
,	3622	338	<u>!</u>	1_3_	\	\ 	i	Alcibidat after mory selferies returns from burifement to Athen, is made General, and busifest again.	)	4354	393		105	]	1 -	ļ	Macedon 24 years	
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L., c. 8. §.10.	3624	3:0	369	1	1 7	\				4359			106	i ——		1	5. The Phocian	18
	4307	1,46	i	93	1 -	2		The battail at 1: Arginusa.	L4.G 1. 5. 4.	4332	1.	422		8	8	1	war begins.	10
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	1376 5694		439	110	2			2 3 The battail of Cheroma. bilip abolin Captain Go- eral of the Greeks	1	Lingdon	Era of the	3722	438	467	117	7	14	1	us,30 L. 4.				145
14	378		441	III	1.D rius 6 years and fomewhat more.	Nabon. Vovemb. 15	·	25 Philip flain by Penfinjal L-Auxander the great 11. Lears and 5. moneths.	2	Alexa	unders Cap-	4406	445	469	118	9	Psolomy over by Demesri Cyprus.	us as 3	Deme	ns fet free by trans the fon tragonus.			15
	1379 3697	418	442	111	2			2 Thebes razea by Alexander		f Kings	c.6. §. 4.	4413 3731		476	119	16	23	10. The b Ipfus wher tigonus wa	ein An- 15 flain				158
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4. c. 2. §, 5.6,& 7. & L.		421	4+5	112	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romant-	Alexander win Tyre and Ægyp	8 205 127	L.4.	c.6. §.7.	3739	460 455	484	121	2. Demetrius,	31	18					16
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	3701	423	4+7	112	7 Darins flain by Bessus.			<u> </u>	7	10 207 129		3746	467	491	123	t. Lysimachus	38	25				173	
	13/02			1	Macedon.	Egypt.	-	Greece.	Roman	Tens. Dani		3747	468	492	123	3	39 9 1 Prolomy Philadel- phus, 38	26			i,	3 174	\ \
	4385	424	448	112	3. Alexander chang- eth conditions: he puts to death Parmenic and Philotas.					130 ale Bi	translation of ble by the Sep	of  4432	471	495	124	5	4	29 29		The Ta war in the of Italy, on thus again	rentinus raife Euftern perce us call in Pyr- of che Romans.	6 177	
N	4380		449	113						131 ac.7.	L. 4. c. 6. 9 9		472	496	124	6.Lysimadbus flain. Seltucus 7 Mon	5	32 Seleucus slain in the end of the 224. Olymp. Polyb, and Justin 30		Rom ins	bus his vi- against the	7 178	
Nexande: di d 17 days before il ammer Solfrice. From Nabanal as l'uberio are colletted 424 years	1390	+29	453	114	dies at Baby	Nabon. Novemb. 1	2			16 135 L.4.	. c. 7. § <b>.3.&amp;</b>	4434	473	497	124	1, Ttol. Cerdhnus Antipater. Meleager, Softhenes.	Nabon Non-1	1. Antiochus So ter 19	The Gauls do Spoil in Macedi Greece under Bo and Belgins.	on and	1	179	
nd hence to the reign of Augustus 94. The fam it. 78: .years, which a rees with this accompt. Peolen Almogett. 1. 3. 6.8.	1391		454	114	I. Aridaus, 6	I. Ptolemie Lagi. 39.	L. 3.c.3.§.1,2 & 3.	The Lamian		as, 25 136		4436	475	499	125	1. Antigonus Gonatas. 20		33		into .		18 <b>t</b>	
	4391	433	457	115		4. Perdie- les fish Nov. in Expt. 11.	L.4. c. 3 - 9 8 & 9.	Victories Enmenes.	of		5. c.2. §.6.		8 477	7 50	1 126	3	banasfars year be- gins, O.T.1	5 25	About these the Achean letheir society	gainst	Sicill a- the Ro.	183	
	439	433	458		fent against Eumenes.	5			1	140		375	478	502	126	4	11	6 26			by the	184 184	١.
Arideus flain by Olympi Antigonus biaten by Eume	as 439	7   430	460	115		7			1:		4. 6. 7. 8. 5.	444	480	50.	120	6	13	8 38	Pyrrhus at Argos.	lain crave a Carthag		15 186	
Eumenes beirayed in Antigon Olympias flain by Callander, A rigonus grows dreaffal.	10- /		46	1 110	1. Cassander.	8		Thebes re-e fied by Call der.		143 Steen	e Translation by egint finished, this iledelehue.	17	5 484	50	127	10	17	12				190	C
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